

CROSSING THE FRONTIER INTO THE DESERT: EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONS TO THE SINAI PENINSULA

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Abstract

Ancient Egypt possessed two types of borders: a physical border and an ideological one. The first is defined by the desert to the east and west, the Mediterranean to the north, and the rapids of the First Cataract in the south. The role of the king was to expand the border, strengthen it and defend it against the chaos that might threaten Egypt from the other side of the border. The second border, the ideological border, can be detected in the way Egyptian society defined itself and how it portrayed foreigners. Apart from the ideological side there was the day-to-day experience of the Egyptian king, officials and to a lesser extent the wider population. The crown and court had to deal with foreigners and their customs in trade and diplomacy. With these contacts, naturally, the Egyptian ideology was faced with reality. These two sides can be labelled as *topos*, i.e. ideological expectations, and *mimesis*, actual responses to these expectations. The paper will examine this dualism using the expeditions to the western Sinai in the late 3rd and 2nd millennium BC.

Introduction

Borders and frontiers can be manifold. They can be natural like rivers or mountains or cultural and separating various groups of people. The former are usually permanent while the latter may change over time. Ancient Egypt possessed these two types of borders. The physical border was defined by the desert to the east and west, the Mediterranean in the north, and the rapids of the First Cataract in the south. The Egyptian word for the border is *t3ꜥ*, which is also used for marking arable fields, the area of a town or the whole of Egypt, while the land of the Nile valley was called *t3*. The role of the king, in this respect, was to expand the border, strengthen it and defend it against the chaos that might threaten Egypt from the other side of the border. A very good example comes from the time of Sesostri III (*ca.* 1872-1853/2 BC):

I have made my boundary further south than my fathers,
I have added to what was bequeathed me.
I am a king who speaks and acts,
What my heart plans is done by my arm.¹

¹ Lichtheim 1975, 119.

The second, ideological border, can be detected in the way Egyptian society defined itself and how it portrayed foreigners. Here the principles of *Maat*, often simply translated as order or, in the words of J. Assmann,² as ‘connective justice’, is fundamental. Firstly, *Maat* defines the way Egyptians should interact with each other and binds them together socially as the words of king Neferhotep I (ca. 1705-1694 BC) of the 13th Dynasty make so strikingly clear: ‘The reward of one who does something lies in something being done for him. This is considered by god as *Maat*.’³

Egyptians should act in a positive way towards each other in order to receive in kind and thus show horizontal solidarity. However, there is also a vertical solidarity which tightly puts every Egyptian into the order of Egyptian society. It demands protection for the weak and inferior on one side and loyalty and obedience to the superior on the other. For the king at the top of the hierarchy it means, ultimately, protection for all Egyptians and thus securing society’s order and justice. Since *Maat* was the order for the Egyptian people inside the borders of Egypt people living outside Egypt were not part of this concept and thus belonged to the sphere of *Isfet*, i.e. chaos and disorder. Hence, for the Egyptian royal ideology it was extremely important to stress that the king was willing and able to deter and intimidate these foreign elements that were not just ‘others’ but absolute aliens.⁴ And it did not matter if this world conflict was actually real or merely potential.⁵ Order versus chaos was a centrepiece of the Egyptian world-view.

Apart from the ideological side there was of course the day-to-day experience of how to deal with foreigners. The crown and court had to deal with foreigners and their customs on a diplomatic level. Officials were also involved in commercial activities and to a lesser extent the wider Egyptian population had contact with foreigners. With these contacts the Egyptian ideology was naturally faced with reality. These two sides can be labelled as *topos*, i.e. ideological expectations, and *mimesis*, actual responses to these expectations by individuals.

Topos

As mentioned above the key principles of *Maat* encompass vertical and horizontal loyalty and responsibility. The latter is expressed on the royal level with the role of the king as protector of his people, deterring, defending and defeating all enemies

² Assmann 2002, *passim*; and for the concept of *Maat* in particular, see Assmann 1990.

³ For the whole text of this stele, erected at Abydos, see Helck 1975, no. 32, 21-29.

⁴ Assmann 2002, 151.

⁵ Kemp 2006, 92-99.

– most of them from outside Egypt and thus beyond the actual borders of the state. The symbolic icon for this task is seen throughout Egypt on temple facades: it is the so-called smiting of the enemies. In this iconic scene the king is shown with royal regalia and with a raised arm holding a club or sickle-sword. With the other hand he grasps a foreigner or several foreigners by the hair ready to strike. The foreigners are stereotyped and are people from Nubia in the south, Libyans from the west, and Asiatics from the north-east. This ideology and stereotyping of foreigners is very similar in tone to the so-called ‘breaking the bows’ in which nine foreign peoples, associated with bows as their preferred weapon of combat and shown as bound captives, are depicted under the soles of the pharaoh, thus symbolically being trodden on by the king.⁶

The topic of ‘smiting of the enemies’ has a long tradition in Egypt going back at least to the middle of the 4th millennium BC, when we have it not only on pottery vessels from Abydos⁷ but also from a wall-painting from the famous slightly younger Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis⁸ and, of course, from the later Narmer Palette.⁹ The enemies were portrayed as inferior but also as threatening. This is why they had to be subdued and controlled at all times. While the earlier scenes had been not obviously ethnic specific this changed with the depictions of the subdued on the later palettes at the end of the 4th millennium BC.¹⁰ With the process of cultural and political unification under way the idea of an ethnically uniform society that separated Egypt from the others outside Egypt’s borders became a vital part of Egyptian self-definition.¹¹

Following A. Loprieno’s work on Egyptian literature it is possible to apply his term *topos* to this scene, which means ‘the ideological expectation of Egyptian society as transmitted to its officials’.¹² Thus it would define distinct ethnic categories and present the king as their superior, controlling and subduing the enemies of Egypt. With this, comes the idea that Egyptians were civilised while foreigners were considered barbaric. Clear evidence expressing this concept with regard to Egypt’s southern neighbour can be found in the Boundary Stele of Sesostri III (Berlin Museum 1157). This monument explicitly underlines the marking of the frontier

⁶ The three major ethnic groups of Nubians, Libyans and Asiatics remained the same. Very good examples of this scene are seen on the sandals and the footrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Reeves 1990, 155, 186).

⁷ Köhler 1998, fig. 13; Hartmann 2003, figs. 5, 6.

⁸ Saleh *et al.* 1987, fig. 8a-b.

⁹ Quibell and Green 1902, pls. LXXV, LXXVI.

¹⁰ Köhler 2002.

¹¹ Baines 2003.

¹² Loprieno 1996, 45.

which ‘was made further south than my fathers’, stressing the aspect of expanding Egypt’s borders, but also Egypt’s distaste for Nubians:

Since the Nubian listens to the word of mouth,
To answer him is to make him retreat.
Attack him, he will turn his back,
Retreat, he will start attacking.
They are not people one respects,
They are wretches, craven-hearted.¹³

But it was no better for Egypt’s northern neighbours. Notwithstanding that in the ‘Instructions for King Merikare’ of the 10th Dynasty (*ca.* 2080-2020 BC) the old king promoted the idea that speaking is stronger than fighting to his son and successor, and that one should respect the nobles and sustain one’s people as part of the royal duties and guidelines, he had no hesitation in looking down on Asiatics, talking about them as follows:

Lo, the miserable Asiatic,
He is wretched because of the place he is in.
Short of water, bare of wood,
Its paths are many and painful
...
Like a thief who darts about a group.¹⁴

And further describing them as:

... a crocodile on its shore
It snatches from a lonely road
It cannot seize from a populous town.¹⁵

A similar comparison is known from the ‘Instructions of Any’, a text very likely composed during the 18th Dynasty, characterising the Syrian as a beast:

One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian,
The Syrian and other strangers too.
Say: ‘I shall do like the beasts,’
Listen and learn what they do.¹⁶

¹³ Lichtheim 1975, 119.

¹⁴ Lichtheim 1975, 103-04.

¹⁵ Lichtheim 1975, 104.

¹⁶ Lichtheim 1976, 144.

Mimesis

Topos has its counterpart, which A. Loprieno terms *mimesis*; the personal response to the ideological expectations created by *topos*.¹⁷

In one well-known example we learn about the personal response of an Egyptian meeting foreigners through the tale of Sinuhe, a high official from the Middle Kingdom.¹⁸ After Amenemhet I (ca. 1976-1947 BC), the first king of the 12th Dynasty, was assassinated, Sinuhe, fled the country. He states that he feared turmoil and did not expect to survive, although there seems to be no clear indication whether Sinuhe himself was involved in the coup. He avoided going to the royal residence, crossed the Nile and passed the 'Walls of the Ruler' (*inb.w ḥq3*) 'which were made to repel the Asiatics and to crush the Sand-farers'.¹⁹ They have often been seen as a string of military fortresses on the route leading from the eastern Nile Delta along the coastal regions of the Sinai all the way up to the Levant but more recently scholars tend to interpret these walls as actually one single stronghold.²⁰ Sinuhe then travels the Levant until he is finally invited by the ruler of Upper Retjenu (in the area of modern day Lebanon), Ammunenshi. There he became a respected member of the community, provided with land, and even with the hand of the eldest daughter of Ammunenshi. He also became a strong military leader. Yet in the end his greatest wish was to go back to Egypt and be buried there. A diplomatic mission is sent to the Egyptian king and the story concludes, as expected, with a happy ending.

This text demonstrates the counterpart of the ideologically overloaded *topos* as Sinuhe not only crosses the geographical boundary of Egypt, but also the ideological boundary into the supposedly 'inferior' Asiatic society, a completely foreign environment.

As Egypt had friendly foreign contacts from the time of the 4th millennium BC onwards, the concepts of *topos* and *mimesis* apply contemporaneously from the onset of historic times. These contacts were manifold. Peaceful trade contacts with the Levant existed over millennia and at times even with Nubia. However, there were also foreigners living in Egypt. The Chalcolithic settlement at Maadi near modern day Cairo had foreigners living alongside a local Egyptian population.²¹ In another instance, at the end of the Old Kingdom and in the First Intermediate

¹⁷ Loprieno 1996, 45.

¹⁸ For an in depth analysis of this text, see Parkinson 1997.

¹⁹ Lichtheim 1975, 224.

²⁰ Vogel 2004, 93.

²¹ Hartung *et al.* 2003, 155-67.

Period Nubian archers settled in Upper Egypt acting as foreigner mercenaries.²² In the New Kingdom it was even possible for a foreigner to rise to the rank of vizier as the example of Aber-al, possibly a Syrian, from the time of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV shows.²³ There is also an influence in the religious sphere where we find foreign gods like Baal, Astarte and Reshep making their way into the Egyptian pantheon.²⁴ And as the Amarna letters prove there was even diplomacy through intermarriage on the royal level.²⁵ Yet, in the face of all these mutually beneficial day-to-day relationships and interactions the ideological concept of 'us and them' was constantly valid.

*Topos and Mimesis and the Sinai Expeditions*²⁶

One way Egyptians could meet the 'other' by crossing the physical and possibly the ideological border as well, was on expeditions leaving the Nile valley which could last for several months. One such destination was the Sinai Peninsula. Rich resources of turquoise and especially copper ores were exploited in the western part of the peninsula by the Egyptians from the 3rd Dynasty (*ca.* 2680-2610 BC) on.²⁷ The copper ores exploited were largely malachite, azurite, with limited sources of chrysocolla.²⁸ The following will focus on inscriptions and their archaeological settings from two areas: Maghâra and Serâbât el-Châdim in western Sinai. The first will provide the evidence for the ideological perception of royal power in this remote area while the latter site will allow an insight into how the members of the expeditions experienced being in foreign territory and dealing with foreigners there.

Maghâra

There are only a few inscriptions and depictions of importance from Maghâra, a turquoise mining site about 10 km south of Serâbât el-Châdim. Here the representation of the king smiting enemies is already present in the area of the West Sinai mining fields in the 3rd Dynasty, where king Sekhemkhet is shown, wearing the

²² Fischer 1961.

²³ Zivie 1990.

²⁴ Cornelius 1994; 2004.

²⁵ For example EA2, EA3, or EA13. For a translation of these letters, see Moran 1992, 6-8, 24-27.

²⁶ For a more detailed examination of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence, including the mining region at Timna, see Hikade 1998; 2001, 3-32. For the texts from the western Sinai in English translation, see Gardiner and Peet 1952.

²⁷ The earliest inscription is from the 3rd Dynasty King Sekhemkhet (*ca.* 2648-2640 BC). See Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. 1. Gardiner and Peet 1955 (52-53) read the king's name initially as Smerkhet of the 1st Dynasty, which has been corrected to Sekhemkhet by Eichler 1993, 29.

²⁸ Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2000, 23, 43-44; also Lucas and Harris 1989, 202-05.

white crown of Upper Egypt, grasping a bearded Asiatic by his long hair and raising his club ready to strike (Fig. 1).²⁹

A scene of king Snofru from the 4th Dynasty shows the same posture but the king is wearing a different crown, the feather crown of Horus. The action itself is described as 'subduing the foreign lands'. Only with king Khufu do we see the introduction of a deity to that scene at Maghâra. The king, wearing the composite crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, is now clubbing a nomad (*iwn.wt*) in the presence of the god Thot (Fig. 2).

For king Sahure the text accompanying the scene reads 'smiting the *Mentju* and all foreign lands' and 'subduing all foreign lands'. The foreigner is depicted as a stereotyped Asiatic with long hair and a short beard (Fig. 3).

The other representations of Sahure, Asosi and Pepi I are formulaic. It is, however, significant, that in all but one scene the smiting is not conducted in the presence of a god, which is so common for later depictions of this scene from temple facades throughout the Nile valley.

The scenes do not occur after the Old Kingdom at Maghâra although Egyptian mining activity continued into the Middle Kingdom. This has been explained as the result of an existing threat of attacks on expeditions during the 3rd millennium BC creating the necessity of displaying the royal power, assuming of course final Egyptian victory. Yet, another explanation can be offered. The early expeditions were not very numerous. All in all there are only 17 dated inscriptions for a time of around 450 years. Thus it may be assumed that expeditions to the Sinai were not common in the Old Kingdom and were always considered a new challenge and a new risk. Therefore with every new and daunting expedition the full package of ideology was in the baggage as well. And in our case it was the idea of the ever-victorious Egyptian king, defeating chaos and maintaining order, primarily addressing the inner public, i.e. the expedition force.

*Serâbît el-Châdim*³⁰

Before turning to the temple and its inscription a brief discussion of the actual targeted mines of the Egyptian activities in the western Sinai seems necessary.

The mines of Serâbît el-Châdim and the Protosinaitic inscription. The approach to the mines of the Serâbît el-Châdim region begins at the plain of el-Markha leading

²⁹ Briefly discussed also in Gardiner and Peet 1952, 27-28.

³⁰ The Egyptian name for a temple at this site or possibly the whole area was most likely *d3d3*, cf. Aufrère 1991, 127. The word *d3d3* was already known in the Middle Kingdom from an epithet of the goddess Hathor *hrj-jb d3d3* but it is not quite clear to which country, region or building this refers.

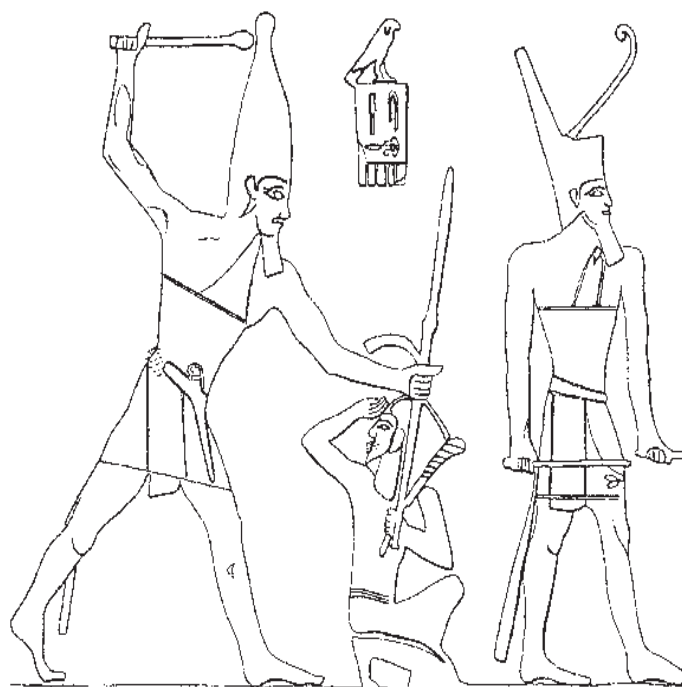


Fig. 1: Sinai 1 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. I).

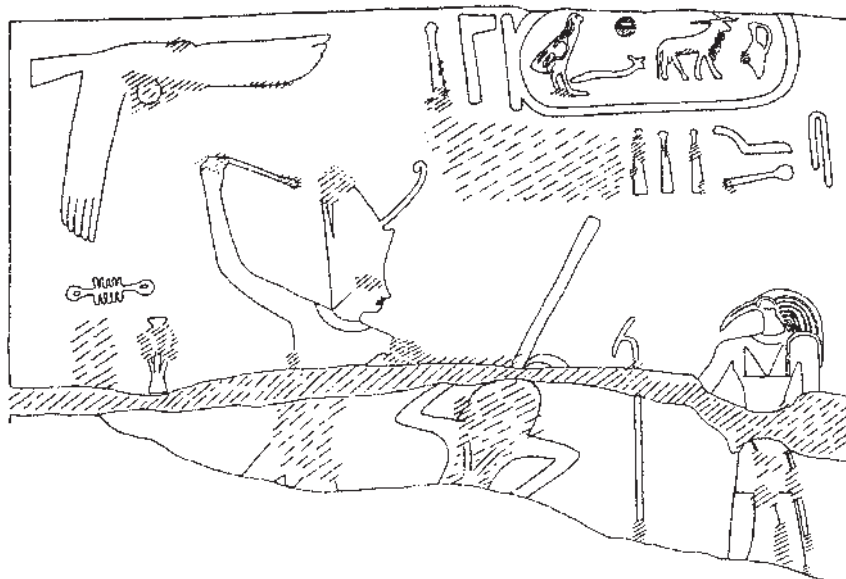


Fig. 2: Sinai 7 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. III).

through the Wadi Sheikh Baba. Even at the entrance of this wadi, remnants of copper smelting were discovered.³¹

More than a score of mines, scattered over eight sites, are known from the vicinity of the Hathor temple at Serâbît el-Châdim.³² While some mines could be dated by inscriptions at or near their entrance,³³ for others a date is hard to deduce. For instance no archaeological or inscriptional evidence is available for mines F and K. In other instances, modern mining activity, as in the case of mine J, has destroyed all ancient evidence. In addition the dating of some mines varies considerably. Initially mine N was dated to the 3rd Dynasty³⁴ and then later corrected based on the discovery of much younger Protosinaïtic inscriptions.³⁵ Based on ceramic evidence some mines north of the temple could be dated to the New Kingdom.³⁶ In 1977-78 the area of mines L and G was re-examined, and among other finds a 21 kg pair of bellows was discovered in mine L.³⁷ In Egypt this type of bellows was in use from the New Kingdom onwards.³⁸ Other small finds were crucibles for tools but also for mirrors offered to the goddess Hathor. Apart from finished products ingots were produced weighing between 1 and 4.5 kg.³⁹ As the analysis of some fragments of the ingots revealed a 92% content of copper and 7.5% of tin it is clear that old pieces must have been recycled as such a high content of tin in copper ores is certainly not accidental.⁴⁰ To sum up: metallurgic activity at Serâbît el-Châdim comprised not only the production of finished objects using old pieces but also the casting of ingots for further transportation. For this type of production a large amount of charcoal was necessary. Since today's vegetation does not seem to allow procurement at site we have to assume 1) a different and denser vegetation was present during the Late Bronze Age, 2) charcoal was brought from Egypt, or 3) it was traded to the sites through middlemen.

³¹ Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, 34-36. According to Rothenberg (1979, 138), metallic copper was found at this site.

³² Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, fig. 8. It is possible that more mines once existed.

³³ For the mines A-E from the Middle Kingdom see Petrie 1906, 60, 156-57; see also Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, fig. 10. For mine H of the 27th year of Amenemhet III, see Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, 53-54, fig. 12.

³⁴ Petrie 1906, 157-58.

³⁵ Butin 1932, 187-89.

³⁶ Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, 55: mine XVII.

³⁷ Beit-Arieh 1985.

³⁸ Pusch 1990, 94-95, Abb. 9a: tomb of *Rb-mj-R w* (TT 100); pl. 9b: tomb of *Mn-hpr-R w-snb* (TT 86); pl. 10a: tomb of *hprw* (TT 66); pl. 10b: tomb of *Pw-jm-R w* (TT 39).

³⁹ Based on similar ingots from Cape Gelidonya in Bass 1967, 78-82.

⁴⁰ Beit-Arieh 1985, 111. The dividing line between accidental and intended is usually at around 1%. Cf. Ogden 2000, 153.

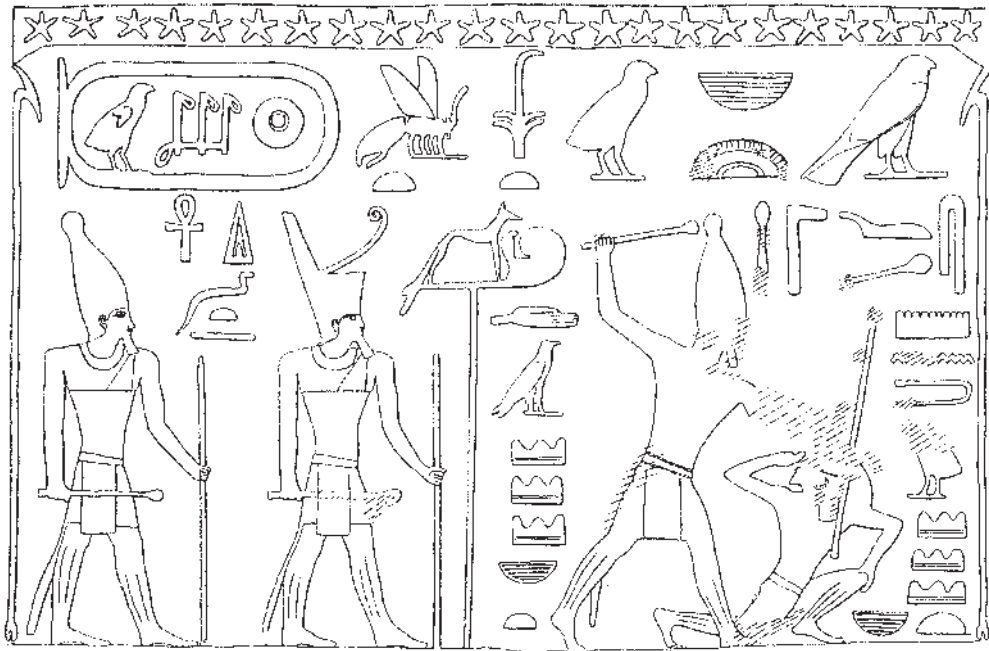


Fig. 3: Sinai 8 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. V).

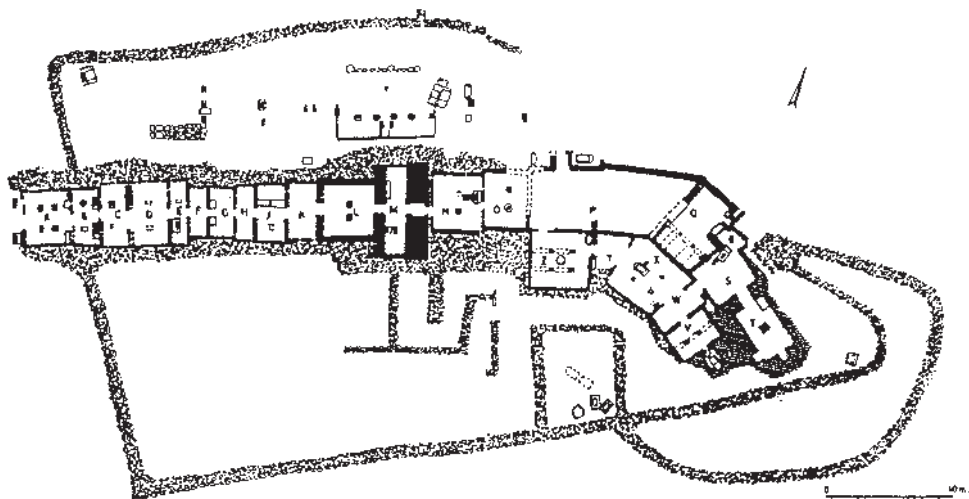


Fig. 4: Temple of Serabit el-Chadim (after R. Ventura, ‘Bent Axis or Wrong Direction? Studies on the Temple of Serabit el-Khadim’. *IEJ* 38 [1988], 129, fig. 1).

Based on the latest research the question of the dating of the Protosinaitic inscriptions has been raised again. It is not the objective of this paper to discuss whether these inscriptions date to the Middle or New Kingdom in general but what is significant here is that wherever metallurgical finds of the New Kingdom at Serâbît el-Châdim have been made they were associated with Protosinaitic inscriptions. It is possible that these inscriptions had been made a long time before New Kingdom activities took place or that the New Kingdom finds somehow made their way into abandoned mines of the Middle Kingdom. However, regarding the first scenario, New Kingdom mining activities almost certainly would have destroyed older inscriptions near the mines. The second scenario also seems doubtful since the idea that somebody came to the abandoned mines to place the Protosinaitic inscriptions seems unlikely. Therefore a third option seems most plausible; the Protosinaitic inscriptions are indeed contemporary with the 18th Dynasty mining activity and document the presence of foreigners from Palestine.⁴¹

Exploitation of the mines at Wadi Kharig and Bir Nasib. Some 5 km west of the temple of Serâbît el-Châdim, early activities are already documented in Wadi Kharig in the 5th Dynasty while in the Middle Kingdom the Egyptian expeditions targeted the nearby Wadi Nasib as a natural well seemed to have facilitated work there. Today an enormous heap of slag dominates this little wadi. The measurement of this heap varies in the literature but is roughly 200-300 m long, 100-150 m wide and rises to 2-3 m.⁴² When W.M.F. Petrie visited the site he estimated the heap to be approximately 100,000 tons of slag.⁴³ With a copper content of 2.75% found in the slag and assuming that this is one-third of the content of the ore while two-thirds of copper was extracted, the slag heap would result in around 5500 tons of metallic copper.⁴⁴ In order to understand this figure a simple calculation made by A.M. Snodgrass is illuminating.⁴⁵ He calculated, based on the assumption of at least 200 copper ingots as cargo, the amount of weapons that could have been made for a Mycenaean army based on the cargo of the shipwreck of Ulu Burun (*ca.* 1320 BC) off the southern coast of modern Turkey.⁴⁶ Out of the copper 6000 Mycenaean soldiers could have been equipped with 3000 swords, 3000 spearheads

⁴¹ Beit-Arieh 1985, 116; opposed by Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, 76.

⁴² Summarised in Lucas and Harris 1989, 206-07.

⁴³ Petrie 1906, 27.

⁴⁴ Rickard 1932, 196-97.

⁴⁵ Snodgrass 1991. With an average weight of approximately 30 kg per oxhide ingot (Buchholz 1959) the copper cargo would have been at least 6 tons.

⁴⁶ Altogether 354 complete oxhide copper ingots and 121 bun ingots were found raising the total cargo to around 12 tons. For the excavation of the wreck, see also Bass 1986; Bass and Pulak 1989.

and more than one million arrowheads. Based on this calculation the amount of metallic copper from Bir Nasib was sufficient to arm an army 400-500 times that size!

Unfortunately, the slag heap at Bir Nasib dates to the time from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom and hence it is not at all certain to which period we have to assign the gigantic amount of metallic copper.

The temple at Serâbît el-Châdim (Fig. 4). The original approach to the temple was from the southwest along the valley of Rôd el-'Aîr, where several rock inscriptions were found.⁴⁷

The temple originated in a rock-cut cave during the reign of king Amenemhet I (ca. 1976-1947 BC) and was dedicated to the goddess Hathor, 'Lady of turquoise'.⁴⁸ Recent research showed that the temple possessed two entrances both flanked by stelae.⁴⁹ As many different constructions such as pylons or chambers were added over time the temple gained a layout with a bent axis that was once considered rather un-Egyptian, and therefore, influenced by Semitic beliefs.⁵⁰ The sanctuary was consequently Room T.⁵¹ For the New Kingdom, R. Ventura⁵² was able to show that the main axis of the temple was actually running through two different building complexes. Rooms S, T, W and V formed one unit while Room Z was a separate unit. Rooms M and L were additions to the great pylon of Thutmosis III. With additions under Thutmosis IV (finishing Rooms K and J) and under Amenophis III (Rooms C, D and E) the temple was basically designed in the 18th Dynasty. Hence, the design can certainly be explained through the layouts of Egyptian cult temples and a foreign influence is not detectable.

The Middle Kingdom inscriptions from Serâbît el-Châdim and the foreigners. In the case of the temple at Serâbît el-Châdim we possess not only the building itself but hundreds of stelae from the Middle and New Kingdoms dedicated by members of the expedition. The texts give praise to gods and the king but also, especially for the Middle Kingdom texts, give detailed administrative accounts of the participants. Hundreds of participants were listed from the high-ranking officials to the simple workmen and these lists sometimes even contain the names, title, and even depictions of foreigners. Altogether there are eight relevant inscriptions/depictions from

⁴⁷ Barrois 1932.

⁴⁸ Gardiner and Peet 1952, 36. That part of the temple was dedicated to the god Sopdu, as initially stated in Gardiner and Peet (1952, 42), has been rejected by Givone (1984, 777-84).

⁴⁹ Bonnet *et al.* 1994.

⁵⁰ Petrie 1906, 186-93.

⁵¹ Petrie 1906, 104.

⁵² Ventura 1988.

the Middle Kingdom of foreigners and most of them date to the reign of king Amenemhet III (*ca.* 1853-1806/05 BC).

1. Stele from year 4 of Amenemhet III (Sinai 85; Fig. 5)

The text is in fact a long list of the participants of this particular expedition. After mentioning around 100 Egyptian officials and workers with their personal names and sometimes with titles 10 'Asiatics' (*ʿ3m.w*) are recorded at the end of the list following a group of 60 men from Jmnw and some gardeners.

However, it is not just the last entry that refers to Asiatics. In the long list of participants even the brother of the prince of Retjenu (Lebanon) Khebdeed is mentioned.

2. Stele from year 5 of Amenemhet III (Sinai 87; Fig. 6)

The text of the stele bearing the date at the west face of the monument reveals the man for whom it was erected, the intendant Sianup. At the bottom of this side of the stele are six men in a row accompanied by their names and titles. From right to left they are: the butler (?) Nefer (?), a certain overseer Sobekdedet, an overseer of the house Jn..., a servant for an overseer Khen, another servant called Khen-tekhtayhotep, and finally the brother of the prince of Retjenu [Khebdeed].

3. Stele from year 13 of Amenemhet III (Sinai 92; Fig. 7)

The faces of this monument are very weathered. Although the name of the owner of the stele is lost, other names and titles can be found. Of interest here is the mention of two 'interpreters' (*ʿw*) called Ky and Ameni. Their task is usually to communicate with foreigners. And one of the foreigners is actually mentioned on the south side of the stele. It is again the brother of the prince of Retjenu, Khebdeed.

4. Stele from year 18 of Amenemhet III (Sinai 115; Fig. 8)

This round-topped stele originally had 17 lines giving the name and titles of the leader of the expedition as God's treasurer, the intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Renfanup. This is followed by a list of 'petty officials' and at the bottom part of the stele we see the depiction of a man riding a donkey accompanied by a man leading the animal and a man behind the donkey raising a stick. Above the group is an inscription reading 'Retjenu 6' and then other signs, possibly the names of a member of the group. In the list of participants no foreigner is mentioned by name.

5. Stele of year 25 of Amenemhet III (Sinai 103; Fig. 9)

This stele was erected for the intendant and governor of Lower Egypt, Renfankh. The text itself is an offering formula and most of the face of the stele is destroyed.

At the bottom there is the scene of a man riding a donkey while the second man is leading the animal. This scene resembles very closely the one from the previous stele and the two men can be identified as Asiatics. Unfortunately no names are given but it seems that the picture was actually engraved across the markers of the last lines. Should that have been the case the question arises if this depiction was actually done with permission and if Renfankh knew about it at all.

6. Undated stele from the reign of Amenemhat III (Sinai 112; Fig. 10)

The stele also has a long list of participants and in this case the leader of the expedition was the God's treasurer, intendant, and governor of Lower Egypt, Sinofret who is shown holding a loaf of bread as an offering. The list starts with the interpreter Iyn immediately followed in line 2 by the brother of the prince of Retjenu, Khebdedem. The different writing with an 'm' at the end has been explained as a Semitic mimation. He is further seen at the bottom of the stele riding a donkey. His name can be found above him while his attendant carrying a Canaanite amphora is called Qeqbi.

7. Undated stele from the reign of Amenemhet III (Sinai 405; Fig. 11)

This stele was later reused as a door-jamb and for this purpose two faces of the stele were stripped of its inscriptions and the rounded top was sawn off. The remaining text was written in honour of the god's treasurer Sobekhotep who was 'travelling foreign countries in order to bring noble precious stone to his majesty'. At the bottom part the familiar relief of a man on a donkey accompanied by two fellows was engraved. Due to the fact that the stele was probably buried some time in the sand and then reused in such a way that its face was hidden the colours are well preserved. The body colour of the men is yellow, their hair is brown and the colour of the skirts is red. The body colour alone clearly identifies them as foreigners since the colour used for Egyptian males was brown. The names of the two walking men are Shekam and Apim. The man on the donkey lacks an inscribed name.

8. Middle Kingdom obelisk (Sinai 163; Fig. 12)

This obelisk of red sandstone is 52 cm high and bears inscriptions on three sides. In these the names of three men Iashi, Keni and Ihenem are given which are not Egyptian names. Furthermore there is the depiction of each of them carrying an axe and wearing a mushroom-like hairdo. This hair arrangement is most similar to the statue of an Asiatic dignitary found at Tell el-Daba which is dated to the late 12th Dynasty.⁵³

⁵³ Bietak 1996, pl. 4.

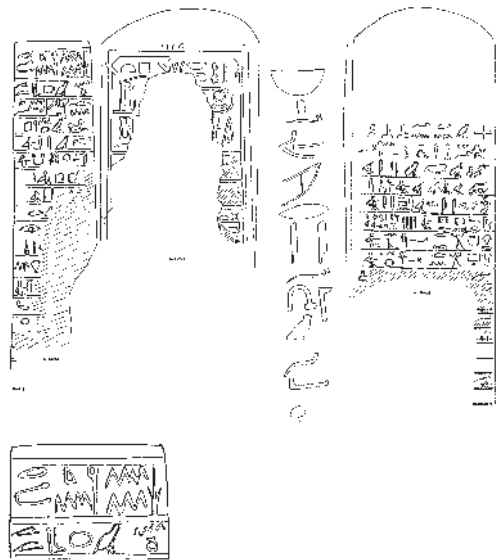


Fig. 7: Sinai 92 and detail with the name of the Prince of Retjenu Khebbedd (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXVII).

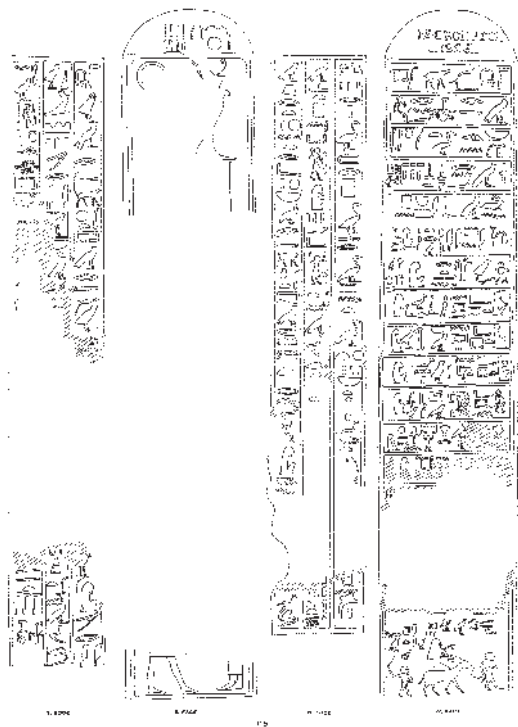


Fig. 8: Sinai 115 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXXIX).

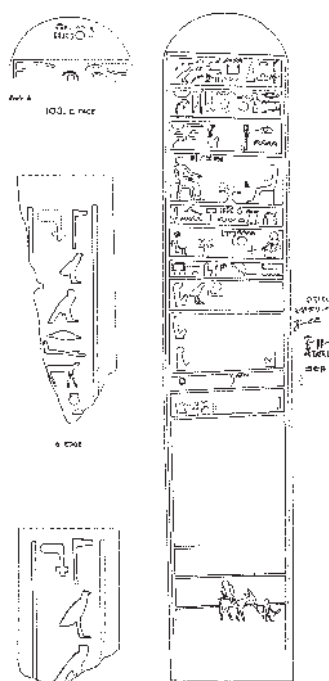


Fig. 9: Sinai 103 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XLIV).

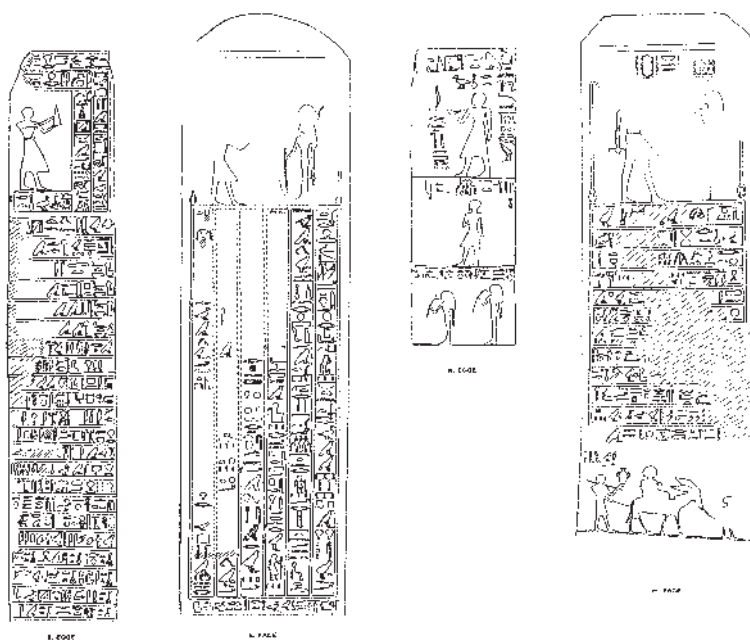


Fig. 10: Sinai 112 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXXVII).

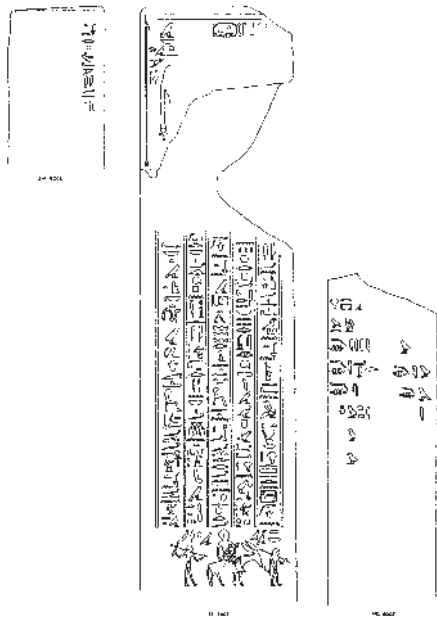


Fig. 11: Sinai 405 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. LXXXV).

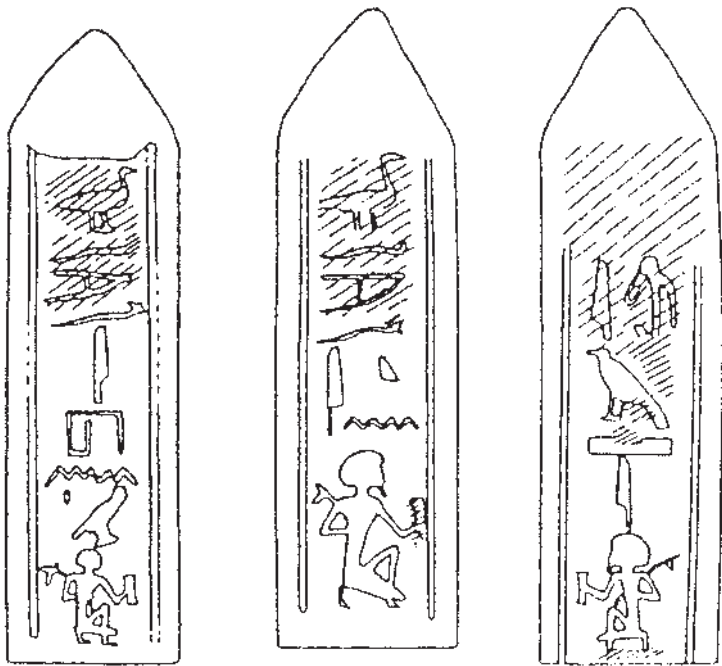


Fig. 12: Sinai 163 (after Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. LI).

From these Middle Kingdom texts and scenes it is evident that people from the Levantine coast were working in cooperation with the Egyptians. However, we see not a low-key administrator or official but the brother of the prince of Retjenu himself. So, what was their function? The settlement at the East Delta site of Tell el-Dab^a/Avaris has yielded clear evidence for the presence of Asiatic settlers for the 12th Dynasty and their role there has been linked to expeditions to the Sinai Peninsula as the ones who were employed by the Egyptian crown to be the military leaders for missions to the copper mines.⁵⁴ Another possibility for the presence of Asiatics in Serâbît el-Châdim could be that they were actually supplying the Egyptian contingents with fuel. As charcoal was of utmost importance for melting and smelting of copper ores a huge amount of wood was necessary. An estimate for the mines at Timna gives *ca.* 25,000 acacia trees for fuel in 100 years.⁵⁵ As neither the area around Timna nor near Serâbît el-Châdim possessed such a vegetation to produce charcoal on that scale it seems possible that Khebded and his men were providing this fuel from their home base in Syria/Palestine. Under this assumption caravans from the Levant were coming down to the south-western Sinai, delivering charcoal, or maybe even wood, and it was even possible that members of these caravans were incorporated in the normal workforce working alongside the Egyptians.

In order to facilitate communications with these groups of foreigners the Egyptian expeditions also brought interpreters from the Nile valley who could speak the language of the people from Retjenu. However, it is not only this circumstance that is so important here. It is also the fact that the foreigners were listed and depicted on Egyptian stelae dedicated and erected in an Egyptian temple. The foreigners were not shown as subdued or conquered foe but as accepted partners bringing them into the realm of the Egyptian order of temple architecture. This is especially significant when compared with other representations of Asiatics in Egyptian temples and certainly when compared to the 'smiting of the enemy' scenes at Maghara. Apart from being smitten and trampled over by the king foreigners are shown in the Old Kingdom, for example in the mortuary temple of king Sahure (*ca.* 2471-2458 BC) at Abusir, as bowing down and prostrating before the king.⁵⁶ In the mortuary temple of the founder of the Middle Kingdom, Mentuhotep II (*ca.* 2046-1995 BC), Asiatics were depicted in a battle scene as defeated.⁵⁷ In Karnak temple

⁵⁴ Bietak 1996, 10-21.

⁵⁵ For the calculation regarding the output of copper and the fuel necessary, see Conrad and Rothenberg 1980, 69-94.

⁵⁶ Borchardt 1913, pls. 5-7.

⁵⁷ Davies 1987, pl. 37, fig. 2.

Asiatics are frequently shown being defeated by the armies of Seti I (*ca.* 1290-1279 BC).⁵⁸ Finally, in the mortuary temple of Ramses III (*ca.* 1183-1152 BC) the wall reliefs of foreigners in battle against Egypt were so well designed and laid out that all the foreigners were shown either in utter chaos, defeated or manacled and presented to the gods as booty.⁵⁹ In all cases it was made clear that foreigners are the 'others' and in the concept of *Maat* have to be kept in check. Given that a temple was a miniaturisation of the world and the cosmos and thus cosmography dictated the careful layout of the building and the arrangement of the wall scenes, the correct placement and way to show the elements of the others were by being controlled and defeated by the Egyptian king, the guarantor of *Maat*.⁶⁰ And here outside the Nile valley at Serâbît el-Châdim, in strong contrast, the people from Syria/Palestine shown on Egyptian stelae were a firm part of the Egyptian cosmos.

Conclusion

The material presented shows that there was an idealised Egyptian world-view placing all things Egyptian above other, foreign cultures, creating an 'us versus them' dualism. Nevertheless this idealisation had a strong counterpart that existed almost as long: day-to-day experience and reality. The former shows that 'the world presented in the text [or image] need not coincide with the real world, and that no sanctions apply in case of discrepancy'.⁶¹ The Egyptians had to find their balance in this constellation. However, for the greater part of Egyptian society this was actually never a real problem as they simply had no contact with foreigners. For the king and his government the situation was of course different. When abroad and dealing with foreigners in a remote and less familiar environment they had to carefully balance their words and actions – an obvious sense of Egyptian realpolitik.

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⁵⁸ Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pls. 30-37.

⁵⁹ Murnane 1980, 11-18; Cline and O'Connor 2003, 122-32.

⁶⁰ For a brief introduction to the complex concepts of Egyptian temples, see Baines 1995.

⁶¹ Loprieno 1996, 43.

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GREAT KING WASUSARMAS' VICTORY MEMORIAL AT TOPADA

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Abstract

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription incised in the natural rock at Topada, just south of the Halys bend in Central Anatolia (present-day Turkey), describes in considerable detail the war waged by Great King Wasusarmas of Tabal, a contemporary of the Assyrian Great King Tiglathpileser III (745-727 BC), with three of his loyal vassals against as many as eight rebellious vassal kings of junior and senior rank, using the town of Parwita across the Halys river in presumably Phrygian territory as the centre of their activities. The inscription is one of our earliest textual sources on the effective employment of cavalry in warfare, i.e. before its heyday embodied in the Cimmerian invasion of Anatolia at the end of the 8th century BC.

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription incised in the rock at Topada in the Cappadocian plain just south of the Halys (= Kızıl Irmak) bow was commissioned by Great King Wasusarmas of Tabal in commemoration of a series of military victories over a period of at least three years against a coalition of forces centred on the town of Parwita. Some of these victories, according to the information from phrase 2, had taken place in the neighbourhood of the monument. As it is explicitly stated in phrase 3, the incentive to military action came from the fact that Wasusarmas was confronted with a serious uprising by as many as eight of his vassal kings of junior and senior rank. On the other hand, as stipulated in phrase 4, three of his vassal kings remained loyal, namely Warpalawas, Kiakias and Ruwantas.

Thanks to the mention of three of the four given names in the Assyrian records, the historical setting of this uprising can be dated approximately. Thus, Wassurme the Tabalian and Urballa the Tuhanean are mentioned as tributaries of the Assyrian Great King Tiglathpileser III for the year 738 BC. Subsequently, Wassurme of Tabal was deposed by Tiglathpileser III and replaced by a certain Hulli, specified as the 'son of a nobody', somewhere between the years 732 and 729 BC. On the other hand, Wassurme's subordinate, Urballa of Tuhana, remained in position and is still mentioned in a letter of Sargon II to his governor at Que dating to the years 710-709 BC. Finally, Kiakki of Šinuhtu is recorded to have been deported to Assyria by Sargon II in the year 718 BC and replaced by Kurti of Atuna.¹ On the basis of this

¹ Hawkins 2000, 427-28.

evidence, then, the internal crisis in Wasusarmas' reign necessarily occurred before his deposition in the years 732-729 BC, which obviously serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the Topada memorial; whilst a reference to Wassurme's father Tuatte together with Urballa in a letter dated to the early years of Tiglathpileser III's reign, which means between 745 and 738 BC, provides us with a *terminus post quem*.²

The realms of the two loyal vassals mentioned in the Assyrian records, Tuhana and Šinuhtu, can be further specified thanks to their inscriptions in Luwian hieroglyphic. Of Warpalawas, whose realm in Anatolian sources reads Tuwana, Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found in Ivriz and Bor; that of one of his vassals in Bulgarmaden.³ Accordingly, he ruled over the region south of Topada and to the west of the Cilician Gate, with Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana) as its main centre. As opposed to this, a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription commissioned by Kiakias has been found in Aksaray,⁴ so that his realm is likely to be situated to the south-west of Topada. The territory ruled directly by Wasusarmas himself was probably situated adjacently to the north and east of that of his two loyal vassals, centring on Kayseri and Kululu; at any rate, a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription by one of his servants was discovered in Sultanhan, located in between these two sites.⁵

Further topographical data can be derived from the Topada text itself. After some initial skirmishes, in which the enemy, based on a mountain apparently in the neighbourhood of Wasusarmas' frontline (phrases 5-9) and constantly harassed by the latter's cavalry (phrases 10-12), succeeded at least once in breaking through the defences, burning down some fortifications and buildings, and looting some women and children (phrases 13-15), Wasusarmas won a decisive battle, having been preceded by the gods in true Late Bronze Age annalistic style (phrases 17-18). This allowed him to lay siege to the town Ta-? in the second year and cross the river near this town in the third year (phrases 19-20) – all this time the vanguard of his cavalry being free to move (phrase 21). After the crossing of the aforesaid river, Wasusarmas advanced with his infantry and cavalry into the territory of Parwita, the main centre of the enemy, which he subsequently burned down and from which he carried off women and children, etc. (phrases 23-25). Within the general context, then, it seems most likely that the river in question is the Halys, and that Parwita must be located within the bend of this river, at that time presumably Phrygian territory.

² Hawkins and Postgate 1988, 39; cf. Hawkins 2000, 443.

³ Hawkins 2000, 516-25; cf. Woudhuizen 2004b, 101-04.

⁴ Hawkins 2000, 475-78.

⁵ Hawkins 2000, 463-72; Woudhuizen 2004b, 86-90; cf. Bryce 2003, 97.

With the sack of Parwita, however, the war was not over yet: the enemy's cavalry and infantry were still intact and actually advancing against Wasusarmas' frontline (phrase 26). Backed up by divine support, again, Wasusarmas won the ensuing final battle (phrases 28-30), and, to thank the gods for their support and for his own glorification, he set up the memorial as we know it at Topada (phrases 31-33). As usual, the inscription ends with a damnation formula against possible future violation of the monument (phrases 34-38).

The transliteration of the Topada text is based on its drawing as presented by J.D. Hawkins in his recent corpus of Luwian hieroglyphic Iron Age inscriptions,⁶ which supersedes previous attempts. As duly noted by Hawkins,⁷ the inscription is characterised by a substantial number of otherwise rare signs, the values of most of which are easily deducible from the context. In the numbering of these signs, however, I deviate slightly from Hawkins. Thus with respect to the *w*-series, I work from E. Laroche's⁸ *wa*₅ for *280, consider *204 as a more elaborate variant of *201 *wa*₆, prefer *wa*₈ for *138 and *wa*₉ for the once occurring sign not included in Laroche's catalogue of the signs; whereas I side with P. Meriggi⁹ in reading *432, 2 as a secondary *wi*, leading to its transliteration as *wí*, instead of Laroche's *zu*, which is valid only for *432, 1. Similarly, concerning the *s*-series, I start from *sa*₈ for *25, and hence prefer *sa*₉ for the sign in the form of a small vertical stroke, I take *sí* for *360 and therefore *456 is rendered as *sì*, whereas I consider *417 as a mere writing variant of *370 *su*. Furthermore, *179 is transliterated as *HWÀ*, *314 regularly expresses *ká*, *241 reads *kí*, *455 *là*, *155 *pà*, and *41, 6 is taken for a variant of *39/40 *ta* (note in this connection that *41, 4 'the hand that grabs' *tà* is clearly distinguished from it). Finally, *181 *TURPI* 'bread' obviously renders the value *pa* in the present text, and is hence transliterated as *pa*₄, though *tu* would have been the expected value according to the acrophonic principle; apparently, we are confronted here with an instance of polyphony as paralleled, for example, for *199 *TARHUNT*, *TESUP*, *hà*, *214 *HAPA*, *ná*, *360/*362 *MASANA*, *ma*₄, *sí*, *376 *i*, *zi*, and *377 *ī*, *za*.

As far as its general system is concerned, the transliteration of the Topada text as given below adheres to the one developed by me in previous publications on Luwian hieroglyphic.¹⁰ Further (minor) deviations from its transliteration as presented by Hawkins¹¹ (whose distinction of 39 individual phrases in my opinion is correct) as well as the given interpretation, will be defended in the commentary,

⁶ Hawkins 2000, pl. 253.

⁷ Hawkins 2000, 461.

⁸ Laroche 1960.

⁹ Meriggi 1967.

¹⁰ Woudhuizen 2004a, 8, 167-70; 2004b, 7-12.

¹¹ Hawkins 2000, 452-54.

which, however, for brevity's sake will be limited to the essentials. In effect, this means that I will take Hawkins' interpretation and commentary as a starting point.¹²

Topada

1. *[URA+]*HANTAWAT
wa₄-su-SARU+R+MI-ma-sa
URA+HANTAWAT heros tu-wa₄-ti-sa₇
URA+HANTAWAT heros-li-sa infans
 '[Great] King Wasusarmas,
 Great King, hero, son of
 Tuwatis, Great King, hero.'
2. *wa₄-su-SARU+R+MI-ma-sa₇ -wa₆*
MUWATALI i-ti PÁRA-na
ASIA-wa₈-sà-ta
 'Wasusarmas was beloved
 time and again in front of
 the stronghold here.'
3. *wa -mu pà+r-wí-ta^{UMINA}*
8 HANTAWAT-ti-sa APA+r-i
HANTA-lá-i -ha [...] sa-ta
 'For me (at) Parwita
 8 kings, junior and senior (in
 rank), were [hostile].'
4. *wa -mu i ta+r HANTAWAT-ti-i*
KATA+s(i)-nà wa₆-sa₇-ta
wa₆+r-pà-là-wa-su kí-ā-kí-ā-sa₄-ha
*ru-wa₇-ta-sa -ha *92*
 'For me these 3 kings were
 favourable: Warpalawas,
 Kiakias and Ruwantas (with
 their) chariotry.'
5. *á-mu -ha/pa?-wa HANTAWAT+r-ti*
animal^{ASUWA-wa-ti u-pà-ha}
 'I took position with (my)
 royal cavalry.'
6. *à-wa á-mì-ā-nā₄ ar+r+ha-ha-lí*
HARNAS-nà-sa₇ TUWA-wa-ha
 'And I placed my (army)
 (in) borderline fortresses.'
7. *pà+r-wí-ta-sì-sa₆[^{UMINA}] -wa -mu -ta*
ar+hi^{currus} HWA-ta
 'The Parwitassian (enemy)
 drove up against me there.'
8. *wa -sa TIWA₂-a+r(a) á-pà-sa₅-ti*
animal^{ASUWA-wa-ti TANAMI-mi-ti}
KULANA-lá-ti -ha á-pa₄-sì-na
ar+r+hi-nā₄ i-ara ta-a+r-ta
 'And he came with his
 cavalry and (his) entire
 army (and) strengthened
 his frontier here.'
9. *TUWA-wa-ta -pà-wa -ta WATI-ti*
 'And he put them on a mountain.'

¹² Hawkins 2000, 451-61.

10. *á-mu -pa₄-wa₉ -mi -ta á_x-mì-ā+r(i)* 'But I continuously harassed
HANTAWAT+r-ti animal ASUWA-wa-ti this (place) with my royal
ki-i USA-na-ha-su-ká cavalry.'
11. *à-wa 2-sú sa₆<-ha> i-tì* 'And 2 times I actually was here.'
12. *KATA+s(i)-ta -ta -pà-wa* 'And I continuously harassed
KATA+mì USA-na-ha-sa₅-ha it together with (the ones) with me.'
13. *wa -sa pà+r-wi-ta-wa-na₅<-sa> UMINA* 'And he, the Parwitean,
TASHUWAR-HWA+r(i) WARPA-ti went with force into the
TIWA₂-a+r(a) territory.'
14. *wa₆ -ta UMINA(+MI) TAM_Ata-na* 'And he burned (down)
ignis lā-há-nu-wa-ta fortification(s) (and) building(s).'
15. **274-ā -pà-wa WANATI infans-i -ha* 'And he looted royal belongings,
mí<-tí>-sa TTWA_Au-pà-ta women and children (and) slave(s).'
16. *URA+r-i -pà-wa -mu animal ASUWA-sa* 'But the commanders of the
APA+r ar+hi-ti i TTWA+s(i) ā+r-ta cavalry afterwards brought these back into
the border for me.'
17. *wa -mu á-mì-sa₄ dominus-nà-sa* 'My Lord Tarhunt,
MASANA^TTARHUNT-i-sag Sarrumas, the rain-god,
MASANA^CSARU+R+MI-sag and Muwa-**206-pa-* ran
MASANA^{}198-sa₆* before me.'
MASANA^{}MUWA-**206-pa₄-sa₉ -ha**
PÁRA-na HWā-ā-ta
18. *wa -mi -ta tù-pà-sa₆-ti wa₆-sú-ha* 'And I was favoured in battle.'
19. *à-mi-sa -há-wa₆ -tu -ta* 'And in the 2nd year, my
HANTAWAT+r-sa₇ animal ASUWA-sa₄ royal cavalry, the front of
HANTA-ti-ā-sì-sa HANTA-ti-sa₇ the vanguard, laid a siege
USA-na 2-i TASHUWAR-HWA+r(i) à-ta against him in the territory
ta₄-?UMINA^{*}274₄ sà-ta* (of) the town Ta-?.'
20. *wa₇ -tù-à USA ta+r-i* 'And in the 3rd year they
TASHUWAR+HWA+r(i) ta₄-?UMINA^{*} à-ta* crossed the river against him
TA₆+HAPA-ta in the territory (of) the town Ta-?.'

21. *wa -tā 3-sa₄ USA-i URA-^{animal}ASUWA-i*
HANTA-ti-ā-sa₅+r(i) HANTA-ti-ā+r(i)
ARA-sì sa-ta ‘And (all the given) 3 years the
cavalry commanders were free (to
move) with the front of the vanguard.’
22. *wa -mu -ta 3 là+mi-i sa-pà-i*
PÁRA-na WARPA-pà<-na> mi-na₄
ta-ta[-tā] ‘For me the 3 loyal vassals
serve[d] for the benefit of
my force.’
23. *i-tā -pà-wa -ta *86 ^{animal}ASUWA-ti*
pà+r-wí-ta-wa-na<-ti>^{UMINA}
TASHUWAR-HWA+r(i) KATA-ta-ta
TTWA₂pà-i-ta ‘In this manner the infantry
went down together with the
cavalry into the Parwitean
territory.’
24. *[wa₆ -ta pà+r-wí-ta]^{UMINA}*
[ignis]là-ha-nu-wa-ta ‘And they burned (down)
[Parwita].’
25. **74-wa₇-sà -pà-wa HWA-ta*
274 WANATI **infans -ha*
mí<-tí>-wa ARHA u-pà[-ta] ‘And therefrom the (part of the army)
carried off royal belonging(s),
women and children (and) slave(s).’
26. *pà+r-wí-ta-wa₅-nà-sa^{UMINA}*
-pà-wa -ta ^{animal}ASUWA-sa₉
**219 ha+r-pà-i -ha TANAMI-mi-i*
á-wí-sa₇-na ar+hi-i TA₆+r(a) ‘But the Parwitean cavalry
and all enemies attacked
our frontiers.’
27. *wa -ti-ā -na nā₄+r pá-a+r(a)* ‘And they did not break through it for
themselves.’
28. *MASANA TARHUNT-hu-i-sa₄*
-pà-wa -tu -ta WARPA+r(i) TARHA-na
ar+ha tà-ta ‘But Tarhunt took away
from him the victory by
force.’
29. *à-wa₆ nā₄ HWA-ha mu-wa-ta*
a-i-ā-tà ‘And he did not make any
conquest.’
30. *á-mu -pà-wa MASANA TARHUNT-hu-sa*
MASANA SARU+R+MI-ma-sa
*MASANA *198-sa*
*MASANA MUWA- *206-pa₄-sa*
WARPA+r(i) TARHA-na PLA-ta ‘But to me Tarhunt,
Sarrumas, the rain-god
(and) Muwa- *206-pa-
gave victory by force.’

31. *wa₆-mì-a á-sí^{MASANA}TARHUNT-hu-na*
MASANA^cSARU+R+MI-ma-na
*MASANA*198-na*
*MASANA^cMUWA-*206-pa₄-na á-sí-na*
APA+r-ta^{TÀ}argentum[-]-sà-wa₆ 'And in future I will
continuously repay the
aforesaid Tarhunt,
Sarrumas, rain-god, (and)
Muwa-*206-pa-.'
32. *á-tí-ha-wa -mu wa+r-lí-na*
URA+r-i-na WARPA+r TARHA-na
[a-i-ā]-ti 'And the memorial shall
[make] for me the great
victory by force my own.'
33. *wa -mì á-tí^{MASANA}TARHUNT-hu-na*
MASANA^cSARU+R+MI-ma-na
*[MASANA*198-na*
*MASANA^cMUWA-*206-pa₄-na a-i-a-sa-ti]* 'And the memorial [shall
honour] Tarhunt, Sarrumas,
[the rain-god, (and) Muwa-
*206-pa-] for me.'
34. *[] -tà [] HWA-sà ar+ha*
ha+r-a+r(i) '(He) who will destroy
[this memorial],'
35. *wa -sa HWA-a HANTAWAT-ti-sa* 'if he (is) a king,'
36. *wa -ta à-pà-sa-na^{vas}ta+r-a-na*
á-pà-sa-<-na> TASHUWAR-HWA-na
MASANA^cTARHUNT-hu[-sa]
MASANA^cSARU+R+MI-ma-sa₆
*MASANA[*198-sa]*
*MASANA^cMUWA-*206-pa₄-sa ar+ha*
ha+r-tu-u 'may Tarhunt, Sarrumas,
the [rain]-god, (and) Muwa-
*206-pa- destroy his person
(and) his realm!'
37. *HWA-a -pà-wa APA+r-sa*
HARMAHI-ti[-sa] 'But if he (is) an inferior
man,'
38. *wa -ta á-pà-sa-na^{vas}ta+r-na*
à-pà-sa -ha PARNNA-na-i
MASANA^cTARHUNT-hu-sa
MASANA^cSARU+R+MI-ma-sa
*MASANA*198[-sa]*
*MASANA^cMUWA-*206-pa₄[-sa]*
ar[+ha] ha+r-tu[-u] 'may Tarhunt, Sarrumas,
the rain-god, (and) Muwa-
*206-pa- destroy his person
and his houses!'
39. *HWI<-ta> -pà-wa +r(a) la-sa₇*
wa₄-su-SARU+R+MI-ma-sa₇
URA+HANTAWAT 'Las inscribed it, (servant)
of Great King Wasusarmas.'

Commentary

Phrase 2

MUWATALI: logographic writing of the noun *muwatali*- ‘stronghold’ as attested for Darende, phrase 2,¹³ here probably representing the D sg. because of its dependence on the postposition *PÁRA-na* ‘before, in front of’.

i-ti: D sg. in *-ti* of the demonstrative pronoun *i*- ‘this’. This form either is lined with the preceding *MUWATALI* or, in view of its postposition perhaps more likely, functions independently as the locative adverb ‘here’.

The first sign of the combination *ASIA-wa₈-sà-ta* is closest to *9 *ASIA*, whereas *138 *piscis* likely renders the value *wa₈*.¹⁴ Accordingly, we have here the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta* of the iterative in *-sa-* of the verb *asia-* ‘to (be) love(d)’, usually written *á-s(i)-ī-*, lengthened by the morpheme *-wa-*.

Phrase 3

The N(m/f) sg. in *-sa* of *HANTAWAT-ti-sa*, associated with the numeral 8, seems due to a scribal error, especially since the following *APA+r-i HANTA-lá-i* both show the expected N(m/f) pl. in *-i* (or, alternatively, we might be dealing here with an instance of incongruence in number, as apparently paralleled for phrase 26).

Phrase 4

Note that the N(m/f) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun, *i*, constitutes a shorthand variant of regular *ī-i*, perhaps induced by a conscious attempt to emulate Late Bronze Age scribal practices which do not distinguish *376 *i* from *377 *ī*.

Notwithstanding the fact that *92 for depicting two wheels from a lateral view suggests reference to a four-wheeled vehicle, we likely have a reference here to chariotry.

Phrase 5

In contrast to the situation in Late Bronze Age texts, where an adjectival derivative of *asu(wa)*- ‘horse’ probably refers to charioteers,¹⁵ the basic root here likely denotes a cavalry force. If rightly so, we are actually dealing here with the earliest Anatolian textual evidence for horsemen organised in military units worthy of being called a cavalry, preceded only by that of Assyrian and North Syrian reliefs from the 9th

¹³ Woudhuizen 1992-93, 184-85; 2004b, 69.

¹⁴ Woudhuizen 1992-93, 210 (Suvasa, phrase 1: *ARA-wa₈-tá-wa-sa₆*, a variant of the MN *Arnu-wantas*).

¹⁵ Woudhuizen 2004a, 43 (Yalburt, phrase 13).

and 10th centuries BC.¹⁶ The basic meaning of the verb *upa-* is 'to found', but in the present context 'to take position' seems preferable.

Phrase 6

The noun to which the A(m/f) sg. of the possessive pronoun of the 1st person sg., *á-mì-ā-nā₄*, belongs is not written but implied only, and, in the light of the closest parallel,¹⁷ can only be surmised to be a reference to the army, in particularly its most common unit, the infantry.

HARNAS-nà-sa₇: A(n) pl. in *-a* of *harnas-* 'fortress'.¹⁸ This form is specified by *ar+ha-ha-lī*, an adjectival derivative in *-(a)li-* of *arha-* or *arhi-* 'border, frontier'.

Phrase 7

ar+hi: variant form of the adverb *arha*.

The root of the verb is rendered by a stylised variant of *HWÁ*. In combination with the determinative *currus*, the sense of *hwá-* 'to run' evidently changes into 'to drive'.

Phrase 8

Next to the sense 'to go', the verbal root *TIWA₂-* also expresses the meaning 'to come',¹⁹ which better suits the present context. The meaning of the second verb, *ta-a+r-*, appears to be 'to strengthen, fortify'; at any rate, it may well be related to *ta-a+r-ti-* 'to be strong' as attested for Sultanhan, phrase 23.²⁰

Phrase 9

-ta: 'them'.²¹

Phrase 10

The verbal form *USA-na-ha-su-ká* is characterised by the ending of the 1st person sg. of the past tense in *-ka*, instead of regular *-ha*, and in this manner appears to be subject to Lycian influence, where the same ending reads *-ka* or *-ga*.²² From the context, the verbal root most plausibly renders the meaning 'to harass'. Note that it receives a durative aspect from the presence of the iterative morpheme *-s-*.²³

¹⁶ Drews 2004, 65-67.

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2004a, 43 (Yalburt, phrase 14).

¹⁸ Woudhuizen 2004b, 117, with reference to Çineköy, phrase 8; Karatepe, phrases 19 and 25.

¹⁹ Woudhuizen 2004b, Part 2, Index, *s.v.*

²⁰ Woudhuizen 2004b, 88.

²¹ Woudhuizen 2004b, Indices, *s.v.*

²² Meriggi 1980, 340, §199.

²³ Meriggi 1966, 60-61, §112.

The sign on top of *335 *i* preceding the verb clearly reads *446 *ki*, so that we have here a form *ki-i*, which calls to mind the Hittite N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ki*.²⁴ For Hittitisms infiltrating in Luwian hieroglyphic texts from the Early Iron Age, see especially Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrases 1, 3, and 6, with corresponding forms of Hittite *lamni*, *wemiya-*, *dannatta-*, and *mukešsar-*.²⁵

Phrase 11

This phrase is enigmatic for its shortness. In my opinion, the *sa*₆ below the combination 2-*sú* ‘2 times’ and followed by a column with the combination *i-ti* ‘here’ renders the root *sa-* of the verb ‘to be’ in like manner as in Köylütolu, phrase 7, either representing here the 1st person sg. of the past tense *saha* or a participial formation.²⁶ At any rate, the porté of the phrase is that Wasusarmas, in the course of harassing the basis of the enemy on top of the mountain mentioned in phrase 9, 2 times actually reached this spot in person.

Phrase 12

KATA+mì ‘with me’. This ligature, which reads from bottom to top, is paralleled for Yalburt, phrases 14 and 29, and Südburg, phrase 3,²⁷ and, with the shorthand writing of the demonstrative pronoun, may belong to a conscious attempt at emulating Late Bronze Age scribal practices. The expression implies the presence of the most common unit of the army, the infantry, hence we should emend ‘(the ones) with me’.

Phrase 13

The rhotacised variant of the verbal ending of the 3rd person sg. in *+r(a)* indicates that the subject switches from Wasusarmas back to the Parwitean enemy, which, on the analogy of phrase 26, allows us to emend the N(m/f) sg. ending *-sa* in the otherwise endingless form *pà+r-wi-ta-wa-na*₅. Note that serious military action from the side of Wasusarmas only starts from phrase 17 onwards, being triggered in truly Late Bronze Age annalistic style by the formula that the gods ran before him.

Phrase 14

UMINA(+MI) and ^{TAMA}*ta-na* are two different types of buildings, the first one, conform its use in Yalburt and Karahöyük-Elbistan,²⁸ military and the second, on the

²⁴ Meriggi 1980, 322, §144.

²⁵ Woudhuizen 2004a, 147, 152-53.

²⁶ Woudhuizen 2004a, 25.

²⁷ Woudhuizen 2004a, 29 n. 17, 87.

²⁸ Woudhuizen 2004a, 41 (Yalburt, phrase 6), 154 (Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrase 9).

analogy of its use in Karahöyük-Elbistan (be it here with the A(n) pl. ending in *-sa*, attested for inscriptions in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition only),²⁹ civilian. Both endless forms probably represent the A pl., the second one surely that of the neuter in *-a*.

Phrase 15

As noted in the commentary to phrase 5, the basic meaning of the verb *upa-* is 'to found'. In the present context, however, it occurs with the determinative *TTWA*, which indicates movement. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that the object, consisting of **274-ā*, *WANATI*, *infans-i* and *mí<-tí>-sa*, is taken away as loot, so that we arrive at the meaning of the verb as 'to loot'. Of the various items looted, the first is characterised by the A(n) pl. ending in *-ā*, and hence refers to goods. The ending of the A(m/f) pl. *-i* associated with *infans-* 'child' may well apply to the preceding *WANATI*, too. The A(n) sg. ending *-sa* attached to *mí<-tí>-* 'servant, slave' may indicate that this category is considered as on the one hand a collective (sg.) and on the other as goods (n).

Phrase 16

The object of this phrase is to minimise the effect of the aforesaid successful raid by the enemy: the *URA+r-i* (N(m/f) pl. in *-i*) 'commanders' *animal* *ASUWA-sa* (G sg. in *-sa*) 'of the cavalry' *APA+r* 'afterwards' *TTWA+s(i) ā+r-ta* (3rd person pl. of the past tense in *-ta*) 'brought back' *i* (= shorthand variant of *ī-i*, the A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the demonstrative pronoun *ī-*) 'these' (= the looted women and children) *ar+hi-ti* (Abl. sg. in *-ti*) 'into the border(zone)'.³⁰

Phrase 17

The expression *-mu* GN(s) *PATMRA-na HWA-ā-ta* 'GN(s) ran before me', which, in variant writing *HWA-ā-* for the root of the verb, is well known from a Late Bronze Age text in annalistic tradition like Yalburt,³⁰ introduces a really significant victory for the dedicator of the text. So, from here on, Wasusarmas, after some incidental loss (phrases 13-15), is definitely in the advance.

Phrase 19

From the context, I infer that it is *USA-na 2-i* 'in the 2nd year' after the successful battle referred to in the preceding phrase, that the front of the vanguard of Wasusarmas' royal cavalry **274 sā-ta* 'laid a siege' against the enemy in the territory of the town *Ta-?*.

²⁹ Woudhuizen 2004a, 156 (Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrase 17).

³⁰ Woudhuizen 2004a, 32-36, 38 (Yalburt, phrases 4, [7], 11, 20, [28], 32).

Phrase 20

As a corollary to the previous phrase, it seems likely to me that it is *USA ta+r-i* ‘in the 3rd year’ after the successful battle referred to in phrase 18 that this front of the vanguard of Wasusarmas’ royal cavalry *TA₆+HAPA-ta* ‘crossed the river’ *TASHUWAR+HWA+r(i) ta₄-**? *à-ta* ‘in the territory of the town Ta-?’, which, in the given geographical situation, likely indicates a movement across the Halys river into at that time presumably Phrygian territory.

Phrase 21

In my opinion what Hawkins considers an unclear sign consists of a variant of *131 *ARA*, which leads us to the interpretation that for a period of *3-sa₄ USA-i* ‘(all) 3 years’ just mentioned *URA-animalASUWA-i* ‘the cavalry commanders’ *ARA-sì sa-ta* ‘were free (to move)’ *HANTA-ti-ā-sa₅+r(i) HANTA-ti-ā+r(i)* ‘with the front of the vanguard’.

Phrase 22

The verb *tata-* definitely means ‘to serve’, as in Südburg, phrases 8, 10 and 11, and Karatepe, phrase 21,³¹ so that *3 lā+mi-i sa-pà-i*, the latter two elements of which sequence are characterised by the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, is not a temporal indication, as Hawkins wants to have it, but refers back to the 3 loyal vassals mentioned in phrase 4, who during the given period kept serving *PÁRA-na* ‘for the benefit of’ Wasusarmas’ *warpa-*. Note that, as we have experienced earlier, the scribe is sometimes sloppy in writing the endings properly, as we would have expected *WARPA-pà<-na> mi-na₄*.

Phrase 23

The conjunction *i-tà* ‘in this manner’ at the start of the phrase, which is paralleled for Karatepe, phrase 31,³² strikingly recalls Latin *ita* of the same meaning. In contrast with its normal use, the double leg sign *86 does not function here as the verb ‘to pass (down)’, but apparently refers to the infantry of the army, which, given the form of the sign, seems well within the range of possibilities. The verbal root *pai-* ‘to go’ is, for its correspondence in form to Hittite *pāi-* of the same meaning,³³ a clear instance of a Hittitism—a phenomenon we already encountered in connection with the demonstrative *kil* in phrase 10 above. Note that only after winning a decisive battle and the subsequent crossing of the river in the territory of the town

³¹ Woudhuizen 2004a, 79, 89.

³² Woudhuizen 2004b, 97.

³³ Friedrich 1991, *s.v.*

Ta-? as mentioned in phrases 18-20 above Wasusarmas' army *KATA-ta-ta* ^{TW}*2pà-i-ta* 'went down' *pà+r-wí-ta-wa-na<-ti>* *TASHUWAR-HWA+r(i)* 'into the Parwitean territory'—i.e. the region where the centre of the enemy forces was located. Note that *KATA-ta-ta*, if identical with Hittite *katta*,³⁴ might be one of the rare cases of double consonant writing in Luwian hieroglyphic, already observed in connection with the correspondence of *TANAMI-mi-ma-* to cuneiform Luwian *tanimmali-* 'all'.³⁵

Phrase 24

The emendation of Parwita as the lost town name seems inferable from the context. The phrase is parallel to phrase 14, be it that the roles are inverted now and that the enemy town is burned down instead of locations in Wasusarmas' realm.

Phrase 25

The first sign of the subject of the phrase, **74-wa7-sà*, is enigmatic, but reference to a part of Wasusarmas' army seems warranted by the context. With the same proviso as observed in connection with the previous phrase, this phrase is parallel to phrase 15. In the light of this parallelism, the *wa* following *mí<-tí>*- 'servant, slave' seems a scribal error for *sa*.

Phrase 26

The root of **219ha+r-pà-i* 'enemies' is rightly connected by Hawkins with Hittite ^{LU}*harpanalli-* of the same meaning. The *i* preceding the verb marks the ending of *ar+hi-* 'border, frontier', thus indicating that it renders the A(m/f) pl. The ending *-na* of the possessive pronoun *á-wí-sa7-* 'our', which is lined with *ar+hi-i*, remains puzzling, as the A(m/f) pl. ending would be expected instead of what appears to be that of the A(m/f) sg. Apparently, we are dealing here with incongruence in number.

Phrase 27

The first sign of the verb seems to be **462 pá*. At any rate, from the context it is clear that it must render the meaning 'to break through' as the enclitic *-na* refers back to the frontiers mentioned in the previous phrase. Note that the enclitic, for being in A(m/f) sg., is apparently ruled by the possessive *áwisan* 'our' rather than the noun it qualifies, *arhii* 'frontiers'.

³⁴ Friedrich 1991, s.v.

³⁵ Woudhuizen 2004b, 13 n. 14.

Phrase 28

Note that the present variant form of the GN Tarhunt, *TARHUNT-hu-i-sa₄*, corresponds to Lycian *Trqgiz*.³⁶

Phrase 30

Note that the rain-god also appears alongside Tarhunt in Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrase 15.³⁷

Phrase 31

The use of ‘the hand that grabs’ as a determinative of the verb should not lead us to the assumption that something is taken: the same sign is used in the figura etymologica *tà-tá tà-nu-i* ‘he dedicated dedications’ for the act of giving in Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrase 7.³⁸ And this latter sense is of relevance here, because it is entirely clear from the context that the dedicator of the text, Wasusarmas, in accordance to the materialistic principle that characterises ancient religion, will give something to the gods in return for the victory they granted him, hence our translation ‘to repay’ for the damaged verbal root based on the logogram *argentum*. Note also that enough of the verb is preserved to establish that it is characterised by the iterative morpheme *-s-*, already referred to in the commentary to phrase 10. The object of the phrase formed by the sequence of the four gods mentioned earlier in phrases 17 and 30 is enclosed by the expression *á-sí ... á-sí-na*, which should perhaps be emended *á-sí<-na> ... á-sí-na*, bearing testimony of the Hittite demonstrative pronoun *āši-* ‘the said person’,³⁹ which lives on in Lydian *esi₁-* ‘this’.⁴⁰ In this manner, then, very explicit back reference is made to these four gods which in phrases 17 and 30 were held responsible for Wasusarmas’ victory in a decisive battle.

Phrases 32-33

From the context it seems clear that with the subject *á-tí* reference is made to the memorial itself: this shall on the one hand celebrate Wasusarmas’ victory (lit.: ‘to make his own’) and on the other hand honour the four protective deities. Accordingly, in phrase 32 the verbal root *a-i-ā-* ‘to make’ may be emended in the lacuna above the ending of the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti*, and in phrase 33 the two missing deities in A(m/f) sg. *-na* and the verbal form *a-i-a-sa-ti* ‘it shall honour’ may be emended in its missing final section.

³⁶ Woudhuizen 1984-85, 111.

³⁷ Woudhuizen 2004a, 155.

³⁸ Woudhuizen 2004a, 147-48.

³⁹ Friedrich 1991, *s.v.*

⁴⁰ Gusmani 1964, *s.v.*; cf. Woudhuizen 1984-85, 92-97.

Phrases 34-39

The remaining section, consisting of the damnation formula (phrases 34-38) and the maker formula (phrase 39), has been satisfactorily been dealt with by Hawkins.⁴¹

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a-i-ā- 'to make' 29, [32].

a-i-a-sa- 'to honour' [33].

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ā-mu 'I' 5, 10, 30.

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APA+r- 'junior, lesser', adjective 3, 37.

APA+r-ta 'in future' 31.

ā-pā-sa-, *ā-pā-sa₅-*, *ā-pā-sa₇-*, *ā-pa₄-sī-*, *ā-pā-sa-* 'his' 8 (2x), 36 (2x), 38 (2x).

ā+r- c. *APA+r* 'to bring back' 16.

ARA-sī 'free' 21.

argentum[- *]-sā-* 'to continuously repay' 31.

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ar+r+ha-ha-lī 'borderline', adjective 6.

ar+hi 'against', adverb 7.

ar+hi-, *ar+r+hi-* 'border, frontier' 8, 16, 26.

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⁴¹ Hawkins 2000, 454, 460.

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-halpa?-wa ‘and/but’ 5.

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infans ‘son’ 1.

infans- ‘child’ 15, 25.

i-tà ‘in this manner’ 23.

KATA+mì ‘with me’ 12.

KATA+s(i)-nà ‘with’, adverb 4.

KATA+s(i)-ta ‘(together) with’, preposition 12.

KATA-ta-ta ‘down’, adverb 23.

ki- ‘this’ 10.

kí-ā-kí-ā- ‘Kiakias [MN]’ 4.

KULANA-lá- ‘army’ 8.

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MASANA (determinative of divine name) 17 (4x), 28, 30 (4x), 31 (4x), 33 (2+[2]), 36 (4x), 38 (4x).

mi- ‘my’ (see also *á-mi-*) 22.

-mì, *-mì*, *-mì-a* ‘for me, myself’ (see also *KATA+mì*) 10, 18, 31.

mí<-tí>- ‘servant, slave’ 15, 25.

-mu ‘me’ 17.

-mu ‘for me, to me’ 3, 4, 7, 16, 22, 32.

mu-wa-ta- ‘conquest’ 29.

MUWATALI- ‘stronghold’ 2.

*MUWA-*206-pa₄-* ‘Muwa-*206-pa- [GN]’ 17, 30, 31, [33], 36, 38.

-*na* 'him, it' 27.

nā₄ 'not' 29.

nā₄+r 'not' 27.

pā-a- 'to break through' 27.

pā-i- 'to go'; c. *KATA-ta-ta* 'to go down' 23.

PĀRA-na 'before, in front of', postposition 2, 22.

PĀRA-na 'before, pre-; for the benefit of', adverb 17.

PARNA-na- 'house' 38.

pā+r-wi-ta- 'Parwita [TN]' 3, [24].

pā+r-wi-ta-si- 'Parwitassian', adjective 7.

pā+r-wi-ta-wa-na-, *pā+r-wi-ta-wa-na₅₋*, *pā+r-wi-ta-wa₅₋nā-* 'Parwitean', adjective 13, 23, 26.

-*pā-wa*, -*pā₄-wa₉* 'but, and' 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 37, 39.

PIA- 'to give' 30.

+*r(a)* 'it' 39.

ru-wa₇-ta- 'Ruwantas [MN]' 4.

sa-, *sa₆₋* 'to be'; c. *274 'to besiege, lay a siege' 3, 11, 19, 21.

-*sa* 'he' 8, 13, 35.

sa-pā- 'vassal' 22.

SARU+R+MI-, *SARU+R+MI-ma-* 'Sarrumas [GN]' 17, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38.

-*ta* 'it' 12.

-*ta* 'there' 7.

-*ta* 'them' 9.

-*ta*, -*tā* (unclear function) 10, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, [24], 26, 28, 34, 36, 38.

TĀ (determinative of verb *argentum*[-] *-sā-* 'to continuously repay') 31.

tā- 'to take'; c. *ar+ha* 'to take away' 28.

TA₆₋ 'to go; to come; to attack' 26.

TA₆+HAPA- 'to cross a river' 20.

TAMA (determinative of building) 14.

ta-na- 'building' 14.

TANAMI-mi- 'all', adjective 8, 26.

ta+r- '3' 4, 20.

ta-a+r- 'to strengthen' 8.

ta+r-, *ta+r-a-* 'person, image' 36, 38.

TARHA- 'victory' 28, 30, 32.

TARHUNT-hu-, *TARHUNT-i-* 'Tarhunt [GN]' 17, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38.

TASHUWAR-HWA- 'territory, realm' 13, 19, 20, 23, 36.

ta-ta- 'to serve' 22.

ta₄-?-* 'Ta-?' [TN]' 19, 20.

-*tī-ā* 'for themselves' 27.

TIWA, *TIWA*₂ (determinative of verb of movement) 15.

*TIWA*₂-*a*- ‘to go; to come’ 8, 13.

TIWA+*s(i)* (determinative of verb of movement) 16.

-*tu*, -*tù-à* ‘from him, against him’ 19, 20, 28.

*tù-pà-sa*₆- ‘battle’ 18.

TUWA-wa- ‘to place, put’ 6, 9.

*tu-wa*₄-*ti*- ‘Tuwatis [MN]’ 1.

UMINA (determinative of town name) 3, [7], 13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26.

UMINA(+*MI*)- ‘fortification’ 14.

u-pà- ‘to found; to take position’; c. *ARHA* ‘to carry off’; c. *TIWA* ‘to loot’ 5, 15, 25.

URA-, *URA*+*r*- ‘commander’ 16, 21.

URA+*r-i*- ‘great’, adjective 32.

URA+*HANTAWAT*- ‘great king’ 1 (3x), 39.

USA- ‘year’ 19, 20, 21.

*USA-na-ha-sa*₅-, *USA-na-ha-su*- ‘to harass continuously’ 10, 12.

vas (determinative of noun *ta+r(-a)*- ‘person’) 36, 38.

wa-, *wa*₆-, *wa*₇-, -*wa*-, -*wa*₆ (sentence introductory particle, see *à-wa*) 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, [24], 27, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38.

WANATI- ‘woman’ 15, 25.

wa+r-lí- ‘own’ 32.

WARPA-, *WARPA-pà*- ‘force’ 13, 22, 28, 30, 32.

*wa*₆+*r-pà-là-wa*- ‘Warpalawas [MN]’ 4.

*wa*₆-*sa*₇- c. *KATA*+*s(i)*-*nà* ‘to be favourable, on one’s side’ 4.

*wa*₆-*sú*- ‘to be favoured’ 18.

*wa*₄-*su*-*SARU*+*R+MI*-*ma*- ‘Wasusarmas [MN]’ 1, 2, 39.

WATI- ‘mountain’ 9.

*74-*wa*₇ (part of the army) 25.

*86- ‘infantry’ 23.

*92- ‘cart, chariot’ 4.

*198- ‘the rain-god [GN]’ 17, 30, 31, [33], [36], 38.

*219 (determinative of noun *ha+r-pà*- ‘enemy’) 26.

*274 (determinative of military action) 19.

*274- ‘royal belonging’ 15, 25.

*384- ‘2’ 19.

*384-*sú* ‘2 times’, numeral adverb 11.

*388- ‘3’ 21, 22.

*393 ‘8’ 3.

[...] 3.

[] 34.

[] 34.

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THE POETICS OF EMULATION IN THE ACHAEMENID WORLD: THE FIGURED BOWLS OF THE 'LYDIAN TREASURE'*

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Abstract

The rhetoric of inclusion commonly features in the propaganda of empire but the success of the message and extent of its embeddedness in the ideology of the subject peoples are rarely traceable in the archaeological record. Newly published evidence allows a case study for the Lydian kingdom within the Achaemenid Persian empire. Three silver lobed bowls, all evidently from a wealthy Lydian burial of the early Persian period, feature Achaemenidising figured decoration between their lobes. 'Syntactical irregularities' in their imagery, technique and even morphology reveal a local production in emulation of imperial symbols of power.

The discovery of nearly intact elite burials of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC in the upper Hermos river valley in Western Anatolia, at a time when the region lay within the Persian empire, provides a rare opportunity to examine questions of receptivity to, even adoption of, the decorative vocabulary of an imperial power by elite members of a regional population.¹ Thanks to the prompt, thorough and well-illustrated publication of the material in *The Lydian Treasure* catalogue on the repatriation of illicitly exported goods to Turkey, this valuable archaeological resource is available for analysis and integration into broader discussions of the cultural inter-relations of satrapal province and imperial centre in the Achaemenid Persian world. The three silver vessels with figural decoration inserted between their lobes (from Ikiztepe) in particular shed light on a variety of questions of circulation and reception of imperial imagery in the western reaches of the Persian empire.²

* This paper was part of a larger project on the problems of cultural definition in Achaemenid Anatolia, which received summary expression in Miller 2006. Especial thanks to Susanne Ebbinghaus for urging me to re-engage in Persian material, and for counsel on metal-ware ornament; and to New College, Oxford, for housing me during part of the composition. Amanda Dusting executed the fine drawings. The paper benefited from conversations with John Curtis, Margaret Root and the late Roger Moorey, who tried their best to lighten my darkness; and from comments after a presentation in Sydney. I am most indebted to Beth Dusingberre for tracking down for me in Ankara the last available copy of Özgen and Öztürk's excellent publication.

¹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996; date briefly discussed 29-30.

² Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 33-35 (fuller information below).

The Rhetoric of Imperial Unity – Representation and Reality

The past generation has seen major advances in the understanding of the visual expression of the Achaemenid world, its links with and departures from prior Near Eastern visual language, as well as its historical, social and economic environment.³ Root has especially explored the central message of collaborative support that permeates the presentation of empire at Darius' Persepolis, truly *e pluribus unum*. It emerges from inscriptions such as that on Darius' tomb which proclaims Darius as 'King of Kings, King of Countries containing all kinds of men', and then instructs the reader to enumerate (visually) the peoples of the empire:

If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries that King Darius held?' look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.⁴

The texts stress conquest but the image conveys also harmonious collaboration: it is the image that will have reached a wider audience.⁵ All the peoples of the empire, each carefully identified by ethnic, support together the throne of the king. A more familiar image is that of all the peoples processing with gifts, each in their distinctive dress, on the Apadana reliefs of Persepolis. The same message of the peoples collaborating on a major imperial undertaking can be found in the Susa foundation inscription, reflecting the conspicuous incorporation of everyone.⁶ Even the very choice of masonry type – a complex jigsaw of interlocked blocks of different sizes as opposed to the regular ashlar of Pasargadae – on the Persepolis platform might be viewed as a metaphorical expression of the same principle.⁷

The central Achaemenid vision of unity and collaborative harmony is clear; but the mechanisms of its dissemination throughout the empire and its reception within the empire remain less clear. Impressive progress has been made with regard to the role of circulated coinage.⁸ Yet the receptivity of the different peoples to the imperial ideology or any aspect of the culture of the heartland is still largely uncharted owing to the shortage of material with good archaeological provenance. To date,

³ Visual expression thanks largely to the pioneering work of Root 1979. For context note especially Lewis 1977; Wiesehöfer 1993; Briant 1996. The Achaemenid History Workshops were a galvanising force and the Achaemenid group under Briant continue to provide a focal point.

⁴ Translation: Kent 1950, 137-38, DNa, ll. 8-9, 38-47 (the enumerated peoples in DN minor inscriptions).

⁵ The rhetoric of collaboration first argued in Root 1979 and elaborated in Root 1990, 120.

⁶ Kent 1950, 142-44, DSf.

⁷ Root 1990, 118.

⁸ For the role of numismatics (the 'Archer' coins), see Root 1991; Dusinger 2000; Nimchuk 2002.

seals (especially as known from sealings) provide the fullest evidence for regional response to and adoption of imperial vocabulary, so that it begins to be possible to define specific regional reworkings of Achaemenid expression.⁹

Luxury metal-ware vessels offer one medium of reciprocal exchange. Ancient sources attest to the role of metal-ware as royal gifts to loyal subjects; the handful of vessels with trilingual royal inscriptions perhaps provide testimony to the practice though their lack of secure provenance is problematic.¹⁰ In turn loyal subjects carry metal-ware vessels, presumably to the king, on the Apadana reliefs.¹¹ Three types of vessels are depicted as gifts, all three what we understand to be canonical Persian form: deep bowls with offset everted rims, cylindrical beakers, spouted amphorae. All three types are carried by Delegation VI, which is now generally identified as the Lydians thanks to their distinctive hairstyle (Fig. 1).¹²

On the Apadana reliefs the different peoples of the empire are distinguished one from another by careful differentiation of details of dress and equipment. While many Iranian peoples wear the 'rider dress', differences in the design of the sleeved garment, footwear and headgear would seem deliberately to distinguish the peoples. If the precise association of known people with Delegation is not always certain, the uncertainty is a function of our ignorance of ethnic dress rather than necessarily a lack of artistic precision or a tendency to the generic.

The limited repertoire of vessels carried as gifts by the delegations contrasts with the sartorial variety. The deep bowl with offset everted rim is especially represented: it appears in the hands of Delegations V (Babylonians), VIII (Assyrians), XII (Ionians),

⁹ Current research on sealings tends to the recognition of local workshops working within Achaemenid iconographic paradigms. For Sardis, see Dusinberre 1997, 2003; see also Root 1998. For Daskyleion, see Kaptan 2003. See the valuable discussion of 'Other Sealing Archives in the Achaemenid Empire' in Garrison and Root 2001, 32-39; note especially their comments on the distinctive features of the Memphis archive (35-36) and on the striking absence of the winged sun disk from the corpus of sealings from Wadi-el Daliyeh, whose population, significantly, was Jewish (38-39). Nippur's Murasu archive shows more kinship with the immediate past than is found in the Fortifications archive (Root, personal communication). For Babylon, see also Root 2003, with references.

¹⁰ Gunter and Root 1998, investigating the silver phiale in Washington (inv. 74.30) with the name Artaxerxes inscribed, have gathered as strong a case as possible to argue that it is an authentic artefact seen by Herzfeld in Hamadan in October 1929.

¹¹ Most recently on gifting, with references, see Gunter and Root 1998, 22-29; see also Miller 1997, 127-28. Vessels carried by delegations outlined by Calmeyer 1993, discussed more fully below.

¹² Delegation VI carried the cylindrical beaker and deep bowl on the north stairway and the deep bowl and spouted amphora on the east stairway (here illustrated). Schmidt (1953, 85) (followed by Walser [1966]), first identified Delegation VI as Syrians, though he did note that the braid of hair to the shoulder behind the ear also appeared on the Lydian throne-bearer of Xerxes' throne (n.124); he later revised his opinion to Lydians (Schmidt 1970, 152-53). The Lydian identification was also argued by Greenewalt (1971) and again by Roaf (1974, 126-27, with bibliography); accepted, for example, by Calmeyer 1993; Curtis and Tallis 2005; Koch and Rehm 2006, 132, fig. 7.

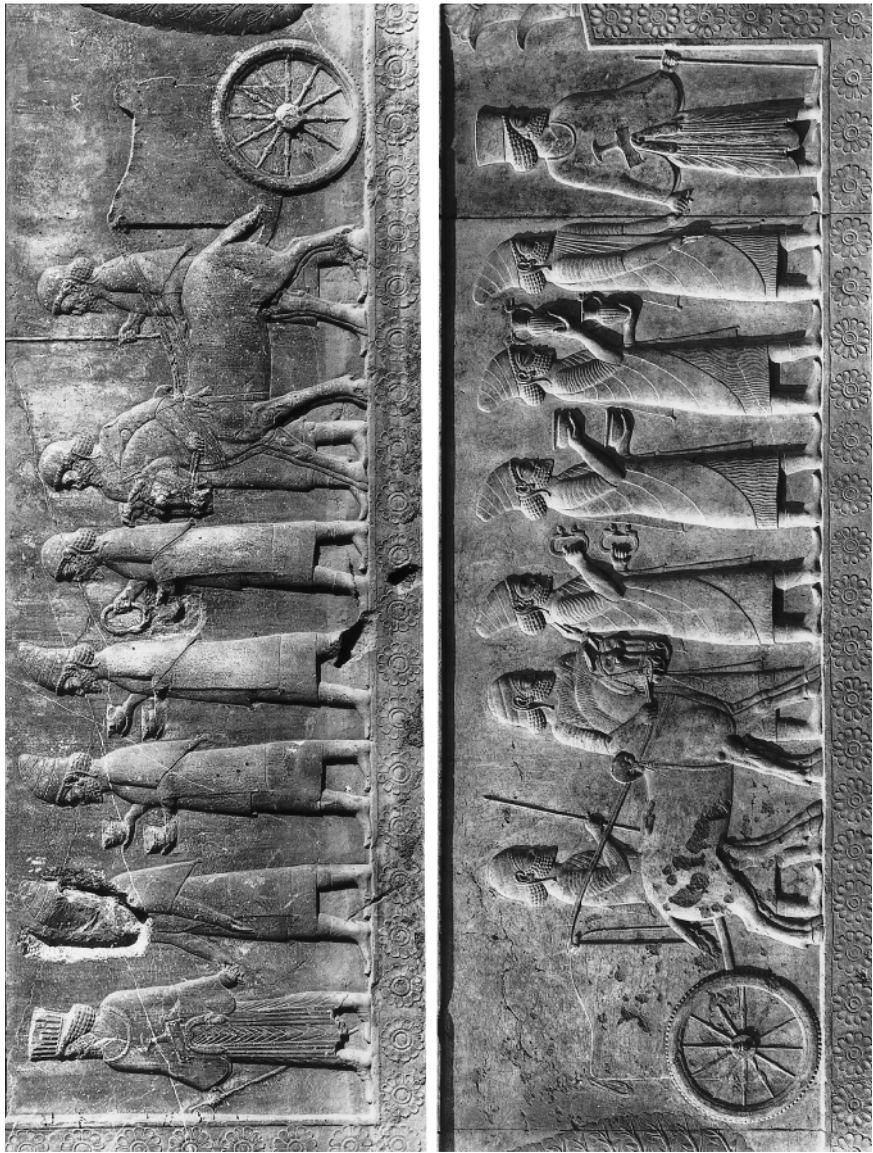


Fig. 1: The Lydian Delegation (VI), Apadana North and East stairs, Persepolis
(photograph: courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, P 29002 / N.15272 / Ps-82).

XV (?Arachosians), as well as Delegation VI (Lydians).¹³ The specific shape is not well attested in the prior traditions of most of these peoples.

The uniformity of metal-ware offering (especially in the context of articulated difference of dress) might suggest that tribute production in the empire was expected to match a central standard.¹⁴ Yet other gifts suggest that the central gift requirement was modulated to suit local competence: local specialty products are conveyed to the centre, like the camels brought by Delegations XIII, XV and XX, and the elephant tusks carried by Delegation XXIII, the Ethiopians. On such logic, Lydians bear metal-ware vessels because they, with their rich local resources in gold and electrum, were acknowledged masters of toreutics. But what of the vessels' manifestly Achaemenid form? Do the vessels on the Persepolis reliefs reflect a local product made to precise specifications from the centre? Or is their restricted repertoire merely a function of imperial visual rhetoric about the unity of the empire? Or does the similarity of vessels indicate regional receptivity to the luxury arts of the centre? Our lacunose archaeological documentation of the epichoric traditions in both provinces and the Iranian heartland, especially in luxury toreutics, continues to cause problems in addressing such issues.¹⁵ Until more metal-ware vessels with secure provenance and workmanship are recovered, we must reserve final judgment on the meaning of the vessels on the Apadana reliefs. Yet the representation of Achaemenid-style vessels in metal workshop scenes on the late 4th-century BC tomb of the priest Petosiris at Hermopolis in Egypt at least establishes that the vessels on the Apadana reliefs are not solely rhetorical intimation of uniform culture. On the Tomb of Petosiris the depiction of at least one deep bowl with offset everted rim and one shallow bowl with offset everted rim, as well as a number of bent animal-protome vessels provide testimony to their production in another region of the empire for local consumption.¹⁶

In the case of Western Anatolia and specifically Lydia, thanks to the establishment of at least the general provenance of the 'Lydian Treasure', one has a firmer basis from which to consider Persian-period interculturalisation. After decades of excavation at Sardis, the basic shape of the pre-Persian epichoric culture of Lydia is known. It begins to be possible to consider the extent to which local elites emulated

¹³ Calmeyer (1993, 160) summarises.

¹⁴ Considered and rejected as 'less plausible' by Schmidt 1957, 95.

¹⁵ Boardman 2000 has gone with current evidence about as far as is possible.

¹⁶ Albeit from a period after Persian hegemony, still valuable as evidence for local production in the Achaemenid manner: Lefebvre 1923, pls. 7-8. See Muscarella 1980, 28-29, with fig. 4 (pl. 8), who first drew attention to the importance of the tomb. A detailed photograph now in Koch and Rehm 2006, 127, fig. 2.

the centre, and made its status expression their own. Furthermore, it begins to be possible to propose strategies for identifying regional expression within the overarching material and visual culture of the Achaemenid world.

Lydia at the Crossroads. A Tradition of Interculturation

Lydia offers ample evidence of receptivity to cultures both East and West long before the arrival of the Persians. In the 7th century BC, even while local traditions held sway, goods from the Phrygian highland to the East and the East Greek states to the West were imported and imitated. Sardis' Indere Tomb, dated early 6th century BC, exemplifies the international character of Archaic Lydia. The ceramics of the tomb included Lydian pottery (two 'Orientalising' skyphoi and two 'streaked' skyphoi), but it also included Greek wares (an Ionian cup and rosette bowl). Most interestingly, it included a Lydian marble-ware ceramic imitation of the typical Phrygian bronze bowl with spool-shaped attachments.¹⁷

Communication between Lydia and the Phrygian highlands was readily available through the upper Hermos valley. In addition to the marbled-ware bowl of the Indere Tomb, the Butler expedition to Sardis excavated a local clay imitation of the Phrygian bowl with spool-shaped attachments, now in New York.¹⁸ More recently, a bronze Phrygian-style bowl with the distinctive spool-shaped attachments was excavated at Basmacı Tomb I (Güre district) in the upper Hermos valley (alongside a silver omphalos bowl with internal concentric ribbing in the Phrygian fashion); adduced parallels are 8th century BC but the bronze bowl could date as late as the 6th century BC.¹⁹ The Basmacı bronze bowl lacks a characteristic feature of the parallels from Gordion: whereas the Phrygian bowls have a central gap in the band that links the vertical spools around the exterior at the lip, the Basmacı bowl carries the band all the way around.²⁰ This deviation may have a chronological value (no example was known to Knudsen among Gordion's 8th-century BC material); or it may reveal that this is a Lydian artisan's imitation of the Phrygian vessel, for

¹⁷ Manisa Museum: Sardis Indere Grave T61.2. Hanfmann (1962, 24-27, fig. 19-22) briefly summarises the contents of tomb; see the group photograph in Hanfmann 1983, fig. 119. Knudsen 1964 publishes the Indere Phrygian bowl, with full Phrygian comparanda. Muscarella 1971 addresses the role of Phrygian goods in Lydia (spool-handled bowls: 58-60). Another Phrygian shape that was imitated in Lydia is the strainer-spouted jug (Greenewalt 1966, 135-36). See also the list in Paspalas 2000, 159-60.

¹⁸ From Sardis Tomb 23a, now New York, MMA 14.30.20, illustrated by Muscarella 1971, pl. V, fig. 12.

¹⁹ Uşak 1.5.89. Özgen and Öztürk 1996, no. 225 (silver bowl, Uşak 1.3.89, no. 224); with references. Date: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 30.

²⁰ Gordion bowls: Young 1981, 125-30, with pls. 65-67 (MM 55-69). Ribbed omphalos bowl: Young 1981, 141-43, with pl. 71 (MM 125-130).

whom the detail was deemed decorative rather than functional.²¹ Moreover, at Sardis both imported Phrygian and local Phrygianising fibulae are attested.²²

The Indere Tomb's inclusion of Greek ceramics comes as no surprise: wares from mainland Greece (Corinthian, Laconian and Attic), as well as East Greece, are otherwise attested in Archaic Sardis.²³ The Lydian ceramic repertoire has many links with Archaic East Greece, such as the use of various vessel types like the column-krater, skyphos and some forms of oinochoe.²⁴ Yet, while ceramics provide ample evidence for both trade and cultural exchange with Greek-speaking peoples, the distinction between 'East Greek' and 'Lydian' cultural expression is best conceived as shading rather than line; East Greeks were themselves part of the wider Western Anatolian culture. The distinctive white ground of many East Greek wares is but a local manifestation of the Western Anatolian decorative grammar seen both in prior Phrygian and Lydian wares. Similarly in sculpture, both large and small scale, the kinship of East Greek with Western Anatolian is readily observed.²⁵

The conquest of Western Anatolia by the Persians added an important new cultural element to the mix in Lydia. On the basis of some ceramic deposits, Dusinberre has made the stimulating and attractive proposal that Lydians in Sardis abandoned their traditional skyphos in favour of the Achaemenid deep bowl as their drinking vessel of choice over the early 5th to 3rd centuries BC.²⁶ The Achaemenid shape of shallow bowl with offset everted rim is otherwise attested in local ceramic copy from the tumulus at Harta.²⁷ Such emulation of Persian luxury toreutics in local ceramic products would seem to indicate a high level of receptivity among the population generally, but it cannot directly answer the question about 'native' elite practice: did the local elite, sponsoring the production of metal-ware vessels to a central model for tribute, themselves use and copy imported metal-ware bowls?

In her fuller study of satrapal Sardis, Dusinberre identified several categories of 'Achaemenid' artefacts that give every indication of having been locally produced; seals

²¹ Knudsen 1964, 66 n. 17. Kohler (1995, 203-04) briefly summarises and updates knowledge of the bowls with swivel-handles and spool-shaped attachments, reading the continuous band as a retention of form from a prior structural requirement to strengthen the wooden model bowl.

²² Waldbaum 1983, cat. nos. 671-675, with commentary at 112-13.

²³ Schaeffer *et al.* 1997.

²⁴ Greenewalt 1966.

²⁵ Asheri 1983, 15-65, especially 39-51. On the regional quality of East Greek dialects, reflecting their incorporation of elements of the local Anatolian language, whether Lydian or Carian (Herodotus 1. 142. 3-4), see Blümel 1998. For sculpture, see Özgan 1978.

²⁶ Dusinberre 1999.

²⁷ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 39, fig. 67. Note the parallel (imitation of Persian toreutics in local ceramics) in modern Georgia, at Gumbati (Knauss 2000, fig. 4).

and jewellery feature most strongly.²⁸ She urges the case that the local population made Sardis' 'Achaemenid' products for their own consumption in ready emulation of the new cultural centre rather than under compulsion by their new masters. Such a reading fits well the pattern emerging elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire.²⁹ To what extent do the contents of the 'Lydian Treasure', and more specifically the contents of the tumulus at Ikiztepe, support it?

First, it needs to be stressed that the combination of Lydian tomb design and burial practice in the Ikiztepe tumulus urge the identification of the deceased with a native population, as was argued by Özgen and Öztürk.³⁰ Several of the vessels parallel vessels depicted on relief sculptures of Persepolis and other Persian products so closely as perhaps to identify them as imports.³¹ Nonetheless on a few, such as a magnificent silver incense-burner, Lydian inscriptions may bear witness to local production (as they surely do in the case of Lydian inscriptions on Achaemenid-style seals).³² Even more revelatory, Lydian/Persian hybridisation – that is, Persian decorative details applied to traditional Lydian ceramic shapes – can be identified on such vessels as the bronze chytra with stepped lid or silver lydion with horizontal flutes.³³ Items such as these surely attest to the local production in Lydia, that deliberately emulated some facet of imperial models.

Syntactical Irregularities in the Ikiztepe Figured Bowls

Amidst all the wealth of metal vessels from the Ikiztepe tumulus, three lobed silver bowls stand out:³⁴ they incorporate figural compositions between their lobes, in two cases made of separately produced appliqués.³⁵ All three compositions incorporate Achaemenid Persian imagery, which allow the vessels to be analysed not only by

²⁸ Dusinger 2003.

²⁹ See the arguments for glass production throughout the western empire (Triantafyllidis 2003) and the accumulating evidence for Georgia, now conveniently amassed in Knauss 2006.

³⁰ The details of the Ikiztepe tomb are given in Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 48–52; see also 54.

³¹ For example Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 47–48 (deep bowls with horizontal fluting); also no. 49 (with vertical tongues); nos. 50, 124 (plain).

³² Incense-burner: Uşak 1.55.96: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 71; p. 34 that it was probably made by Lydians. Its seeming informal epigraphic character encouraged Melikian-Chirvani (1993, 113–15) to see the item as an import from Iran and the inscription as secondary. The name Artimas is uncertain, and could be either Anatolian or Iranian. The name is found in Caria and Lycia (Briant 1996, 1014/2002, 988, with references). Seals with Lydian inscriptions: Boardman 1970, 20–21; 1998, 2–3; Root 1998, 264.

³³ As noted by Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 23 (chytra), 63 (lydion).

³⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 33–35. They caution (p. 51) that the second and third vessels discussed here (Uşak 1.29.96 and 1.30.96) are not securely associated with precisely the Ikiztepe tumulus; only cat. no. 35 (Ankara 75–8–66) certainly comes from the Ikiztepe tumulus.

³⁵ See the important article by Moorey (1988).

shape and technique of manufacture, but also by iconography. At the outset, the Persian-ness of the elements of decoration most strikes the viewer. Yet these very elements are combined in a manner that defies the conventional syntax of heartland Persian art as we understand it from palatial decorative systems and from seals. The bowls deserve closer analysis.

Genre Confusion and Misplaced Modifiers: The Phiale with Addorsed Rams

The first vessel from the tumulus at Ikiztepe to be discussed is a shallow silver phiale with very widely spaced lobes and, introduced in repoussé technique between the lobes, the figural design of addorsed ram protomes above a winged sun disk (Fig. 2).³⁶ Several features make this phiale noteworthy: design, iconography and figural syntax.

Design: Visual Proximity. The introduction of figures between the lobes (characteristic of all three bowls under discussion) is foreign to the age-old aesthetic preference for repetitive patterning in the Mesopotamian tradition of bowls. Within this tradition lobed phialai typically exhibit a consistent pattern of embossed lobes; stylised lotus patterns may be tucked in between the lobes, but they do not displace the visual predominance of the lobed element. Accordingly, the design type does not appear in the standard studies on phiale typology: in Luscheý's categorisation, the type would fit merely within his category of phiale with simple bosses. Howes Smith's Type A4 (dated to the 8th century BC) has 'large drop-shaped bosses separated by interspace', but no figures are inserted in that interspace.³⁷ As Roger Moorey put it: 'The use of figured designs on external surfaces is still surprisingly rare in the published repertory of genuine Achaemenid plate in precious metals.'³⁸

The deviant insertion of repoussé figural decoration between the widely spaced lobes is most readily compared to two vessels with northern provenances, one in the Oxus Treasure and the other from Ünye in northern Turkey. The gold phiale from the Oxus Treasure is often taken as Bactrian work (Fig. 3).³⁹ Despite continuing discussion about the integrity of the 'Oxus Treasure' and its precise provenance, its antiquity (i.e. authenticity) and general provenance are secure.⁴⁰ Repoussé pairs of

³⁶ Ankara 75-8-66. Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 35; also published in Toker 1992, 174, 223 cat. no. 153. The earlier interpretation of the animal protomes as bulls rather than goats is surely incorrect, given the curvature of the horn and the regular ridging along the length of the horn, neither of which is characteristic of bulls in life or in Achaemenid art.

³⁷ Luscheý 1939, 61-63. Howes Smith 1986.

³⁸ Moorey 1988, 232.

³⁹ London BM ANE 123919 (12.1 cm diam.): Dalton 1964, no. 18, pl. 8; Luscheý (1939, 61, no. 1; 62-63) includes the Oxus phiale with his 'simple boss' category and concludes that it is a native Bactrian work; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 109, as Iranian, F2c17.

⁴⁰ See the helpful outline of evidence in Curtis 2004.



Fig. 2: Silver shallow six-lobed bowl from Ikiztepe, with repoussé figures, *ca.* 500 BC (Ankara 75-8-66) (after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89).



Fig. 3: Gold shallow six-lobed bowl from the Oxus Treasure, with repoussé rampant lions (London, BM ANE 123919) (photograph: courtesy of The British Museum).

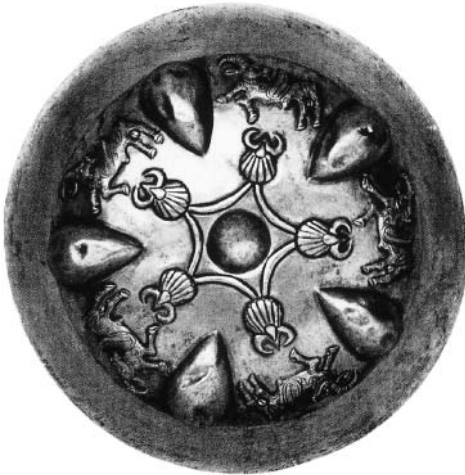


Fig. 4: Silver shallow five-lobed bowl from Ünye, with repoussé regardant goats (Ankara 57-1-55) (after Akurgal 1968, pl. 67).

frontal-faced rampant lions are disposed back-to-back between the six lobes. Frontally they frame the lobes, though visually the back-to-back pairs of lions predominate.

Akurgal published the five-lobed silver phiale from Ünye (ancient Oinoe on the south coast of the Black Sea east of Samsun) (Fig. 4).⁴¹ Although a confiscated rather than excavated artefact, its antiquity and general provenance are relatively secure. It features repoussé standing regardant winged goats between the widespread lobes. The decorative aesthetic of the Ünye phiale's lower elements – the curvilinear pattern below the goats and around the central boss – more readily parallels the Ikiztepe phiale's curved lines linking the lotus blossoms in contrast to the Oxus Treasure's bowl with its simple ring and row of six inversed lobes (yet in terms of figural style the two phialai are quite distinct).

On the basis of the detail of the winged goats (and the provenance), Akurgal identified the Ünye phiale as late Cimmerian work. Attractive though the suggestion is, there is nothing concrete at present from the Cimmerian side to support it; indeed, Ivantchik, in his summary of what is known about Cimmerian material culture, utterly rejects the identification and insists that the phiale is Achaemenid.⁴² Toker similarly calls it 'Achaemenid' but (rather inconsistently) dates it to the first half of the 6th century BC, noting that the awkward details betray the 'carelessness of the local artist'.⁴³ Yet Achaemenid decorated phialai with good archaeological provenance consistently have close-set lobes (or other regularly recurring pattern), like those of the majority of phialai from the 'Lydian Treasure'; examples are known from Deve Hüyük and Susa.⁴⁴ From Persepolis come precious fragments of a glass phiale of the same type.⁴⁵ In view of all this Boardman has recently characterised the Ünye phiale as: 'a fore-runner of the Lydo-Persian series... which has the lobes but whose animals hail from an earlier Urartian tradition'.⁴⁶ For the vessel type with

⁴¹ Ankara AMM 57-1-55 (15.9 cm diam.). Akurgal 1967; Toker 1992, cat. no. 152 (where dated first half 6th century BC); Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 100, 109, as Anatolian, F1d18.

⁴² Ivantchik 2001, 96. Still helpful is Sulimirski 1959, 45-64.

⁴³ Toker 1992, No. 152.

⁴⁴ 'Lydian Treasure': Özgen and Öztürk cat. nos. 38-41 (lobed); see also nos. 46-47, 49, 122-123 (tongued); erroneously alleged to be Greek by von Bothmer (1981, 1984); Muscarella (1988, 218-19 n. 1) protested concerning his cat. nos. 326-327, which are the typical lobed type. Deve Hüyük: Moorey 1980, nos. 93-99 (see also nos. 85 and 92). Susa: Louvre Sb 2756; Harper *et al.* 1992, 244, cat. no. 170. See also Lushey 1939; Howes Smith 1986. For the argument that Herzfeld's four lobed bowls inscribed in Old Persian with the name of Artaxerxes should be taken as ancient and reliable evidence for heartland toreutic, see Curtis *et al.* 1995; Gunter and Root 1998. Cf. London WA, silver phiale (25.3 cm diam.), 'from Erzingan' (Dalton 1964, no. 180).

⁴⁵ Schmidt 1957, pl. 67.3.

⁴⁶ Boardman 2000, 247 n. 132.

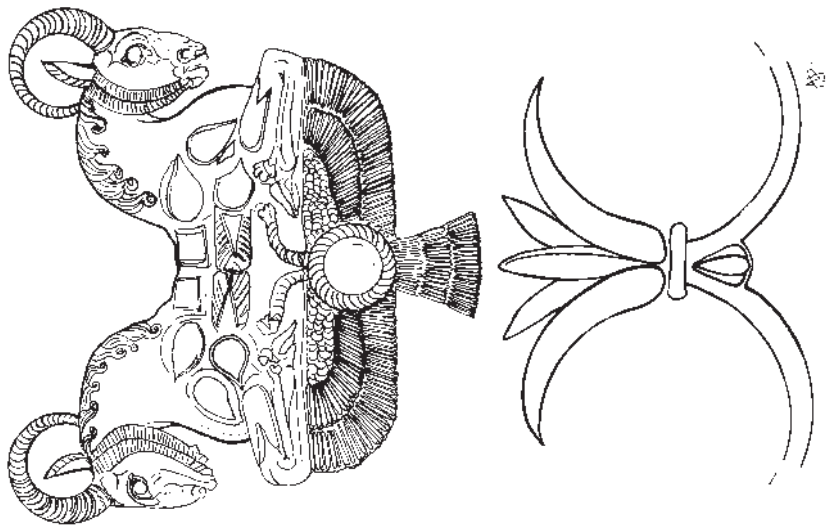


Fig. 5: Double-protome design of silver bowl from İkiztepe (Ankara 75-8-66) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89).

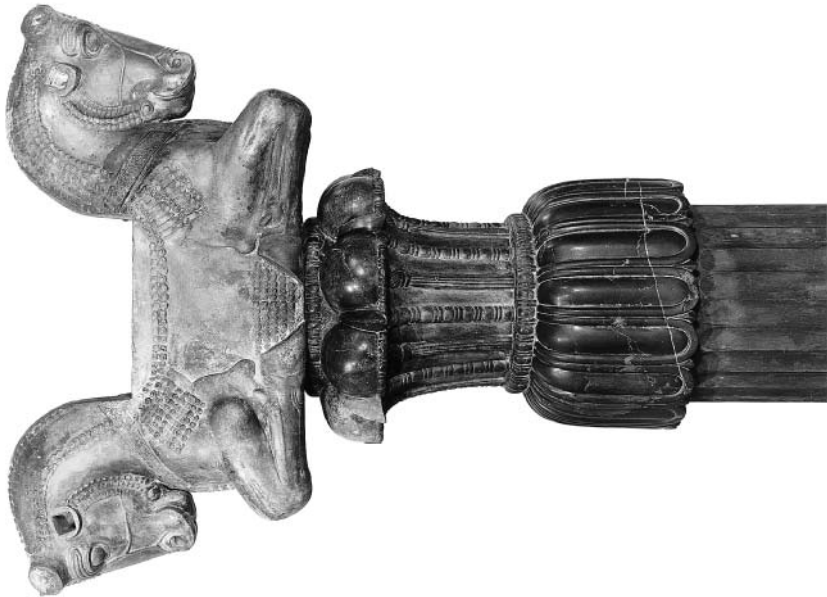


Fig. 6: Bull protome capital from Apadana South Porch, Persepolis (photograph: courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, P 67572 / N.46348a / OIM A 24069-79).

widely spaced lobes and figures between the lobes, the lack of parallel with firm provenance elsewhere is not much to go on; but at present, the evidence points to an East Anatolian or Pontic rather than heartland Iranian aesthetic.

Three other phialai of the early 5th century BC provide slightly more distant parallels: they share the feature of a limited number of repoussé lobes (six), spaced wide apart, with repoussé figural elements introduced between: all three have a pattern of lotus and palmette flanked by pairs of swan-necks between the lobes. Two come from Rhodes in East Greece, and the third (with an Aramaic inscription) from Kazbeg in the Caucasus.⁴⁷ Their provenances are hence not incompatible with an Anatolian origin, as has already been noted by Boardman.

Iconography: Genre Confusion. The repoussé figures between the lobes exhibit an iconography whose separate elements are recognisably Achaemenid: addorsed ram protomes and a winged sun disk (Fig. 5). Yet the appearance of pairs of addorsed animal protomes as two-dimensional vessel decoration is an instance of *genre confusion*. Addorsed animal protomes are imports from the three-dimensional arts, notably architecture, and are best known from the (bull) protome column capitals from the Apadanas of Susa and Persepolis, and perhaps even Pasargadae (Fig. 6).⁴⁸ They are not commonly found in two-dimensional minor arts, though an origin in furniture manufacture has been suggested.⁴⁹ An interesting parallel exception occurs on a gold ring with engraved bezel from Rawalpindi (5th century BC bezel style, according to Dalton), which features addorsed bull protomes.⁵⁰ Here, too, the animal protome capital, whose architectural iconography links it with imperial Persian power, appears displaced into another realm – personal jewellery – in a distant outpost of empire.

Despite the fact that the overall form adopts the design of the typical Achaemenid addorsed protome capital, such genre-confusion with architecture does not tell the whole story. Özgen and Öztürk describe the animal protomes on the phiale as bull

⁴⁷ Ialysos, Rhodes, Tombs 61 and 72, *ca.* 500: Miller 1997, 43 n. 63 with references. Kazbeg, now Moscow: Luschey 1939, 61, cat. no. 3; illustrated: Boardman 2000, fig. 5.73, with references at 247 n. 133 (where appears the judgment about production); Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 106, F1c16.

⁴⁸ It is doubtless this similarity that made Özgen and Öztürk 1996 (and Toker 1992, 223) identify the phiale's figures as addorsed bulls. Susa: de Mecquenem 1947, 37-39, with fig. 17 and pl. 4. Persepolis, Apadana, Throne Hall: Schmidt 1953, fig. 48b-c, fig. 61c; and see the man-bull addorsed element on the composite capitals of the Council Hall, figs. 54e-55. Pasargadae: four sadly fragmentary capitals were found by Herzfeld (described as horned lion, leonine figure, bull, horse), of which only two were recovered by Stronach 1978, 61-62, fig. 29a-d, pl. 55a-d. See further below.

⁴⁹ Boardman 2000, 74. See also Stronach 1978, 73-74.

⁵⁰ London WA 124007: Dalton 1964, no. 106, pl. XVI; illustrated in colour in Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 18.



Fig. 7: Ram protome silver rhyton, mid-5th century BC. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.30) (photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, all rights reserved).

protomes; the bull capitals of Susa and Persepolis and Pasargadae do provide good parallels for the formation of the mane and beard by rows of separate spiral tufts on the phiale's animals. Yet the backward-curving horns on the phiale characterise the ram (or, if longer, the ibex) rather than the bull.⁵¹ Ram or ibex capitals are to date unknown in Achaemenid monumental architecture. At Pasargadae a fragmentary

⁵¹ I am most indebted to Susanne Ebbinghaus for pointing this out to me; this material, and its possible link with Anatolia, will be further discussed Ebbinghaus forthcoming.

sculpture identified as a horse-protome capital by Schmidt and Stronach was re-identified as an ibex by Kawami. However, on the basis of guardian sculptures from Persepolis, Kawami suggests that it too was a guardian sculpture rather than a capital; and in any case, its smooth features make it less of an apt parallel for the figures on the phiale.⁵²

Small-scale three-dimensional goats found on zoomorphic handles and animal-protome rhyta provide closer parallels to the details of the phiale's rams. In toreutics the interior detailing of the curved horns by a series of horizontal ridges characterises the ram or wild goat, though it is also found on the curved horns of fabulous creatures (Fig. 7).⁵³ The busy stylisation of the musculature also tends to find parallels among the goats of minor arts rather than column capitals. The tiny leaf- or feather-shaped 'underwing' is best paralleled in the ram-protome rhyta, especially the silver rhyton formerly in the Schimmel Collection, which also features the spiral tufts; and that in the Pomerance Collection.⁵⁴ The 'underwing' is barely visible in Fig. 7, incised at the transition from protome to fluted drinking element, in the shadow. Yet, the 'underwings' on the phiale's rams take an unusual form: they are doubled and reversed, in opposition to the placement of wings in nature. They thus add to the decorative rather than the organic quality of the detailing. The stylised shoulder musculature is more readily paralleled by the ibex handles of the later amphora from the Duvanlij treasure in Bulgaria.⁵⁵

While the overall composition of the addorsed rams on the phiale comes from architecture, the model for their anatomical details would seem to have been small-scale plastic arts.⁵⁶ In addition to genre confusion, there is misquotation as the anatomy confuses the heartland Achaemenid treatment of musculature.

Decorative Syntax: Misplaced Modifiers. The addorsed ram protomes kneel not on the usual support for column capitals but above winged sun disks. The winged sun disk itself is very well known in both large- and small-scale Achaemenid arts (except vessels), where it occurs both independently and in composition. When in composition, the sun disk consistently appears above the other element, as is appropriate

⁵² Kawami 1986, 265-66. Ibex guardian sculptures near the north-east tower of the Apadana at Persepolis: Kawami 1986, pl. 16, fig. 8; Schmidt 1957, pl. 36c. Ibex-figures in relief sculpture: Schmidt 1953, pl. 187a-b (Palace of Xerxes).

⁵³ Note the lion-griffin handles (Pfrommer 1990, pls. 36.2, 37.1).

⁵⁴ An observation I owe to Susanne Ebbinghaus. New York MMA 1989.281.30; Muscarella 1974, no. 155. Pomerance: Terrace 1966, cat. no. 59.

⁵⁵ Sofia Mus. 6137: silver-gilt amphora from Kukuva Mogila, Duvanlij, Bulgaria. Filow 1934, 46, no. 14; Marazov 1998, no. 117.

⁵⁶ The discovery of a cache of impressions at Ur reveals an indiscriminate use of seals, coins and metal-ware details, presumably as models for seals, and so suggests that some translations between media may have commonly occurred (Garrison and Root 2001, 39).

to its symbolic significance.⁵⁷ Sometimes that other element is paired creatures.⁵⁸ Tendrils commonly descend, reminiscent of birds' legs.⁵⁹

On the phiale the placement of the winged sun disk below the figured elements turns it into a supportive platform. Its details are adapted to suit the new syntax: here the tendrils curve upwards. With their enlarged finials, they almost take the form of twin heads, rather like a janiform eagle in effect.⁶⁰ Such a figural syntax is highly ungrammatical in heartland terms, and ruptures the Achaemenid convention.

All three aspects – the insertion of figural elements between the lobes, the translation of visual imagery from the three-dimensional media of architecture and toreutics to the two-dimensional realm, and the displacement of the winged sun disk to the role of support – point to a production away from the heartland. Yet the phiale derives its visual vocabulary from Achaemenid Persian production.

'Loan Words' and a Provincial Accent: The Phiale with 'Royal Guard'

A second shallow silver lobed phiale, though adorned with a more canonical number of lobes (10), also inserts figures between the lobes (Fig. 8).⁶¹ Here the technique is of particular interest, but the iconography and contrasts in style give significant information. As in the case of the phiale with addorsed rams, the phiale presents links with and disjunctions from Achaemenid heartland production.

Technique: Rhetorical Flourish or Narrative Twist? On the phiale both the gilt lobes and the gilt figures were made separately and subsequently attached to the surface

⁵⁷ Whether or not the image represents Ahuramazda, it would seem to have precise religious significance. See Garrison and Root 2001, 39, 69, with references.

⁵⁸ For example, the glazed brick from the north-west corner of central court of the palace at Susa, where pairs of sphinxes are associated with the sun disk: Louvre Sb 3324; see Harper *et al.* 1992, no. 157 with discussion and references. The current restoration is admittedly based on comparanda. As for minor arts: the winged sun disk is omnipresent in Achaemenid cylinder seals. Kaim (1991, 31–32) succinctly summarises the standard arrangements of the winged sun disk in composition on seals. For the winged sun disk above paired animals, see the sealing from Daskyleion inscribed with the name of Xerxes, where two sphinxes leap towards each other below a winged sun disk (Kaptan 2003, DS 2).

⁵⁹ I adopt the term 'tendril' from Roaf 1983, who discusses this motif 133–38, noting a possible origin in 'the legs of the supposed sun-bird...on Egyptian reliefs' (137).

⁶⁰ From the sealings of Persepolis, Garrison and Root (2001, 185) note only one instance of the winged symbol as a pedestal device (for a hero controlling a pair of animals) and comment that it is 'a very unusual placement of this device' (cat. no. 104; pl. 60). Although the winged sun disk is almost a cliché in Achaemenid glyptic, the up-turned tendrils appear only in two other cases to my knowledge, and there they occur in combination with down-turned tendrils: Kaim 1991, pl. 7.1; London, BM, WA 89304 above a heroic combat, though Merrillees (2005, 59) describes this more precisely as 'centred above is a small disk with horn-like appendage over it'.

⁶¹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 33. Also von Bothmer 1981, 195–96; 1984, 25; and especially Moorey 1988, 234 (no. 2).



Fig. 8: Silver shallow bowl with ten appliqué lobes and figural decoration, probably from Ikiztepe, *ca.* 500 BC (Usak 1.29.96) (after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87).

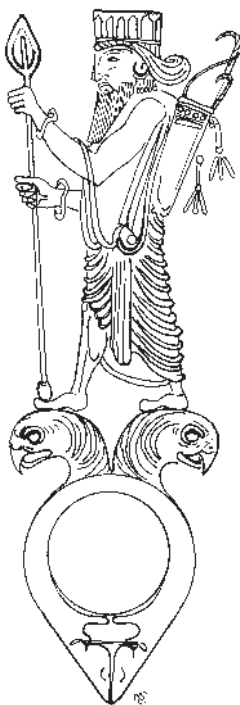


Fig. 9: 'Royal Guard' appliqué design of silver bowl probably from Ikiztepe (Usak 1.29.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87).

of the exterior into specially cut grooves.⁶² As Moorey demonstrated, these bichromatic processes are unusual and sophisticated. The technique of inserting lobes to the exterior of a bowl whose interior is plain (except for the lower omphalos) differs from the usual repoussé technique whose interior shows the negative of the exterior.⁶³ This rare complicated process is otherwise found on a few other vessels from the Lydian Treasure.⁶⁴ It also occurs on a silver deep bowl in the Shumei Collection as well as a silver hemispherical bowl in London, both of regrettably uncertain provenance.⁶⁵

It is not clear whether the supremely competent metalworker who produced the bowl primarily intended by the experimental technique to provide a strong contrast between an elaborate exterior and plain interior. Such contrasts are otherwise found in Achaemenid toreutics: a bronze deep bowl from Deve Hüyük has a separate overlay that featured 11 repoussé lobes with lotus designs engraved between. The silver shallow bowl excavated at Susa is suspected of having been cast because there is no trace on the interior of the 40 long petals of the exterior; instead a light lotus and bud frieze circle the omphalos.⁶⁶ For the Ikiztepe phiale, the innovation may have been to enhance further the bimetallic quality, as the attachments – both lobes and relief figures between – are gilt.⁶⁷ In contrast the figural appliqués of the Shumei vessel are silver rather than gold (albeit with a contrasting sheen owing to a different finish); the use of silver throughout made Thomas suggest that the purpose of the technique was to allow the interior surface to remain smooth.⁶⁸

The rare type of figural decoration is dubbed ‘gold figure’ by Moorey. He suggested that the regional home for ‘gold figure’ is ‘West Anatolian Achaemenid’, though he argued for a long prehistory for the technique in Iron-age Iranian metalwork.⁷⁰ The technique allows for a double effect: to bedazzle the eye with bichromy; and to create surprising contrasts between interior and exterior.

⁶² Described by Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87.

⁶³ The plain interior possible in such a technique (albeit different examples, two deep bowls with attached lobes modelled in the shape of Persians’ heads) is best seen in the photograph in von Bothmer 1984, 24, for cat. nos. 16–17.

⁶⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 34 (discussed below), 36, 37.

⁶⁵ Shumei Collection, Miho Museum: Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47–48, cat. no. 18 (entry by Nancy Thomas). London, WA 13470: Moorey 1988, 233–34, pl. 1a. See also London WA 135571: Moorey 1988, 235–36, no. 4, pl. 4a; Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 101.

⁶⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean 1913.594: Moorey 1980, no. 111. Paris, Louvre Sb 2756: Harper *et al.* 1992, 244, no. 170.

⁶⁷ Bi-metallic aesthetic also to be seen in Scythian work: Greifenhagen 1970, 56, pl. 29.

⁶⁸ In Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47–48, cat. no. 18.

⁶⁹ Moorey 1988, 238; Achaemenid-period florescence as an Anatolian phenomenon (p. 235).

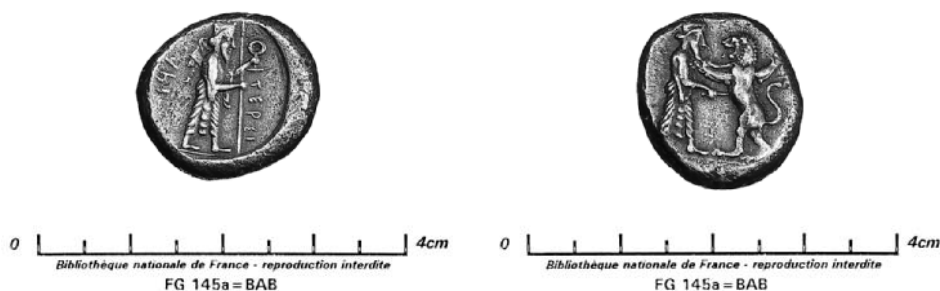


Fig. 10: 'Royal Guard' (rev.) and 'Royal Hero' (obv.) on silver siglos from Tarsus, Cilicia, ca. 400-385 BC. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles (photograph: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

Iconography: Provincial Accent and Unconventional Syntax. The ten figures between the ten lobes wear the Achaemenid court robe, carry a bow and quiver on their backs, and hold a spear upright (Fig. 9). By and large they parallel the guards on the palace walls of Susa and Persepolis (and in minor arts) who signify attendance on the king.⁷⁰ Yet there is one important deviant detail, already noted by Moorey: they wear a serrated crown. The crown makes them 'Royal Guard' (i.e. King-as-Guard) figures, much like the 'Royal Archer' of Achaemenid coinage.

The Royal Guard characteristically appears in the arts of the Western empire, such as the reverse of early 4th-century BC coins from Tarsus (Fig. 10, left).⁷¹ It may be an invention of the western satrapies, signifying the king's protection of his peoples. The inclusion of the crown to create the Royal Guard on the phiale then responds well to the conditions of production.⁷² Any message about the king's protection of his peoples had especial urgency in the further reaches of the empire, under threat from Greek 'freedom fighters' from without.

The dress of the Royal Guard on the Ikiztepe phiale offers one further argument for a manufacture in Western Anatolia. Boardman noted that whereas in Persian art only the near lower hem of robes is rendered, on the phiale, the far hem appears as

⁷⁰ Note an interesting parallel among the Persepolis sealings, PTS No. 24, the seal of Appish-manda, which shows two such palace guards, dubbed 'Susian' by Schmidt, flanking a palm tree overtopped by the winged sun disk (Schmidt 1957, 27-28, pl. 8). Given the frequent association of the date palm with the king on cylinder seals, these are doubtless meant to range in the same semantic field as the guards on the palace walls: they are palace guards themselves guarding the king rather than the 'Royal Guard'.

⁷¹ Levante 1993, no. 209 (dates 425-400 BC) = Babelon 1910, no. 528; Casabonne 2004, 126, dates 400-385 BC. Note his interesting suggestion (p. 172) that the king holds a key signifying his local suzerainty.

⁷² Root 1979, 306-07; Moorey 1988, 235. For an analogous argument with regard to the knotted kidaris strap on 'satrapal' coinage, see Harrison 2002, 312.

a curving arc; the treatment is characteristic in Greek art of the period.⁷³ In view of the tradition of interculturalism between East Greece and Lydia noted above, such a detail would not be surprising in a West Anatolian/Lyidian workshop.

Yet here, too, there are syntactical irregularities. In complete rupture with the norm for guards in Achaemenid art (royal or not), these figures neither float in space nor stand on a simple base line: they plant their feet firmly on two addorsed eagle-heads. The concept of the pedestal animal is itself imported from glyptic, where in the early Achaemenid period it is associated with high social status.⁷⁴ On a characteristic example from Persepolis, a cylinder seal, a hero stabbing a horned winged lion stands on a lion.⁷⁵ Here, too, a provincialism: whereas in the heartland bestiary pedestal animals tend to be lions, sphinxes and griffins, the pedestal creatures of the phiale are addorsed eagles. Moreover, they are executed in a distinctively different style.

Style: Loan Words. There is a marked contrast between the naturalistic, if formal, style of the 'Royal Guard' figure, whose closest cognates are the figures from Achaemenid 'court art', and the highly schematised base on which he stands. Each foot rests on the head of an eagle whose linked attenuated bodies enclose a circular space, with a triangular element projecting at the bottom. Moorey aptly describes the pedestal figures as 'an unusually concise zoomorphic abbreviation', and notes a relationship with the art of the Steppes.⁷⁶ The triangular elements below resemble a hooved lower leg and Özgen and Öztürk adduce as a parallel the attachments for a Scythian wooden bowl from Maikop in Berlin. The Maikop bowl was adorned by a series of golden relief attachments in the shape of the lower legs of deer and swine.⁷⁷ The mixture of medium (gold inset into wood rather than merely covering wood) offers interesting conceptual parallels to the inserted gold figure relief plaques.⁷⁸

The phiale with Royal Guard employs a number of surprise elements which conflate prior traditions. The 'provincial accent' of artistic language in the placement of the crown on the Royal Guard may point to the west, with parallels from Anatolia and the Levant; but the pedestal animal, both in choice and design, represents a borrowing from the north and north-east. Such loan elements perhaps reflect what

⁷³ Boardman 2000, 191.

⁷⁴ Dusinberre 2003, 161; argued more fully in Dusinberre 1997, 105-06 (where it is observed that pedestal animals in the Achaemenid world appear only in glyptic).

⁷⁵ Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 209 (PFS 523*); pl. 114. The language of the cuneiform script has not been identified; the seal's use is attested from 495/4 BC.

⁷⁶ Moorey 1988, 234. Ivantchik 2001 seems not to know of Moorey's article or the 'Lydian Treasure'.

⁷⁷ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87. Berlin, inv. 30221.d1-4 ('Hirschenchenkel'), inv. 30221.d5-7 ('Schweinefuss'); Greifenhagen 1970, 57, pl. 32.1 and 32.3 (right); 58, pl. 32.4 and 32.3 (left).

⁷⁸ Greifenhagen 1970 notes other Scythian wooden bowls with inserted gold appliques.

Dusinberre has dubbed the ‘polyethnic elite’ of satrapal Sardis; there is moreover good evidence for pockets of imported populations in Western Anatolia.⁷⁹

Mixed Metaphors: Deep Bowl with ‘Royal Hero’

The third figured vessel from Ikiztepe is a deep bowl (Fig. 11).⁸⁰ It combines Persian heartland iconography—the Royal Hero stabbing a rampant lion—with the unusual design (widely spaced lobes) of the first phiale and the unusual technique (‘gold figure’) of the second. Both the lobes and the figures were originally gilt and all were separately attached. The subsidiary decoration, engraved hatched triangles at the join of bowl to rim and opposed hatched triangles below, was reasonably identified by von Bothmer as Greek or Lydian, though it is difficult to find a certain parallel later than the bronze age.⁸¹

Morphology: Complex Structure. The bowl’s profile closely resembles that of the deep bowls of the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (Fig. 1), a fact which makes all the more striking the unorthodox application of shallow lobes to the exterior. Extant deep bowls with swelling curves, like those of the reliefs, tend to be plain. When deep bowls were decorated, the decoration took the form of overall patterning (fluting or stylised lotus).⁸² The idea of enhancing the surface texture with the addition of lobes comes from shallow phialai (though it can be paralleled in some provincial ceramic imitations of Achaemenid metal-ware).⁸³ The addition of lobes, with or without figures inserted between, is anomalous and adds to the experimental quality of the Ikiztepe bowl. Indeed, it might even be argued that in order to introduce lobes to a rounded deep bowl with offset everted rim, the use of appliqué is necessary; repoussé is not an option.

The bowl is highly unusual but not entirely without parallel. In several respects it resembles the silver deep bowl in the Shumei Collection mentioned above: the profile, the technique, and even the iconography with a Royal Hero combating a rampant lion.⁸⁴ In style alone the two bowls differ. The use of appliqué rosettes as subsidiary decoration occurs in the silver shallow bowl with frontal-faced Bes-headed

⁷⁹ ‘Polyethnic elite’ (Dusinberre 2003); immigrant populations (Miller 1997, 91-97).

⁸⁰ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 34, 10.56 cm diam. Discussed by Moorey (1988, 234-35, no. 3), with his pl. 3 being the best published illustrations of the bowl; von Bothmer 1981, 195.

⁸¹ von Bothmer 1981, 195.

⁸² Miller 1993, n. 28, lists examples, to which should be added Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 50 (plain), 46-49 (overall decoration).

⁸³ Knauss 2001; 2006. The longer body of the bronze deep bowl Stuttgart A 38.286, without provenance, resembles more closely the Georgian ceramic versions: (Koch and Rehm 2006, p. 118b). Edomite sites include loped deep bowls in their emulative corpus. See Bennett and Bienkowski 1995, fig. 6.8, nos. 9-10 (plastic), no. 14 (painted); Bienkowski 2002, 286, no. 22 (plastic).

⁸⁴ Shumei Collection, Miho Museum: Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47-48, cat. no. 18 (where it is presumed to be Iranian).

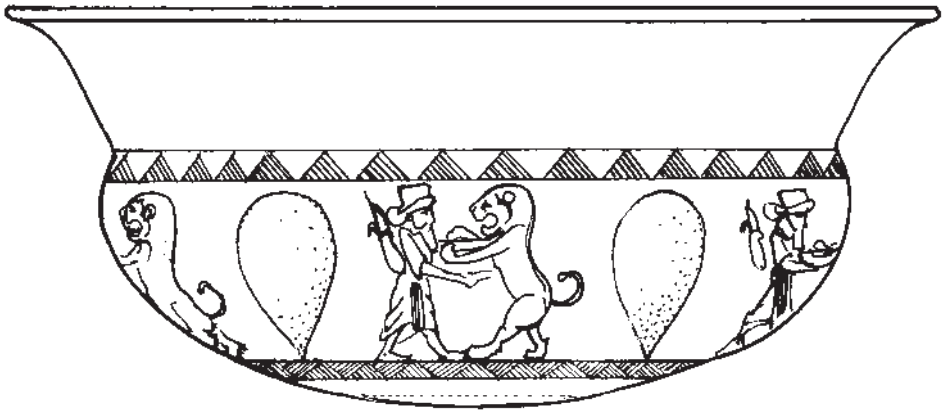


Fig. 11: Silver deep bowl with six appliqué lobes and figural decoration, probably from Ikiztepe, *ca.* 500 BC (Usak 1.30.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 88).



Fig. 12: 'Royal Hero' combats lion appliqué design of silver deep bowl probably from Ikiztepe (Usak 1.30.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 88).

winged lions in London.⁸⁵ Unfortunately the lack of provenance of both the Shumei and the London bowls makes these parallels suggestive but ultimately uninformative. They cannot elucidate the problems of locus and intent of manufacture.

Iconography: Mixed Metaphors. The subject of the figural zone, a figure in Persian dress stabbing a lion, emerges from the traditional 'heroic contest' motif of the ancient Near East (Fig. 12). In Achaemenid glyptic the 'heroic encounter' (the term embracing both heroic control and heroic combat) is especially popular, appearing on about one third of all seals; the popularity has suggested that the image had a particular significance in the Achaemenid world.⁸⁶ At Persepolis a subset of only one third of 'heroic encounter' scenes show scenes of the Hero battling beasts. On the Ikiztepe bowl, the figure stabs a rampant lion while grasping its throat; the inclusion of a dentate crown identifies him as royal. The court robe (sleeve pulled up to the shoulder on the left arm) is often worn by such figures on Achaemenid cylinder seals as is the combination of quiver and bow at his back.

In Achaemenid glyptic and other small-scale arts, especially in the provinces but also in the heartland, it is often the king with dentate crown who encounters the beast, as on the Ikiztepe bowl.⁸⁷ The crowned 'encounter' can be found amidst the sealings of Daskyleion in North-Western Anatolia and in the Murasu Archive at Nippur, Mesopotamia.⁸⁸ The same appears on early 4th-century BC coinage from Cilician Tarsus (Fig. 10, right) and also Sidon, which was in turn emulated in Samaritan coinage; the Royal Hero with crenellated crown appears also in local glyptic.⁸⁹ The crowned figure frequently appears on sealings from Persepolis in the heartland.⁹⁰ In fact, Root observed that the subject occurs on 'ten of the fifteen known seal types inscribed with the name of an Achaemenid king'.⁹¹

⁸⁵ London WA 135571, with eight lobes: Moorey 1988, pl. IVa (17.2 cm diam.); Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 101.

⁸⁶ Garrison and Root discuss proportions (2001, 54-55); and subdivisions (59) of 'Encounter', noting that 'Control' appears twice as frequently as 'Combat'.

⁸⁷ Garrison and Root 2001, 57.

⁸⁸ Daskyleion: Kaptan 2003. DS 18: Aramaic inscription with seemingly Iranian name, West Semitic possession format – (Röllig in Kaptan 2003); DS 3: cuneiform inscription in OP and ?Babylonian says 'I am Xerxes'. Murasu Archive: The king without a quiver stabs a winged lion: Briant 1996, 742, fig. 54 bottom, illustrates; Legraine 1925, no. 936 on pl. LVIII; cf. no. 941. Legraine 1925, no. 936 = Bregstein 1993, no. 73 (as unwinged lion).

⁸⁹ Tarsus: Levante 1993, no. 209 (dates 425-400 BC) = Babelon 1910, no. 528; Casabonne 2004, 126 (dates 400-385 BC). Sidon: Hill 1910, 141, no. 9 = pl. 18.5 (half-shekel, ca. 400 BC); Boardman 2000, fig. 5.53. Samaria: Meshorer and Qedar 1999, 43-45 outlined (and relationship with Sidonian coinage noted); examples nos. 7, 20, 22, 23, 35, 74, 86, 96, etc. Uehlinger 1999, 153-62, though Uehlinger suspects that the cylinder seals were made elsewhere in the West and imported to Samaria.

⁹⁰ See Garrison and Root 2001, cat. nos. 221, 230.

⁹¹ Quotation from Root 1979, 303; see the discussion also in Garrison and Root 2001, 58.

The image of the king slaying a beast long served as an important symbol in the ancient Near East; the immediate antecedent to Persian art was the 'Royal Seal' type from Neo-Assyrian glyptic.⁹² Yet in the monumental art of Persepolis, the beast-slayer was stripped of his crown, to become (in Root's application of Darius' phrase to his visual realisation) a 'Persian Man', a heroic figure embodying the high ideals of courageous defence.⁹³ On a variety of doorjambs at Persepolis, the type can be found. On the Palace of Darius, the Hero tackles a bull, a lion-headed monster and a lion; in Xerxes' 'Harem', it is a lion and a lion-monster; and the Hero battles a lion, a griffin-monster, a lion-monster and bull in different doorways to Xerxes' Throne Hall.⁹⁴ This translation of the beast into fantastic figures of the mythical sphere (rather than the Assyrian lion) in conjunction with the removal of the crown underscored Darius' transformation of the traditional royal message.

The disjunction between the 'official' monumental imagery with its generic beast-slaying and more easily circulated small-scale imagery with its 'Royal Hero' is most telling. On the seals it is surely not merely a conservative retention of the traditional Near Eastern royal iconography. It is more as though the subjects insisted on a closer identity of King and Hero, as we saw in the case of the 'Royal Guard'; popular thought evidently viewed the crownless beast-fighters of the palaces as standing in for the king, presumably defending his peoples from hostile forces. Moreover, they insisted that the message be not subtle.⁹⁵

We may never know the programme of decoration of the Persian satrapal palace at Lydian Sardis, though there is some slight evidence that throughout the empire local Achaemenid administrative centres replicated to some degree the imagery of the centre as part of the dissemination of the imperial message.⁹⁶ Despite the probability of an alternative local model, the maker of the Ikiztepe deep bowl evidently adopted the imagery of the Royal Hero from models in glyptic rather than palace programmes.

The Poetics of Emulation in the Achaemenid World

In any act of production (Greek *poiesis* or 'making') many decisions are made, both conscious and subconscious. Decisions to follow conventional practice are mostly subconscious, while those to innovate, emulate, or abandon or modify past practice

⁹² Garrison and Root 2001, 53-60, with references, for range and meaning of the heroic encounter in Near Eastern glyptic. 'Royal Seal': see Herbordt 1992, 123-36 (with references).

⁹³ Root 1979, 305-07; see further Garrison and Root 2001, 57-58.

⁹⁴ Palace of Darius: Schmidt 1953, pls. 144-146; Harem: Schmidt 1953, pl. 195-196; Throne Hall: Schmidt 1953, pls. 114-117.

⁹⁵ Royal hero discussed by Root 1979, 303-08, crownless, 306-07; Moorey 1988, 235; Garrison and Root 2001, 56-60.

⁹⁶ Miller 1997, 123-24, with references. The material from Gumbati corroborates Knauss 2000. See now the Achaemenid column base fragment, Brussels O. 1929 (Koch and Rehm 2006, 111).

perhaps are more active. Modern discussions about the utility of concepts such as 'influence' with its implications of passivity have receded in the face of a more widespread awareness of the complexities of production, not least the interplay of maker and market; the concept of 'emulation' as a form of positive endorsement, even political statement, is now preferred.⁹⁷ Yet there is still need to deconstruct the decisions made in the process of emulation. The term 'poetics' is adopted here to flag both the creative decisions that go into an act of production (whether to adopt, modify, integrate), and the ideological processes engaged by the act of production. The Ikiztepe bowls are a creative production employing Persian visual vocabulary, a production that both links with and separates from the idiom of the Achaemenid heartland. In general, study of Achaemenid metal-ware is fundamentally handicapped by the shortage of examples with good archaeological provenance in Iran.⁹⁸ This gap of the centre makes impossible the study of relations based on vessel form or finish alone. Hence my focus on the figured vessels: they provide different realms of evidence. Not only the overall composition but also and especially the specific choice and disposition of the figural elements reveal a non-heartland production. Other features – the technique, as suggested by Moorey, the hem line of the Royal Guard, as suggested by Boardman, as well as the archaeological provenance – urge the identification of the locus of manufacture as the satrapy of Lydia.

The importance of the vessels of the 'Lydian Treasure' arises from their secure provenance. As noted above, on the basis of tomb construction, furnishings and the offerings, Özgen and Öztürk identified the rich burials in the region of Güre as burials of the local, rather than Persian, elite.⁹⁹ In a Lydian-style tomb with apparently Lydian burial practice, someone who was presumably ethnically Lydian was interred with a wealth of Persian-style vessels.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, for the various reasons outlined above, at least the three figured vessels discussed here must have been local products. They were worked partly within the cultural mosaic of a general north-west aesthetic, adopting and mixing different motifs from the Persian repertoire.

⁹⁷ For challenges to archaeological 'influence', see, for example, Winter 1977; Miller 1993, n. 187; 1997, 151.

⁹⁹ It is the same comparative isolation of the famed Hasanlu gold bowl that causes difficulties in identifying its cultural context and reading. See Winter 1989; Robinson 2003.

⁹⁹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 28. They further conclude, on the basis of such features as the absence of weapons in the burials, that the deceased of the rich Güre tombs were 'more likely to have been either of mixed Anatolian-Persian stock, or Anatolians who favoured Persian ideas in decorative arts' (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 30). Contrast the archaeological invisibility of Persian funerary practice.

¹⁰⁰ Dusinger (2003, 128-57) outlines well the difficulties in trying to analyse issues of ethnicity from archaeological, especially funerary, evidence. I do not contest her vision of 'polyethnic' elite of Sardis, but wish to focus attention on the probable transformation of self-expression of the local elite.

A regular feature on the three vessels is the (figurative) mixing of media, the displacement of one element into a different artistic context. This is why it has been so hard to characterise the material. Too little is known of the subject matter of earlier Lydian art (other than what Hanfmann dubbed the 'leontomania' of Archaic Lydian sculpture) to enable a detailed analysis of possible mingling of ideas in the Persian period, but in their conflation and modulation of Achaemenid and Near Eastern imagery, the Ikiztepe bowls seem to stand independent of any prior Lydian iconographic tradition. Of the subjects, only the lion combat may have figured in prior Lydian imagery as it was so widespread in the Near East.

In his study of the shapes of vessels brought by the delegations at Persepolis, Calmeyer observed a contrast between the careful ethnographic distribution of dress from one Delegation to another, and the more uniform appearance of the vessels, with the exception of a few vessel types from the periphery of the empire.¹⁰¹ As noted above, the deep bowl with offset everted rim appeared from a broad region from West Anatolia across Mesopotamia up to Drangiana and Arachosia; a smaller region (including Lydia), that perhaps represented the extent of the old Median zone of influence, contributed the spouted amphora. Calmeyer proposed that these vessels, which were not characteristic of their respective peoples (unlike the Bactrian camels), did reflect the practice of gift-giving in a wider circle among the elites of the empire. The Delegation reliefs of Persepolis, Calmeyer concluded, convey two messages, both ideological: 'So united is our ruling class!' and 'Over such widely scattered individual peoples do we rule!'¹⁰²

The 'Lydian Treasure' shows that such a reading can be taken further. Not only did the Lydians (and the other peoples who carry such vessels at Persepolis, including the Ionians!) participate in this gift-exchange of appropriate gifts; it is now clear that emulation of the Persian model caused them to adopt these signifiers of wealth and status in their own lives. Yet their imitation admitted creative innovation and reciprocity: interculturalisation perhaps rather than acculturation. In her studies of the imagery of the heartland, Root has had occasion to urge the reconsideration of the products of the regions of the empire as part of a creative dialogue with the imagery emanating from royal patronage, especially as created under Darius.¹⁰³

Why did the metalworkers of the Ikiztepe bowls modify the syntax of the imagery so strikingly? Should we view the specific instances of 'deviation' from Achaemenid imagery as the result of ignorance of the proper 'grammar' of imperial art, as mere provincialisms? Cultural anthropology knows many parallels. Or can we see the

¹⁰¹ Calmeyer 1993.

¹⁰² As noted above, the wide-ranging discussion of Root 1990 is very insightful.

¹⁰³ Root 1991; 1994, 15-22.

iconographic innovations as motivated by a desire to convey a locally nuanced special meaning, even possibly one intended for royal eyes?

There is as of yet no clear answer for the Ikiztepe material. Each of the three figured vessels picks up on an Achaemenid symbol of royal power. The double-protome column capital on the first is elusive but some examples of it outside the heartland suggest that it played a role in the architectural symbolism of the Achaemenid world (Figs. 2, 5).¹⁰⁴ Like the columned hall, it had a distinctively royal stamp and could connote royal authority. Hence its appearance on the gold ring from Rawalpindi noted above. The placement of the capital on top of the winged sun disk violates the religious principles behind the Achaemenid imagery, where the sun disk set above probably symbolises the protection of Ahura Mazda. Is this inversion a clumsy or ignorant (western) way of expressing divine support of the king?

The insistence that the guard figure on the phiale is actually the king changes the metaphor of its presence in art (Figs. 8-9). It does not signify the awesome power and separation of the king from his people by the thousand attendants of his dignity so much as the king's own role as guardian of the people, in the mode of 'the Lord is my shepherd'. The king as beast-slayer on the third bowl follows a more conventional heartland meaning (Figs. 11-12). The king as insurer of peace defeats the lie; but also again as protector, not only from internal dissension but also from external threat.

Local meaning rather than random assortment of alien symbols of power would seem to be at play here, as would local acceptance of royal ideology that all order in the cosmos stems from the king and his support by Ahura Mazda. What cannot yet be settled is whether we have here an attempt at iteration, an attempt employing the language of the centre, to communicate with the centre.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰⁴ The appearance of Achaemenid-style column bases at Gumbati and elsewhere in the Caucasus exemplifies the same principle (Knauss 2000, 121-29; cf. Knauss 2006); presumably double-protome capitals were also used there. The double-bull protome from Sidon long known is now illustrated in colour in Curtis and Tallis 2005, fig. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Yet, as Dan Potts has forcefully put it to me: a Persian from the heartland would have been appalled at such blatant misunderstanding of the winged sun disk.

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GREEKS, BARBARIANS AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS: MAPPING THE CONTACT*

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Abstract

The paper critically explores the ways in which archaeologists produce maps of phenomena they investigate and draw inferences from these visual representations, especially concerning contact situations and influences exchanged between cultures. The contacts between Archaic Greek culture and its northern hinterland are analysed as a case study and some specific ways of thinking about and experiencing space in these two cultures are investigated in order to introduce other possible lines of inquiry. The proposition is put forward that archaeologists need not abandon their practice of drawing maps according to our own concepts of space, but that these should be supplemented by an effort to approach the experiences of space of the people we study.

The Early Iron Age of temperate Europe (7th-5th centuries BC) saw the advent of a new cultural phenomenon, labelled by scholars as 'princely graves'.¹ Spreading from France and Germany to the Central Balkans, these elaborate funerary assemblages are unanimously interpreted as burials of the members of the newly emergent ruling elite. Among the opulent offerings registered in them especially prominent are the objects of Greek manufacture – bronze vessels, painted pottery and, less frequently, pieces of warrior equipment. The presence of these Mediterranean products deep in the European hinterland has raised interest among archaeologists about the contacts between the Iron Age societies and the Archaic and Early Classical Greek culture and a number of interpretations have been offered, differing in approach and basic theoretical assumptions.² More often than not this endeavour has evolved around spatial considerations. In the traditional archaeological framework the centres of production were established on the Mediterranean shores and then linked to the places of discovery of the Greek products in their Iron Age settings, via the most obvious natural communications, such as river valleys. The result

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¹ Fischer 1982; Mohen *et al.* 1987.

² Babić 2002.

of the procedure has been the establishment of 'routes of influences', along which Greek culture penetrated the barbarian world.³ Similar exercises in drawing neat maps of distribution are a staple element of many an archaeological interpretation and are based upon the notion of 'space as a container,... divorced from humanity',⁴ prone to objective observation and measurement, a surface upon which actions take place and should be plotted in order to 'make sense'. This widespread archaeological attitude, and indeed that of other related disciplines,⁵ has been challenged and other possible approaches have been offered in order to account for the spatial dimension of human lives.⁶ Basic in this reinvestigation is the assumption that space is not a universal, neutral, atemporal setting for human affairs, but rather a situationally experienced, relationally constructed, culturally specific medium through which individuals act and are acted upon.⁷

The intention of this contribution to a journal devoted to interaction between past cultures, and marshalling in its title the geographical/spatial terms of West and East, is to review the ways in which archaeologists have treated the spatial dimension of the encounter between the ancient Greeks and their northern neighbours. It is hoped that this review will open up a possible direction for future research, assuming that the spatial dimension of this process may be considered in terms other than 'objective plotting on maps'.⁸ The contact in question involved the actual experience of the members of two sets of distinctive cultures, each in turn different from our own. The exercise in mapping this contact thus involves three distinct ways of experiencing and making sense of space: that of the Greeks, the barbarians and of the modern researchers. It therefore seems appropriate to investigate the internal logic governing each of them.

Archaeological Mapping

Archaeological research is very much about locating in space distinct traits of material culture. The very nature of our evidence – physical remains of human activities inevitably leads to their association with the place in which they are registered, and to drawing certain conclusions based upon this spatial dimension. Throughout the history of the discipline, the choice of the approach to this issue is of course dependent upon the general framework of the research.

³ Babić 2002, 74-76.

⁴ Tilley 1994, 9

⁵ Bender 2002.

⁶ Ashmore and Knapp 2000; Bradley 2000; Tilley 1994; Ucko and Layton 1999.

⁷ Tilley 1994, 11.

⁸ Tilley 1994, 9.

The main goal of archaeology under the culture-historical paradigm consists in determining *archaeological cultures* – sets of material culture regarded as products of distinct social entities, ultimately, yet often tacitly equated to ethnic groups.⁹ These units are determined on the basis of plotting on to maps certain types of artefacts taken to be diagnostic, pottery being the most popular choice. Discrete units, or cultures, are spread over the areas of high density, and the labels ascribed to them, such as Beaker culture or *Linear Band Keramik*, bear obvious traces of the process of inference. The fuzzy areas where artefact types ‘mix’ open up the issue of demarcation lines between cultures, and their exact position is often the subject of hot debate among specialists. The cases of particularly perplexing spatial distribution of artefact types, their sudden appearance or disappearance, or overlapping density areas, imply changes going on inside the culture and raise the question of temporal dimension. In these instances the mechanisms of diffusion and migration are harnessed to account for the observed changes, inexorably involving external factors, be it in the form of actual movements of people or ‘flows of influences’.¹⁰ Just as migrating populations are envisaged moving along convenient routes, river valleys occupying the top of the list, the influences exerted by one culture over another are also thought of and graphically represented as distinct lines or arrows running over maps (Fig. 1). Inevitably, this has long been a basic procedure in considering the contacts between the Greeks and barbarians.

The drastic paradigm shift of the 1960s, decisively shaped in stark opposition to the culture-historical approach, naturally introduced a new outlook to spatial analysis in archaeology. Demanding explicitly scientific procedures and strongly inclining towards quantifiable models, processual archaeology brought in a number of methods to account for spatial behaviour of human groups in accordance with the general principles of this strain of research. Drawing on cultural ecology and primarily concerned with economic or subsistence strategies, processual archaeologists have seen the landscape as a set of resources and explained human actions in space in terms of optimal exploitation of these resources.¹¹ Graphic representations of processual inferences are no longer in the form of huge realms scattered with pots and intersected with lines of migration or radiating diffusion. They are replaced instead with site catchment analyses and Thiessen polygons (Fig. 2).¹²

When dealing with relations among distinct populations, in order to remedy the shortcomings of the diffusionist approach, the processual archaeologists introduced

⁹ See Jones 1997, 3, 5.

¹⁰ See Johnson 1999, 19.

¹¹ Jones 1997, 5; Johnson 1999, 103.

¹² See Hodder and Orton 1976.

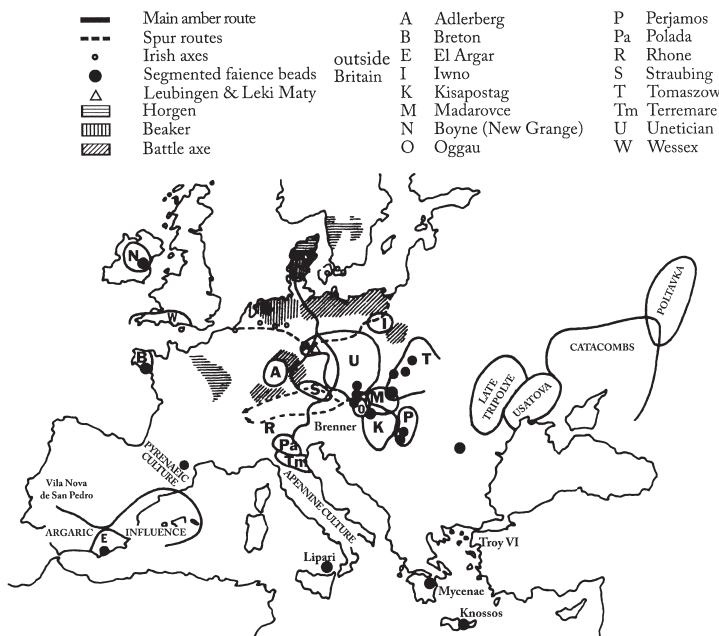


Fig. 1: Early Bronze Age cultures and trade routes according to V.G. Childe (after Jones 1997, 20).



Fig. 2: Thiessen polygons constructed around Romano-British towns (after S. Champion, *Dictionary of Terms and Techniques in Archaeology* [Oxford 1980], 132).

the concept of 'centre and periphery'.¹³ Its theoretical base is the concept of 'world system', according to which the events in any segment of the global pattern, especially the economic ones, may be explained by the mutual dependence of all its constituent parts. In this process among the units relations of domination are created, which determine the extent and character of exchange between them at any given moment. The model accounts for the shifts of the roles of centres and peripheries, and introduces the idea of semi-peripheries – buffer zones which spatially and temporally allow for the changes in the world system and the reverse of relations of domination. In the case of the relation between Archaic Greece and Iron Age Europe, by the end of the 1970s this approach had been put into a kind of a manifesto in the influential paper of Frankenstein and Rowlands, based upon the material excavated in south-western Germany.¹⁴ The model introduces some important improvements compared to the abstract flows of influences along river valleys, especially since it takes into account the social and economic factors governing the contact.¹⁵ However, in terms of the spatial dimension of the process, it still ends up in drawing bird's-eye maps, this time taken to be even more 'accurate' and 'objective', since they are backed up by a positivist-driven analysis, typical of the processual approach.

Consequently, the fundamental innovation in approach to the evidence, brought in by the processual shift, did not abolish the archaeological practice of envisaging the spatial dimension of past peoples in our own terms, and graphically representing it in the form of maps based upon the geographical and technical knowledge of modern times. However, this is but one of the ways of experiencing, thinking of and representing space, even today. Map-making is a process of reducing the infinitely complex to a finite, manageable frame of reference, requiring the imposition of artificial grids.¹⁶ These grids are a product of an agreed set of premises, reflecting the purpose of the representation, the intentions and motives of the map-maker and his/her supposed audience. The final result, a map, is therefore a form of translation, involving a 'light-handed exercise of power',¹⁷ since it leans on an authority under whose auspices the starting premises are agreed upon. The archaeological maps are the means of communication among specialists, one of the ways in which we announce the results of our research. The audience we are aiming at shares the knowledge of the premises built in our representations. However, those whose experiences we are mapping did not share our frame of reference and their attitudes

¹³ Champion 1989; Rowlands *et al.* 1987.

¹⁴ Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978.

¹⁵ Babić 2002.

¹⁶ Gaddis 2002, 32-33.

¹⁷ Humphreys 2002, 209.

towards spatial dimensions of their lives must have been quite different. In order to comprehend them we need not abandon our practice of drawing maps, but it would be worth our while to supplement them with an effort to approach these differentiated worlds of experience. What follows is one such attempt, directed towards the Archaic Greeks and their Central Balkan neighbours.

Greek Mapping

Archaeological mapping, as we have seen, ultimately results in graphic representations of spatial phenomena. On the other hand, the ancient Greeks predominantly chose another medium for conveying practical geographical knowledge – that of the written or spoken word. This need not come as a surprise, bearing in mind the idea of classical Greece as a basically oral society in many vital spheres of life, from political to literary and philosophical.¹⁸ According to this line of argument, the relatively early introduction of literacy did not abolish the deeply rooted mechanisms of oral communication and transmission of information, be it between the institutions of 5th-century democracy in Athens, or a philosopher and his disciples. The existing written records represent only a small, more or less random fraction of knowledge in circulation among the ancient Greeks. The knowledge, for example, of maritime routes was transmitted in the form of *periploi* – verbal instructions. Some of them are indeed preserved and reached modern scholars second-hand, such as those compiled by the middle of the 6th century BC by two ships' captains from Massalia. They describe winds and currents, and state numbers of days needed to cover distances, but do not depict the coasts along which they sailed.¹⁹

The concept of graphic representation of space was first conceived among Greeks of a different vocation, and the first cartographic considerations were a philosophical issue. Anaximander of Miletus (*ca.* 611–546 BC), a philosopher of the Ionian school particularly interested in cosmology, is considered to be the first map-maker.²⁰ This rather theoretical concern first led him to celestial mapping, but included the terrestrial as well, so when by the end of the 6th century Hecataeus of Miletus wrote his *Periegesis*, he is said to have included a map, probably based on that of Anaximander.²¹ Its reconstruction (Fig. 3) shows a circular-shaped *oikumene*, the concept soon to be criticised by Herodotus, who was suspicious of all existing maps and there is no evidence that he included any in his *Histories*.²² However, his accounts of distant lands and peoples, verbal as they were, may well have influenced the later

¹⁸ See Thomas 1989.

¹⁹ Dilke 1985, 21, 130–33.

²⁰ Dilke 1985, 21–23.

²¹ Dilke 1985, 56–57.

²² Dilke 1985, 24.

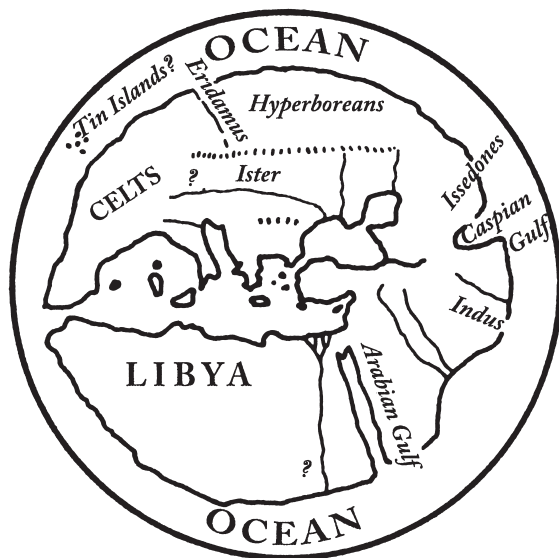


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of Anaximander's map (after Dilke 1985, 56).

Greek cartographers.²³ The tentative graphic reconstruction of the inhabited world according to Herodotus (Fig. 4) leads to the issue of the limits of Greek geographical perception. The maps of the *oikumene* were recognised as being based on incomplete knowledge, and as late as the beginning of the 4th century BC Plato makes Socrates say that outside the world known to the Greeks, there are probably a great number of people living in a great many similar regions (*Phaedo* 109A-111C).²⁴

The crucial experience of the Greeks in foreign lands was that of colonisation. Leaving aside the issue of the possible practical reasons that led to this massive movement along the Mediterranean shores,²⁵ it seems pertinent to the current purpose to look briefly into the notions governing the dealings of the colonists. For

Modern idealizations about pioneering and “new frontiers” appear as diametrically opposed to what seems to have been a basic Greek outlook, namely, that colonization signified some sort of “return”,... since the Greeks went to settle where Heracles, or the Argonauts, or those who returned from Troy had already visited or settled.²⁶

The archaeologically attested Mycenaean presence in some of the places where the subsequent Archaic colonies were founded may give some practical grounds to such

²³ Dilke 1985, 57-59.

²⁴ Dilke 1985, 25.

²⁵ See Boardman 1980; Fine 1983, 63; Starr 1977.

²⁶ Malkin 1987, 6.

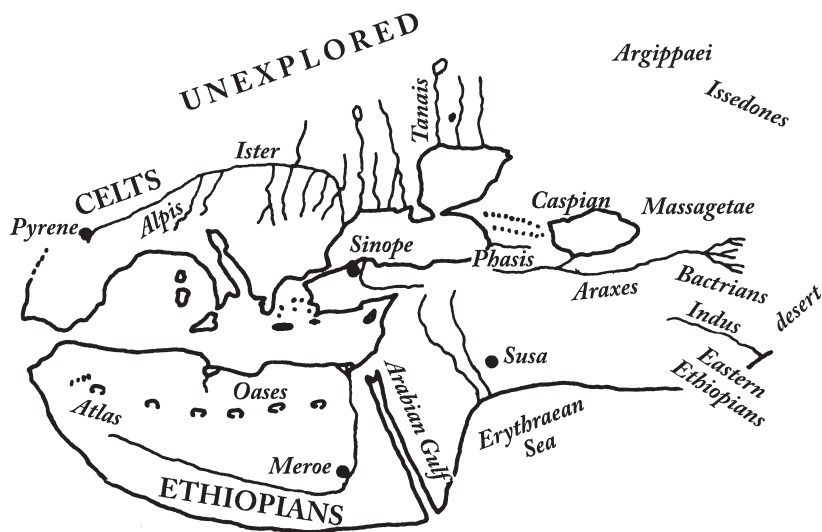


Fig. 4: The inhabited world according to Herodotus (after Dilke 1985, 58).

notions.²⁷ However, the decisive role played by the Delphic oracle in the choice of the destination of a new settlement and its subsequent life may elucidate the ideological aspect of colonising movements.²⁸ The emphasis put on ancestral presence in the domains to be inhabited (again) opens the grounds for the assumption that the Greek idea of the right of possession over land is derived from and rests heavily upon the rights of succession.

The ideological regulation of succession from Mycenaean predecessors in the land is not limited to the colonising situation only, but also lies at the heart of another basic process in Greek society – that of the development of the *polis*. The emerging sense of communal identity among the members of these new social units was intimately linked to the identification of their territory and demarcation towards others.²⁹ By the middle of the 8th century BC, at the time of the initial formation of these new social and spatial units, a new reverent attitude may be identified towards the traces of previous Mycenaean occupation.³⁰ In the words of C. Antonaccio: 'territories... were actively structured by the Bronze Age traces in the landscape'.³¹

²⁷ Boardman 1980, *passim*, especially p. 23.

²⁸ Malkin 1987.

²⁹ Morris 1991; Snodgrass 1991.

³⁰ Antonaccio 1996; Coldstream 1976; Morris 1991; Snodgrass 1982; 1991.

³¹ Antonaccio 1996, 103.

Not only at the level of communities, but also when individual status was concerned, territorial issues were at the heart of the matter. A crucial part of the ideology of the *polis* was the landed citizen-farmer,³² and land tenure was the ultimate path to citizenship.³³ I. Morris describes the process of rethinking space going on during the 8th century: settlements, sanctuaries and cemeteries were laid out in accordance with the emerging new ideal image of a community.³⁴ Both private and public space was shaped to accommodate the male citizen community – the *polis*, and to emphasise the rigid boundaries with the marginalised social groups – women, slaves, foreigners. At the same time: ‘The gods were safely set apart in their sanctuaries, and the dead in their cemeteries.’³⁵

Greeks and Others

However, the commonly accepted image of a *polis* as a highly urbanised settlement did not yet enter the stage. The archaeological evidence suggests that nucleated city plans emerged in mainland Greece as late as the 6th century.³⁶ Consequently, at the time of the massive colonising movements, the mother *poleis* were still agglomerations of rural settlements.³⁷ A challenging idea was put forward by a number of scholars,³⁸ that it was precisely the experience of founding a settlement in potentially hostile environments that triggered the development of a clustered nucleated plan. Consequently, the emergence of a classical urban *polis* was decisively influenced by the negotiations over the land rights with the non-Greeks. Let us therefore briefly examine the Greek attitudes towards their own self-definition in contrast to foreigners.

Regardless of the choice among the possible answers to the ever-burning question of the movement of population on the Greek mainland during the Dark Age, there are strong indications that the Greeks of the 8th and 7th centuries felt appropriate to maintain links with the Mycenaean past (see above). The analysis of Hellenic myths of ethnic origin suggests regional group identities contesting in the Greek world, all of them deriving the communal ancestry from the heroic past.³⁹ The proposition was put forward that it was as late as the 5th century that the Greeks, faced with the Persian peril, started to distinguish the barbarian as the universal anti-Greek against whom Hellenic culture was defined.⁴⁰ However, even at the

³² Alcock *et al.* 1994, 168.

³³ Coldstream 1976; Morris 1987; 1991; Snodgrass 1991.

³⁴ Morris 2000, 257–306.

³⁵ Morris 2000, 306.

³⁶ Morris 1991; Snodgrass 1991.

³⁷ See Roebuck 1972.

³⁸ Antonaccio 1996, 101; Malkin 1987, *passim*, especially p. 1; Snodgrass 1991, 10; Arcelin 1986.

³⁹ J. Hall 1997.

⁴⁰ E. Hall 1989.

time of Herodotus, the notion of non-Greeks was shifting and the same group could be described as more or less similar to the Greeks themselves or diametrically opposed, depending on the relations in a particular situation. The key adversary, the Persians, are described as uncivilised irrational barbarians when faced with the Greeks, but when dealing with the Scythians, their role changes into an orderly army, closely resembling the phalanx of hoplites.⁴¹ The images of the barbarians also demonstrate dynamic changes in the ways the Greeks visualised others, depending on social and political circumstances.⁴² Far from being fixed, Greek communal identity shifted situationally, and bore appropriate counterparts.

In archaeology and related disciplines, the well-rooted, yet vague concept of Hellenisation is usually recruited to cover the great majority of contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks, the case of the Central Balkan peoples included.⁴³ It is accompanied by graphic representations of distribution of the Greek goods along the 'routes of influences', and strongly implies that the inevitable process of accepting civilised manners by the barbarians is in linear proportion to the distances. The process is taken as an inevitable, somehow natural tendency of a dominant culture to spread and 'infect' those exposed to it.⁴⁴ The only possible answer from the other side is passive acceptance. This concept of course owes very much to the frequent tacit diffusionist inclination of archaeologists, especially those of a culture-historical background.⁴⁵ On the other hand, it is intimately linked to the very basic assumption of classical archaeology – that of classical Greek culture as the cradle of Europe, wherefrom all civilisation was disseminated.⁴⁶ Even when working under the processual paradigm, archaeologists have been under the spell of this concept, and the mentioned model of relations between the Greeks and temperate Europe, proposed by Frankenstein and Rowlands (see above), still supposes the domination of the Hellenic component, embodied in its cultural and economic strength.⁴⁷ The Greeks are seen as the inevitable source of influences and luxury goods, although their need for expanding markets is coupled with the need for natural raw materials, such as timber, resin and slaves.⁴⁸ In producing them, the chiefdoms of Iron Age temperate Europe perpetuated their internal social differentiation and relations of dependence towards the Greek influx. The relation of economic dependency upon exchange

⁴¹ Hartog 1980.

⁴² Sparkes 1997.

⁴³ See Babić 2004, 11.

⁴⁴ Dietler 1989; 1990.

⁴⁵ See Johnson 1999, *passim*, especially p. 18; see also above.

⁴⁶ Humphreys 2002; Morris 1994; Shanks 1996.

⁴⁷ Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978.

⁴⁸ See Wells 1980.

with the South and the flow of luxury goods decisively influenced the continental communities, their internal social and economic relations.

This mechanistic approach leaves aside the diversity and changes in Greek attitudes towards others, and even more so the reasons governing the choices and responses from non-Greeks. The long-lasting parochialism of archaeological sub-specialisations in prehistory and classical antiquity greatly contributes to this polarised picture. These two tracks of research indeed open up diverse possibilities and pose different limitations to scholars, but this need not be a constraint, but rather a provocative test in versatility of archaeological investigation. When the topic of research does not fit neatly into the academic slots, such as the issue of the contacts between Greeks and the Iron Age cultures of the hinterland, a burning need arises to complement the specificities.

Barbarian Mapping

One of the main challenges when dealing with Greek–barbarian contact is the fundamental difference in the sources at our disposal. Whereas it is possible mutually to supplement the written record and the archaeological evidence in order to approach the Greeks, this path is usually not open in the case of the communities they came into contact with. In the particular example of Central Balkan inhabitants, the only literary evidence at hand comes from Greek or much later Roman authors, and is laden with their world-view.⁴⁹ When searching for the experiences of the contact from the side of the Central Balkan peoples, and indeed for their attitudes towards space, we must therefore resort to other means.

Another drastic restriction in our source material for approaching the Central Balkan side in the contact stems from the fact that the Greek material is registered only in a number of specific burials, so-called princely graves. The settlements are not registered that could, with a reasonable level of certainty, be ascribed to the population whose members are buried with the Greek goods. Furthermore, the funerary record itself is restricted to a specific social group, often located separately from other members of the community.⁵⁰ However, this set of archaeological data has been the subject of extensive scrutiny and a number of models have been proposed to account for various aspects of the phenomenon.⁵¹

According to one of these models, the princely graves of the Central Balkans were symbolic crucial points for the cattle-breeding communities, acting on three mutually dependent levels: ritual, territorial and social.⁵² They were all erected in river valleys, on flat terrain or smooth slopes, at the foot of mountainous hinterland

⁴⁹ Babić 1994.

⁵⁰ Babić 2002; 2004; Palavestra 1994; 1998.

⁵¹ Babić 2002.

⁵² Palavestra 1994; 1998.

suitable for cattle-breeding, along the roads linking mountains to valleys, whose use for trade and seasonal pastoral migrations is ethnographically and historically testified over centuries. Profoundly inspired by the postulates of Braudelian long-term history, this model establishes close correspondence between the areas traditionally known for seasonal cattle-breeding in later Balkan history, and the ones that can be inferred as the territories controlled by the communities that erected the Iron Age mounds. Following this argument, the princely graves are seen to be situated on the crucial points of these territories – in winter pastures, by the vital seasonal communications, and even more precisely, by their intersections. Their location was chosen to announce the territorial rights of a community to the outsiders, but also to act as focal points strengthening cohesion inside the group itself.

The cohesive role of the princely mounds is emphasised by the repeated usage of some of the mounds from the Eneolithic through to the early Iron Age.⁵³ In this way the mounds as a part of the landscape represented the material manifestation of the direct linear link with the past, maybe even by establishing a mythical genealogy.⁵⁴ Ultimately, this may be one of the ideas about landscape that the Central Balkan barbarians shared with the Greeks. Just as the members of a *polis* felt it important to emphasise links to their heroic Mycenaean past, and articulated it both in terms of mythological narratives and attitudes towards tangible traces of Bronze Age life on the land they now inhabited, the communities that erected the princely mounds chose the already established cult places for burials of their prominent members.

The sudden disappearance of the phenomenon of the princely graves poses a series of relevant questions. The interpretation has been offered of discontinuity and disturbance of the established social order by the beginning of the 5th century BC, causing the abandoning of the practice.⁵⁵ However, the fact that the princely mounds were no longer erected does not mean that those already existing ceased to do so. Quite the opposite, they stood on, undoubtedly even more prominent than today, especially if they were surmounted by a marker.⁵⁶ The fact that the mounds were not disturbed subsequently may suggest a conclusion quite opposite to the assumption of the sudden collapse of the social order represented by the princely graves – the absence of plundering, subsequent burials or intervention may suggest importance and reverence towards the mounds. It may then be presumed that the tensions, competition, and social conflicts that caused the emergence of the princely graves did cease, and that the mounds themselves remained as monumental markers of the

⁵³ Palavestra and Babić 2003.

⁵⁴ Barrett 2000, 262.

⁵⁵ Palavestra 1998; Babić 2004.

⁵⁶ Palavestra 1998, 61.

established order and relations of power. Consequently, although the burials were only a small part of the cultural landscape at the time, they certainly played an important role by establishing a fixed point through which some of the vital experiences of the whole community were refracted. It therefore seems plausible that the world of the transhumant cattle-breeders of the Central Balkan Iron Age was shaped and mapped as the landscape of the princely graves.⁵⁷

Yet the need of reassertion of territorial claims by burials is surely not restricted solely to the ancient Greeks and the Iron Age Balkan populations. The wish to confirm the continuity of the established space as the image of the world and the ancestors inhabiting it is recognised in the case of Iron Age communities of the British Isles,⁵⁸ but also in archaeologically documented instances from geographically and chronologically remote cultures.⁵⁹ However, it may be relevant to note that the identical starting premise may lead to various, even diametrically opposed solutions in terms of spatial articulation. Let us therefore dwell briefly on a proposition based mainly upon a written source, and roughly corresponding to the princely graves in terms of chronology and cultural setting. F. Hartog analysed Herodotus' account of the burials of the Scythian kings, scrupulously respecting the nature of the evidence before him.⁶⁰ He establishes Herodotus' idea that the burial of a highly esteemed predecessor, be it that of a hero or a king, indeed represents a reference point in terms of land tenure of a community. We have already mentioned the importance of announcing succession over land, testified in the archaeological record of 8th-century Greece. On the grounds of Herodotus' account, bearing in mind that the author refracts his narrative of foreign peoples through his own Greek 'prism', Hartog infers the same attitude towards exceptional burials as landmarks of possession among the Scythians (Herodotus 4. 127).⁶¹ Gaining access and control over them means gaining, at least, virtual control over the whole territory. However, there is a fundamental difference in the ways in which the Greeks and the Scythians articulated and demarcated their realms. Whereas a *polis*, be it urbanised or not, is fixed on a relatively small territory divided into plots over which its inhabitants hold individual possession, the Scythians are nomads, incessantly moving over vast expanses, considered to be communal territories. Among the Greeks, the tendency was to achieve visibility of the exceptional burials. On the other hand, the nomadic horsemen tended to place these crucial monuments in secluded places, where they cannot be reached and

⁵⁷ Palavestra and Babić 2003.

⁵⁸ Barrett 2000, 257.

⁵⁹ Buikstra and Charles 2000, 206-11.

⁶⁰ Hartog 1977; 1980, 148-66.

⁶¹ Hartog 1980, 154.

disturbed. The living king was the focal point of a moving community, and moved with it. Once rendered immobile, the king is physically laid to rest at the limits of the world of his people. The place is chosen for the fact that it positions the dead king on the verge of the inhabited land, at the limits of the human world and near to the divine. In the mental mapping⁶² of the Scythians the remote burial is the crux of their territory, in spite of the fact that it is not physically in its centre, nor even at the frontiers of others, be they potential adversaries or not. The very fact that the funerary monument is *not* accessible to the outsiders enhances its importance in creating and maintaining communal identity.

Experiencing Bodies

Humans over time and space share some universal images of landscape,⁶³ and sometimes striking similarities may be observed even among distinctly different communities.⁶⁴ At least some of these shared ideas emerge from similarities in the sensuous experiences we share. Current archaeological theory has brought to the forefront the experience of the human body and sensual human activity as vital elements in our attempt to account for the past.⁶⁵ Concerning the spatial dimension of human lives, the phenomenological approach to the issue is based upon the premise that landscape is not just about seeing, but about a bodily immersion involving all the senses, and mastery of the space depends upon activities, perceptions and bodily attitudes of the subject.⁶⁶ However, as illustrated by the example of the ancestral graves as landmarks of territorial rights, these universal sensuous experiences are modulated in culturally specific ways, created and reinforced through repetition that forms habituality. Therefore the experience of space is always intertwined with the experience of time, as 'spaces are always created, reproduced and transformed in relation to previously constructed spaces provided and established from the past'.⁶⁷ Time, in turn, is another dimension of human experience interdependent with specific *habitus*⁶⁸ and differently articulated in various cultural settings. Opposed to the orderly chronological charts that accompany the traditional archaeological maps, the reaction against the detached theoretical stance over the last decades has brought with it a concern to rehumanise time.⁶⁹ The awareness of different layers and flows

⁶² See Bender 1999, 33.

⁶³ See Schama 2004.

⁶⁴ Bradley 2000, 18-19.

⁶⁵ See Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 13.

⁶⁶ Bender 1999, 33; Tilley 1994.

⁶⁷ Tilley 1994, 11.

⁶⁸ See Bourdieu 1977.

⁶⁹ Gosden 1994.

of time changes some of the staple elements of archaeological research, not only on a theoretical level, but also in some very practical aspects.⁷⁰

Getting back to the topic of the Greeks and the barbarians, the contact between these two distinct cultures must have involved an actual encounter among individuals with distinct attitudes towards time, space, foreigners, and their own sense of belonging to a community. For example, the Greeks tended, even sporadically, to represent the world they perceived in a visual form. On the other hand, the Central Balkan inhabitants did not leave us a recognisable trace of such an endeavour. Their world seems to have been envisaged and articulated by some other means.

Nevertheless, on the grounds of the archaeological evidence at our disposal, it is possible to infer some basic accordance among the Greeks and the barbarians, such as the tendency to build the feeling of communal identity, past and continuity around spatial markers. However, in the case of the Central Balkan populations, these were the funerary monuments of people who were remembered at least by some of the survivors for a period of time after the erection of the monuments, were in living genealogical relationships with them, and played a vital role in the community's actual social, political, economic and martial affairs. The Greeks, on the other hand, chose much older monuments as their anchors to the land they claimed, and established mythological links to their builders. This indicates not only a difference in attitudes towards space among these two communities, but also their distinct feelings of the passage of time and their communal past.

Since land-claims constituted a basic component of both Greek and barbarian communal identity, the encounter between the members of these two cultures on the limits of their worlds and the establishment of some kind of exchange, visible in the archaeological material that triggered our attention, demanded a mutual understanding that the territorial rights are not to be violated. This in turn means that their distinctive ways of articulating these rights were negotiated and the result announced through a channel of communication comprehensible to both parties.⁷¹ The process of 'translation' through which they met and reconciled their intentions surpasses the issue of language and touches upon practices and concepts basic for their self-identification and demarcation of outsiders. The maps we produce neglect this lived experience and concentrate instead on translating the process into the form we consider appropriate and accurate. May this brief overview of Greek and barbarian experiences of space be a contribution to a mental map of the contact that would take into account the specificities of their worlds, as well as our need to master, order and graphically represent them.

⁷⁰ See Murray 1999; Olivier 1999.

⁷¹ See Babić 2002; 2004.

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BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE GREEK *POLEIS* AS PART OF A WORLD-SYSTEM

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Abstract

Standard accounts of Greek history have been overwhelmingly *polis*-centred, Athenocentric and Hellenocentric; they have thus often marginalised the wider Greek world and separated Greek history from the wider Mediterranean and Near Eastern world. This article aims to situate Greek history within a wider world-system. It looks at how we can construct a new subject of Greek history by focusing on the networks moving goods, peoples and ideas and the various centres that organise this world-system.

Many years ago, A. Momigliano pointed out a peculiarity of Greek history, which has not attracted much discussion:

There is a very elementary difference between Roman and Greek history to which perhaps not enough attention has been paid. Roman history, to the ordinary educated man, has definite limits in space and time: it has a beginning, it has an end; and it is obvious, if you speak of Roman history, that you mean the history of a well-defined territory... With the Greeks it was the opposite. There were no obvious limits of time and space, no proper beginning, no agreed end and no geographical boundaries.¹

The Greeks had no centre or institution, around which one could organise their history; Greek-speaking communities were scattered all over the Mediterranean, and they never achieved political, economic or social unity; while their cultural unity was not centred on a dominant institution, such as a Church, or a Temple. In the face of these problems, what exactly is the subject of Greek history? And how is one to write it?²

In an important way, if there is any point talking about the unity of the Greek world, fragmented in a huge number of different polities, scattered all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, it must be emphasised that this unity was created and maintained by the huge numbers of people in movement: sailors, traders, soldiers, artists, physicians, poets, intellectuals. As F. Cassola has put it:

¹ Momigliano 1984, 133-34.

² It would take a long story to explain how different generations of historians of antiquity gave different answers to the problem. This is treated in detail in Vlassopoulos 2007.

... these activities (of these thousands of mobile people) were enough to create a connective network which embraced the whole Greek world and caused an exchange of experiences that guaranteed not the homogeneity of the culture, but the reciprocal comprehension and the reciprocal interest among the places.³

But if we accept that this is the case, it is important to recognise that the networks of mobilising and moving these people were not controlled only by Greeks and did not involve only Greeks.

Athenian monumental funerary art of the Classical period provides a good illustration.⁴ One of the most impressive monuments of 4th-century Athenian art is the funerary monument of Nikeratos, a metic from the city of Istria in the Black Sea; the monument is clearly inspired and imitates the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. But the creation of this new form of funerary art, which fuses together Greek temple architecture and Greek sculpture with Near Eastern decoration themes and funerary monuments, is neither simply an imitation, nor another illustration of Athenian creativity; it was based on long experimentation between Greek and non-Greek artistic practices that took place in the wider Mediterranean Greek world.

Greek artists in Sinope (the Black Sea), Cyrene (North Africa) and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, working for both Greek and non-Greek customers, experimented for a long period, fusing the tradition of Greek public art with the various non-Greek traditions of monumental tombs, which were to be seen in their adjacent areas. In the 4th century this experimentation found its way to Athens, creating one of the most impressive artistic achievements of the Greek world. We see here clearly the interaction between various components of Greek and other Mediterranean cultures; the role of the wider Greek world as a laboratory of experimentation and interaction; the introduction of the new practices to Athens; and the role of metics in Athenian culture.

We can, I think, reach three conclusions, based on this example. The first is that talking about Athenian art, the art of the Athenian *polis*, is somewhat of a misnomer. We need a larger framework. The second is that the unity, the reciprocal comprehension of the Greek world, is not based on the *polis* or a mysterious common Greek spirit or character; what brings together Athens and Sinope are the networks that move artists, poets, philosophers, but also merchants, sailors, soldiers and craftsmen. But if put like this, a third conclusion seems inescapable: these networks do not move only Greeks and do not stop at the borders of Greek communities. We need therefore a larger framework, and an alternative subject of Greek history.

³ Cassola 1996, 10.

⁴ For the following, see Hagemajer Allen 2003.

In a similar way, I. Malkin has presented a case for the centrality of networks in the formation of Greek identities.⁵ He has shown how networks between colonies and mother cities have created and transformed local, regional and ethnic identities in both the colony and the mother city. The altar of Apollo Archegetes in Naxos, on which the *theoriai* from Sicily sacrificed before sailing for the Panhellenic sanctuaries, was the starting point of a cultic network that helped define the local (Naxos), the ethnic-regional (Sikelote), and the Hellenic facets of Greek identity. At the same time, he has argued that it was the encounter with various communities and cultures in the wider Mediterranean world and the various networks that communicated this knowledge and experience to the various Greek communities that shaped the creation of a distinct Greek identity, as opposed to what the Greeks came to call the barbarians. The wider Greek world was an essential part of the Greek world-system; not simply in matters of economics (one could think how different the 5th-century Aegean would have been without the vital exchange networks with the Black Sea), but in all possible respects. To give just one example, 'a map designed to note the birthplaces of important pre-Socratic philosophers and fifth-century BC sophists would leave the entire mainland of Greece south of Thrace entirely empty'⁶ (with the single exception of Hippas of Elis).

What all the above examples suggest, is that we need an approach that will eschew the distinction between mainland Greece and the colonial world, in order to reach the links and processes that bring them together, creating both the unity and diversity of the Greek world; we have to think of a model that allows us to study these networks and relationships systematically. My proposal is that we should look at the Greek world as a system of communities (Malkin's 'Greek World Web'), maintained by various networks and organised around a variety of different centres. I will argue that Greek history needs to be seen within a world-system approach, which can allow us to uncover a novel Greek history, taking into account the totality of Greek communities and to insert Greek history within the history of the wider Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

What is a World-System?

To answer this question, it is important to clear up some important misconceptions that gather round this notion.⁷ The first is that a world-system implies by necessity a distinction between a dominant core and an exploited periphery (and semi-periphery).⁸

⁵ Malkin 2003.

⁶ Tarrant 1990, 621.

⁷ See Stein 1999.

⁸ For a criticism of this assumption, see De Angelis 2006, 43-45.

Therefore, if it is impossible to find a clear distinction between a centre and an exploited periphery, then there existed no world-system. A dominant centre and an exploited periphery is only one possible form of a world-system. The modern world-system is undoubtedly structured in a centre-periphery form,⁹ but this does not mean that every world-system in the past had the same characteristics, or that there were no world-systems, before the emergence of the modern one. One can envisage a variety of different forms: J. Abu-Lughod has convincingly argued that the medieval world-system of the 13th and 14th centuries AD had a form of concentric circles, instead of a single centre and periphery.¹⁰

The other misconception is that one needs direct contacts in order to talk about a world-system. A sceptic might ask: what exactly do we gain in comprehension, if we say that Paestum, Thebes and Olbia belong to the same world-system?¹¹ But although direct contacts might as well develop within a world-system, they are by no means necessary. What makes Croton, Aegina, Athens, Samos and Persia parts of the same world-system, is not their direct contacts; it is rather the networks that already in the 6th century move the famous doctor Democedes to traverse the whole Mediterranean from his native Croton to Persia and that link these places together (Herodotus 3. 125-138).

In fact, we can accept I. Wallerstein's minimum definition that '(a system) is a world-system, not because it encompasses the whole world, but because it is larger than any juridically defined political unit'.¹² If so, the crucial issue is that a single community or polity (a Greek *polis*) cannot be a self-sufficient unit of analysis.¹³ By using the term world-system, I am trying to portray and analyse a larger frame of historical reference. I will argue that there are various forms of interactions and processes that one could call world-systems; they range from low- to high-intensity systems; and from anarchic to centrally organised. There need then be two primary qualifications: a world-system does not necessarily encompass the whole world; there can be several coexisting world-systems; and the extent of each of them can change from period to period and so can only be historically reconstructed. And a world-system is a system, but not necessarily a highly structured and coherent one; again, its intensity can be described only in concrete historical analysis, and not in *a priori* theory. So, a world-system can indeed be a (highly structured) system of the (whole) world, as it is nowadays; but it can also take historically contingent forms varying in extent, structure and intensity.

⁹ See Wallerstein 1974; Braudel 1984.

¹⁰ Abu-Lughod 1989.

¹¹ An example of this attitude can be seen in Finley 1985, 177-78.

¹² Wallerstein 1974, 15.

¹³ Wallerstein 1991.

A world-system exists because there appear processes, exchanges and interactions that link many groups, communities and polities; and these processes, exchanges and interactions, moving people, goods and ideas, range beyond the boundaries of a single group, community or polity. We can roughly distinguish between three different world processes: processes moving people; processes moving goods; and processes moving ideas/technologies.¹⁴ We barely need to add that the three processes are not necessarily to be distinguished; it can often be the case that the same agents might move people, goods and ideas/technologies at the same time. Therefore, the relationship between the three processes cannot be established *a priori*, and needs to be contextually studied. Finally, a world-system is organised around multiple political, economic and cultural centres.

What I propose in this paper is that we can move from a *polis*-centred, Atheno-centric and Hellenocentric perspective of Greek history into an account that puts at the centre the networks moving goods, people and ideas and the various centres that organise and direct these networks.¹⁵

Movement of Goods

The movement of goods in long-distance exchanges is well attested for antiquity. One of the most illuminating images is Polybius' description (4. 38) of the Black Sea:

The Pontus therefore being rich in what the rest of the world requires for the support of life, the Byzantines are absolute masters of all such things. For those commodities which are the first necessities of existence, cattle and slaves, are confessedly supplied by the districts round the Pontus in greater profusion, and of better quality, than by any others: and for luxuries, they supply us with honey, wax, and salt-fish in great abundance; while they take our superfluous stock of olive oil and every kind of wine. In the matter of corn there is a mutual interchange, supplying or taking it as it happens to be convenient.

We see here two important issues. The one is interdependence: the Aegean is dependent on the importation of cattle and slaves from the Black Sea; while the Black Sea is dependent on the importation of wine and oil from the Aegean. The archaeological record gives abundant evidence to verify this picture: the huge amount of amphorae from various Aegean communities found in the Black Sea region testifies to the intensity of these links.¹⁶ The second issue is the distinction between luxuries and necessities. This distinction is important, but needs to be contextualised. The distinction between what constitutes a luxury and what a necessity

¹⁴ See Charpin and Joannès 1992 for a similar perspective on the Near East.

¹⁵ For a related perspective, see Gras 1995.

¹⁶ See Garlan 1999.

cannot be established *a priori*; there are few goods that belong certainly to the one category or the other; for the vast majority, there is a spectrum of positions that they can occupy. Given sufficient demand, a luxury can become a necessity;¹⁷ the modern history of sugar is a good example in this respect.¹⁸ But it is also the cultural patterns of consumption, which determine what kinds of goods are deemed necessary for a certain mode of life.¹⁹

A history of the mobility of goods in the Mediterranean world-system would have to address a number of interrelated issues. The first one is the relationship between production, demand and consumption, which we underlined above. The second is the degree of interdependence. R. Osborne has argued that already in the Archaic period the distribution of different products of different Athenian pottery workshops over the Mediterranean shows marked and consistent patterns, which can be explained as production targeting specific markets; in this respect he thinks it possible to speak of a conglomeration of interdependent markets.²⁰ The question is to what extent this model can be extended to other goods. It is certainly the case that many goods circulated primarily within local networks and their production and prices reflect local needs.²¹ We need models that will take into account the various levels of mobility, how different levels will shape the circulation of goods, and in which circumstances and conjunctures certain goods would move from one level to another.²² To give an example, grain could be produced for local consumption, but in certain circumstances it could move to a regional or even international level; alternatively, grain could be produced directly for regional or international networks of exchange.²³ Production is not tantamount to capacity to produce: when a scholar asks 'Chian wine was once the island's main source of wealth and reputation. Why is it then that now Chian wine is not so famous?',²⁴ he points to the constant changes in the production and movement of goods that come a long way towards undermining the model of static pre-modern agriculture that until recently was the scholarly orthodoxy.²⁵ The relationship with consumption patterns and network connections is equally important in this respect.

¹⁷ See the insightful comments of Vallet and Villard 1963, 263-65.

¹⁸ Mintz 1985.

¹⁹ Foxhall 1998.

²⁰ Osborne 1996a.

²¹ See the study of Reger 1994 on goods and prices in Hellenistic Delos.

²² Davies 1998. See the fundamental insights of Braudel 1982. Wallerstein has introduced the notion of commodity chains, in order to describe and study these interrelated phenomena; see the articles in *Review* (a Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton, NY) XXIII.1 (2000).

²³ Bresson 2000.

²⁴ Sarikakis 1986: 127.

²⁵ See Horden and Purcell 2000, 175-230; De Angelis 2006.

This introduces the issue of long-term changes in the mobility of goods. Unfortunately, from the time M. Rostovtzeff wrote his magnificent chapter on the economic development of the Mediterranean world in the 4th century,²⁶ there have been few attempts to trace the developments in the movement of goods.²⁷ Partly, this is the result of the influence of Finley-ism; an approach that denied economic development in antiquity, describing an ancient economy that remained static for more than a thousand years.²⁸ Yet, there is clear evidence of changes in the movement of commodities: to give one example, the development of the wine production of southern Italy and Sicily in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period created a reorientation of patterns of exchange: the importation of wines from the Aegean took a very different form.²⁹

Finally, of utmost importance are the networks through which goods circulate. Diaspora trade constitutes one such network: it is often the case in world history that trade between two communities is conducted by a diaspora community of merchants, often coming from a third community, which physically relocates and controls the movement of goods through its agents.³⁰ Diaspora communities are diverse; sometimes they have a single common origin, often they have mixed and ever-changing backgrounds; often they are stateless communities, in a few cases they have the active back of their community of origin. In other circumstances the movement of goods is based on itinerant communities.

At the same time one encounters the *emporion*, a form of regulated settlement housing the communities of exchange common to many different Mediterranean communities; the *emporion* is a settlement usually organised and maintained by the host community.³¹ We see therefore on the one hand various diaspora communities (for example Phoenician traders) scattered over wide areas and creating and maintaining links of solidarity and support; on the other hand, *emporion*, where the various diaspora communities are brought together in relationships of collaboration, conflict or exploitation both between themselves and with the host community.³² There have been some recent and very fascinating attempts to study the *emporion*, but much yet remains to be done.³³

²⁶ Rostovtzeff 1941, 74-125.

²⁷ A recent one in Archibald *et al.* 2005.

²⁸ Notably, in Finley 1985 there is no discussion of factors of change.

²⁹ Vandermersch 1994.

³⁰ Curtin 1984; Kuhrt 1998.

³¹ Bresson and Rouillard 1993.

³² On the Phoenician diaspora communities and their place within the *emporion*, see Baslez 1986, 1987, 1996.

³³ Bresson 1993; Gras 1993; also Möller 2000.

Movement of People

At the level of moving of people, things are more complicated. Some of these movements are forced and without the will of the people moved; slavery is perhaps the best example of this category of movement.³⁴ Beyond slavery, mobility of people ranges across a wide spectrum of options from the more to the less voluntary.³⁵ Migration in the face of danger is the option closest to the forced movement of slavery. The migration of thousands of Ionians to the West during the latter half of the 6th century due to the Persian conquest is one of the most important developments in Archaic history that still waits to be taken seriously into account.³⁶ The migration and the catastrophes that surrounded it changed decisively Ionia; one wonders what would have become of Miletus, this great colonising power of the Archaic period, if she did not have to suffer the haemorrhage of destruction and forced migration brought by 50 years of Persian rule.³⁷ At the same time it changed the West in important ways, bringing new architectural styles,³⁸ new philosophical schools and political ideas,³⁹ to new forms of colonial enterprises, like that of the Phoceans.⁴⁰

But we have also migrations of people that seem more voluntary than forced. The migration of Athenian potters to southern Italy in the late 5th-century BC and their role in creating an innovative new style of pottery is well known to archaeologists.⁴¹ On the contrary, it is absent as a fact from discussions of Classical history. What prompted these potters to migrate? How common was this kind of activity? What else did they bring with them, apart from their contribution to Late Classical southern Italian pottery?

Unfortunately, the study of mobility in the Mediterranean of the 1st millennium is marred by approaches focused on colonisation as an official act. According to this approach, mobility is only important in the Archaic period, when it is organised by the *poleis* in the form of colonies, and again in the Hellenistic period, this time organised by the Hellenistic monarchs; consequently, mobility disappears from historical accounts dealing with the Classical period, which was purportedly not a period of crisis, at least in the 5th century.⁴² Fortunately, this view is now contested by a growing number of scholars. Concerning the archaic colonisation movement,

³⁴ Horden and Purcell 2000, 388-91.

³⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000, 377-89.

³⁶ It is largely absent from, for example, Osborne 1996b; but see Gras 1991; Lombardo 2000.

³⁷ Davies 1997, 139; see Ehrhardt 1983.

³⁸ Barletta 1983.

³⁹ von Fritz 1940; Mele 1982.

⁴⁰ Morel 1966; 1975; 1982.

⁴¹ MacDonald 1981; see also Papadopoulos 1997b.

⁴² A rare attempt to see mobility in its larger dimensions is McKechnie 1989, although he is still not completely outside the view that sees mobility as a crisis phenomenon.

they view it more as a result of individual mobility and private opportunistic enterprises.⁴³

I think there is no need to restrict this perspective to the Archaic period, which is not to deny that from the 5th century onwards we have clear cases of colonising ventures that are centrally directed by the political authorities of the metropolis. But it is highly suggestive, that even in these centrally administered cases, the colonisers still come from various directions; the Athenian colony in Amphipolis and the recolonisation of Sybaris are ample testimony to widespread personal mobility in the ancient Mediterranean.⁴⁴

The time has come to see colonisation as simply one form of mobility:⁴⁵ we need to study the colonist along with the mercenary,⁴⁶ the sailor, the trader,⁴⁷ the craftsman,⁴⁸ the doctor, the sophist⁴⁹ and the exile;⁵⁰ the story of mobility in these larger terms remains still to be written.⁵¹

It is also important to abandon the Hellenocentric accounts of Greek mobility.⁵² It is indeed the case that in the Dark Age and the Archaic period the Phoenicians have an accepted role in accounts of Greek mobility and colonisation,⁵³ though ethnocentric approaches are strong even here. What is truly remarkable is the complete disappearance of Phoenicians and other Mediterranean peoples in accounts of Greek history of the Classical period; in this period Mediterranean peoples feature only to the extent that they come into political conflict with the Greeks or fall under their control.⁵⁴ Xenophon's Socrates and his contemporary Athenians were impressed by the arrival of a huge Phoenician ship in the port of Piraeus, which must have been the event of the year; he discussed extensively with the crew the organisation of activities and the arrangement of material aboard the ship (*Oeconomicus* 8. 11-14); what else did they discuss and what else did Xenophon learn?

A fascinating example, showing how misleading is this orthodox approach, is Athenogenes, an Egyptian metec, involved in selling perfumes in late 4th-century

⁴³ For example Osborne 1998; but the reply in Malkin 2002 to Osborne's claims is highly stimulating.

⁴⁴ On Amphipolis, for example, see Thucydides 4. 100-106.

⁴⁵ Despite the arguments of Purcell 1990, few have heeded this direction in Classical history.

⁴⁶ I have argued in favour of this approach in Vlassopoulos 2003; Tagliamonte 1994.

⁴⁷ On Greek maritime traders, see Velissaropoulos 1980; Reed 2003.

⁴⁸ Burford 1969, 191-206; McKechnie 1989, 143-47.

⁴⁹ For the mobility of doctors and sophists, see Thomas 2000, 9-16. The issue of mobile intellectuals is unfortunately little explored until very recently; but see now Montiglio 2005.

⁵⁰ Seibert 1979.

⁵¹ But see Giangiulio 1996, characteristically for the Archaic period.

⁵² See Papadopoulos 1997a.

⁵³ Docter and Niemeier 1995; Shaw 1989; Hoffman 1997.

Athens. The cunning Athenogenes arranges in collaboration with Antigone, a prostitute, to sell to a wealthy young Athenian citizen two male slaves along with their perfume workshop, which is though heavily indebted (Hypereides *Against Athenogenes*). The details of the story are not of direct concern here, but what happens later on is quite revealing (§29-31):

During the war against Philip, he left the city just before the battle and did not serve with you at Chaeronea. Instead, he moved to Troezen, disregarding the law, which says that a man who moves in wartime shall be indicted and summarily arrested if he returns... He is so degraded and so true to type wherever he is, that even after his arrival at Troezen, when they had made him a citizen, he became the tool of Mnesias the Argive and, after being made a magistrate by him, expelled the citizens from the city.

An Egyptian perfume seller has the obligation to fight for Athens, along with thousands other foreigners living in Athens; instead he escapes, goes to a tiny obscure place like Troezen, is enrolled as a citizen, even becomes a magistrate.⁵⁵ How common was such an event? If we judge from the tone of the passage, it does not seem very extraordinary; the moral outrage is against his disenfranchising citizens, not in his becoming one. What did Athenogenes carry from his Egyptian cultural baggage, when he became a citizen and a magistrate? We need a larger horizon.⁵⁶

Movement of Ideas/Technologies

Finally, there comes the movement of ideas and technologies. And to some extent it has been better studied than the previous issues. We have excellent studies of the spread of Orphism from the Western to Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea;⁵⁷ of the idea, the practices and the accoutrements of the symposium in its spread from the Near East to Greece and the Western Mediterranean;⁵⁸ of the spread of the technology of constructing and employing triremes, instead of the much smaller pentekonteres, from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean during the Late Archaic period;⁵⁹ of the spread of religious techniques of healing and divination from the Near East all the way to the Western Mediterranean;⁶⁰ of the spread of new

⁵⁴ For the usual approach, see Hornblower 2002. For a welcome new perspective, see the articles in Settis 2001.

⁵⁵ See Whitehead 2000, 287-88, 339-41.

⁵⁶ Our colleagues studying the Bronze Age Aegean have been more open-minded in this respect: see Knapp 1993; Cline 1995.

⁵⁷ See the articles in Tortorelli-Ghidini *et al.* 2000.

⁵⁸ Dentzer 1982.

⁵⁹ Wallinga 1993.

⁶⁰ Burkert 1992, 41-87.

techniques of siege and fortification from the experiments of Greek tyrants in Sicily and Magna Graecia to the exploits of Philip and Alexander in mainland Greece and Asia Minor.⁶¹

The real problem here is that although individual issues are rather well studied, we are missing the larger picture. We lack studies of the interconnections between the different processes of moving ideas/technologies. To what extent is the transfer of an idea predicated or accompanied by the transfer of a technology? And what are the networks and the agents through which ideas/technologies spread? Does the spread of Orphism pass through the same networks and the same agents that spread perfume vases?

The case of Zopyrus of Heracleia/Tarentum is a fascinating illustration of these issues.⁶² Zopyrus, a figure of the late 5th-early 4th century BC, is credited with authorship of the Pythagorean work *Krater*; but he is also credited with designs and innovations in the field of war engines. This is not very surprising, given the connection between Pythagoreans and science;⁶³ but what is more fascinating are the network connections. For in the 4th century Dionysius of Syracuse was distinguished for his successful attraction of specialist craftsmen, which led to important breakthroughs in the art of siege warfare (Diodorus 14. 41-43), and Zopyrus of Tarentum could be plausibly linked to him; but Zopyrus is also credited with devising a catapult for the Milesians. The only plausible context for this service is the Syracusan expedition to help the Spartans during the latter stage of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 8. 26-39). And thus we see one man spreading the art of siege warfare from Syracuse to Miletus; but this same man is connected to the spread of Pythagorean religious and philosophic ideas. If the networks that move religious and military ideas and technologies seem to go together in this case, how far can we extend this example?

Many times, the most difficult problem is the identification of the agents of this process. The elite chamber tombs of Scythia and Thrace provide an interesting illustration of this issue:⁶⁴ they show many strong similarities, despite the huge distance between the two areas; they also seem to transfer the idea of the symposium to the context of the grave, given their iconography, spatial arrangement, reclining couches, etc. G.R. Tsjetskhladze has argued that it was Ionian craftsmen from the Ionian colonies in the Black Sea and Thrace respectively who built these graves for the local elites; given that chamber tombs of a very similar construction were very popular

⁶¹ Garlan 1974, 155-278.

⁶² For what follows, see Kingsley 1995, 143-58.

⁶³ See, for example, Huffman 2005.

⁶⁴ For what follows, Tsjetskhladze 1998.

in various regions of Asia Minor adjacent to Ionia (Phrygia, Lydia), it is plausible to argue that we have here a good case in which we can identify a group of people spreading an idea and a technology and linking together Asia Minor, Thrace and the Black Sea.

World Centres: Centres, Peripheries and Networks

Mediterranean history knows many centres. There are sanctuaries, religious centres which bring together communities, forge links of common identity, disseminate practices and ideologies; the role of Delphi and Olympia in this respect is too well known to require much discussion here.⁶⁵ There are the already mentioned *emporía*: those centres that organise, attract, and direct the mobility of goods, people and ideas/technologies. There are centres of cultural, scientific and academic practices: they range widely, from the courts of Sicilian tyrants⁶⁶ or an Anatolian dynast,⁶⁷ to the philosophical schools of 4th-century Athens,⁶⁸ or the Cnidian and Coan centres of medicine.⁶⁹ And there are of course political centres.⁷⁰ What should be clear from this discussion is that the creation of centres of processes defies the *polis*-centred approach, which sees the *poleis* as autonomous entities, and necessitates a world-system approach.

Athens in the Classical period is a good example. Athens managed to take control of the international commerce in cereals and based its subsistence and reproduction on the successful maintenance of this control.⁷¹ No wonder of course that every time this control came under pressure, or was destroyed, Athenians found themselves in a very difficult situation. Moreover, Athens exploited to a large extent, as we already described above, the international movement in manpower, goods and ideas. From artistic production and intellectual exchange, to servile labour and the rowers of Athenian fleets, Athens depended overwhelmingly and attracted successfully huge numbers of foreigners, both Greek and non-Greek. Isocrates (*Panegyrikos* 41-43) has put it nicely:

Moreover, she (Athens) has established her polity in general in such a spirit of welcome to strangers and friendliness to all men, that it adapts itself both to those who lack means, and to those who wish to enjoy the means, which they possess, and that it fails to be of service neither to those who are prosperous, nor to those who are unfortunate in their

⁶⁵ On their emergence, see Morgan 1990. See also Rougemont 1992; Sanchez 2001.

⁶⁶ Dunbabin 1948, 298-99.

⁶⁷ Hornblower 1982.

⁶⁸ Ostwald and Lynch 1994.

⁶⁹ Sherwin-White 1978, 256-89.

⁷⁰ Davies 1997.

⁷¹ Garnsey 1988; Whitby 1998.

own cities; nay, both classes find with us what they desire, the former the most delightful pastimes, the latter the securest refuge. Again, since the different populations did not in any case possess a country that was self-sufficing, each lacking in some things and producing others in excess of their needs, and since they were greatly at a loss, where they would dispose of their surplus, and whence they would import what they lacked, in these difficulties also our *polis* came to the rescue; for she established the Piraeus as a market in the centre of Hellas – a market of such abundance that the articles which it is difficult to get, one here, one there, from the rest of the world, all these it is easy to procure from Athens.

Byzantium offers some good illustrations of what a centre could look like (Polybius 4. 38):

As far as the sea is concerned, Byzantium occupies a position the most secure and in every way the most advantageous of any town in our quarter of the world: while in regard to the land, its situation is in both respects the most unfavourable. By sea it so completely commands the entrance to the Pontus, that no merchant can sail in or out against its will. The Pontus therefore being rich in what the rest of the world requires for the support of life, the Byzantines are absolute masters of all such things... The Byzantines themselves probably feel the advantages of the situation, in the supplies of the necessities of life, more than any one else; for their superfluity finds a ready means of export, and what they lack is readily imported, with profit to themselves, and without difficulty or danger: but other people too, as I have said, get a great many commodities by their means.

Byzantium gained from its favourable condition in two ways: it was able to control the traffic to the Black Sea and thus to profit from taxes, dues and the invisible profits of a commercial port. The Rhodian war with Byzantium (220-219 BC) over the Byzantine imposition of taxes on trade through the Straits illustrates this capacity; it also shows the inevitable conflict when another emerging centre had to protect its own interests: the huge numbers of Rhodian amphorae in the Black Sea give ample testimony of what was at stake.⁷²

On the other hand, as Polybius shows, Byzantium profited from being able to exploit its position in order to import commodities easily and export its surpluses with assurance; one could see that given the guaranteed customers due to the passing ships, there was gain in intensifying agricultural production. The Byzantines had to pay a high price for this, as Polybius narrates (4. 45), being in continual warfare with the Thracians and later on with the Gauls, in order to protect their precious and fertile territory. Finally, it would be wrong to assume that the Byzantines had a passive role, simply exploiting their ideal geographical position and profiting

⁷² Ten thousand Rhodian stamps have been catalogued from the Black Sea (Badal'janc 1999).

from networks maintained by others. The war between Byzantium and Callatis in the Black Sea around 260 BC shows their active policies: the war erupted when Callatis decided to restrict the *emporium* of Tomis to her own traders; obviously that threatened the interests of Byzantine traders.⁷³ We can see here warfare caused by the attempts to enforce 'mercantilist' policies.

Byzantium raises another important issue; this is the role of location within the world-system. P. Horden and N. Purcell have recently stress connectivity as one of the essential features of Mediterranean history.⁷⁴ But an essential aspect of the maintenance of connectivity is the nodal points that control the passage of resources, people and ideas/technologies. Hellespont is of course one of these nodal points, whose importance is well illustrated in the Polybian passages discussed above. The Straits of Messina provide another such point in Western Mediterranean and there has been an excellent recent study of them.⁷⁵ The straits of Messina emerge as a node interlinking a variety of material cultures, ethnic groups and power strategies that stretch through the whole Mediterranean. It is particularly interesting to note the direct links between the Straits and Asia Minor.⁷⁶ The family of Scythes, tyrant of Zancle is a fascinating example. Losing Zancle from the wave of Samian migration in the aftermath of the defeat of the Ionian Revolt, Scythes moves to the Persian court, returns to Sicily and finally dies among the Persians. His son Cadmus becomes (through the Persians?) tyrant of Cos, renounces the tyranny, returns to Zancle and is sent by Gelon as his diplomatic emissary in Delphi (Herodotus 6. 22-24; 7. 163-164) The larger implication is that we need to study these various nodal points together, in terms of their function within the overall system.

It is also relevant to mention here the creation of zones of influence. Many communities found themselves in a position to impose their control over wider areas and create zones of influence, within which they exercised forms of control that varied widely in intensity. The case of Carthage and her creation of a commercial zone within which trade was restricted to Carthaginian merchants is well-known;⁷⁷ but many Greek communities had similar practices: Thasos created her own zone in the North Aegean; Olynthus in Chalcidice; Sinope in the Black Sea; Massalia in the Western Mediterranean.⁷⁸ We see here purposive attempts to forge a region around a dominant centre; it is an interesting question to what extent the creation of these commercial zones had a wider effect on other aspects.

⁷³ Vinogradov 1987, 41-44, with a different interpretation.

⁷⁴ Horden and Purcell 2000, 123-72.

⁷⁵ See Gras *et al.* 2000.

⁷⁶ For the following, see Ampolo 2000.

⁷⁷ See the treaties with Rome mentioned by Polybius (1. 82; 3. 23; 31. 21).

⁷⁸ Bresson 1993, 201-14.

The examples I am using here are all well known to ancient historians; but what we are missing is a combined study of the variety of social, economic, political and cultural centres of the wider Greek world. Such a study will have to raise a number of important issues.

The first issue is the relationship between all these different forms of centres. The Archaic period is a period in which these various centres tend to be distinct and separate; but during the 5th century Athens emerged as a political, economic and cultural centre at the same time. Unfortunately, this has led to the standard Atheno-centric image of Classical Greek history by obscuring the existence of other centres during the same period.⁷⁹ At the same time there has been little study of the wider phenomenon at hand: what are the connections between different forms of centres?⁸⁰ How does a centre of one kind transform itself into a multiple centre? It applies equally well to Classical Athens and to Hellenistic Delos, a religious centre becoming the chief commercial centre of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸¹

The second issue is scale. The Mediterranean had thousands of *emporía* in the various periods of its history; although we still lack studies of the development of many of these *emporía* through time, their distribution and functions etc, what is even more important is to recognise the development in the scale and power of these centres. We can distinguish between local *emporía*, pooling the goods of the local areas; regional *emporía*, based on inter-regional exchange; and international *emporía*, which function as places of international exchange.⁸² The creation of the last order of centres is one of the most important developments in Mediterranean history.⁸³ It is well reflected in the difference between the diverse cargoes found in Archaic and Classical shipwrecks and the homogeneous cargoes that characterise many Roman shipwrecks; evidence, among other things, of the emergence of international centres of exchange, which make it feasible for many traders to bypass the *cabotage* of local and regional *emporía*, and have direct access to the large international centres.⁸⁴

A recent study shows clearly the differences between these centres of different order.⁸⁵ M. Lawall has compared the amphora finds in three Hellenistic centres: Athens, a centre of international transshipping of amphorae, but also due to its own

⁷⁹ See the protests of Thomas 2000, 9-16.

⁸⁰ But see Engberg-Petersen 1993.

⁸¹ See Rauh 1993. For Hellenistic Rhodes becoming both a commercial and cultural centre, see Gabrielsen 1997; Rossetti and Furiani 1993.

⁸² See the points of Bresson 1993, 199.

⁸³ For a survey of Late Hellenistic maritime centres, see Rauh 2003, 33-92.

⁸⁴ For these different models, see the comments of Parker (1992, 21-22; 2001).

⁸⁵ Lawall 2005.

lack of local amphorae a centre heavily reliant on importation of amphorae; Ephesus, a centre of both exportation and importation of amphorae; and Ilion, a local centre with a local production of amphorae, which were though not exported, and a significant reliance on imported amphorae. The analysis of the finds gives some illustrative results. In the Classical period Athens, as a centre of transshipping, shows a wide diversity of amphora types from various regions of the Mediterranean, with no single type being dominant. Ephesus on the other hand, along with its own local production, seems to rely heavily on importation of amphorae from the adjacent southern Aegean. The wide connections of Athens are clearly missing in this case. Finally, Ilion relies overwhelmingly on local and regional production and a limited importation from other areas.

The change in scale already during the Late Archaic period with the emergence of Gravisca in the Western Mediterranean and Naucratis in the Eastern Mediterranean shows that we have to study this issue in its *longue durée*.⁸⁶ But there is not yet an overall study that tries to look at diachronic changes in the creation of these international commercial centres, from Athens to Rhodes, Alexandria and Delos. The emergence for example of the *mégapoles* in the Hellenistic period is of the utmost importance for this kind of analysis.⁸⁷

A third issue is control and competition. A centre can attempt not only to attract, but actually to control the activities and processes on which it is based; moreover, it might try to transform its controlling power in one field into power in other fields; or, alternatively, its role as a centre in one field might necessitate the creation of centres in other fields too. There is an obvious difference between attracting and controlling; between the Athenian control on the movement of cereals and the Athenian attraction of manpower. The reason they are treated together here is not because I want to minimise the difference. Rather, it is because I want to draw attention to a spectrum of reactions and forms of control that an emerging centre might use in order to exploit for its own benefit these international networks.

A recent discovery of a lead weight from the western Black Sea, dating to the late 5th century, is a good illustration of the issues involved;⁸⁸ the weight bears the owl, emblem of Athenian coinage, on the one side, and the tunny, emblem of the coinage of Cyzicus, on the other. Its weight seems to aim at a synchronisation of the Attic with the Cyzicene standard, two of the most important standards in this period, and can even be synchronised with the Aeginetan one; was it a result of the needs created by the intensification of links within the world-system that brought together

⁸⁶ Giangulio 1996, 519-21.

⁸⁷ See the approaches in Nicolet 2000.

⁸⁸ For the following, see Meyer and Moreno 2003.

the Aegean world and the Black Sea, or of Athenian imperial imposition, as seen in the notorious Standards Decree (*IG* I³, 1453)? The former seems more probable, but the variety of possible answers shows well the complexity of the issue at hand here.

Conclusion

This article has tried to show that we need to study Greek history as the history of a world-system of networks and centres and, at the same time, to insert Greek history within the history of the larger Mediterranean and Near Eastern world. There are many issues which I have deliberately omitted (in particular the temporal and spatial extent of such a world-system). But these can form the subject of future debate, which this article hopes to initiate. We live in a globalised world; we live in multicultural societies. The ancient Greek world provides an excellent opportunity to study how one can write a non-ethnocentric and Eurocentric history. We should grasp it.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.</i>
MHR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review.</i>
WA	<i>World Archaeology.</i>

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TABLE FOR ONE: DRINKING ALONE ON WOMEN'S GRAVE MONUMENTS FROM ROMAN CELTIBERIA

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Abstract

A group of funerary monuments from early imperial Spain (Celtiberia) is studied for its unusual pictorial scenes: female figures presiding over banquet scenes. The monuments are assessed for their physical and symbolic significance, with parallels from central Italy and from other western provinces brought in to place the Celtiberian monuments in a wider cultural context. The so-called banquet stelai document how it was that Roman practices were adopted and adapted in one area of the empire, with differing trends for men and women. Normative feminine behaviour, as presented on the Celtiberian and central Italian examples, is of particular interest.

History of the Monuments

Some time in the 2nd century AD, an otherwise-unknown woman called Optatila Festa died in the region of Roman Spain known as Celtiberia, and was commemorated with a grave monument. The monument is part of a group called 'funerary banquet stelai', characterised by a central scene with a seated female figure in front of a three-legged table adorned with drinking apparatus. The stelai are without parallel among surviving examples of Iberian art, and are unknown to most scholars of ancient Mediterranean art, appearing sporadically in catalogues,¹ and in a few extended journal articles.² They have never been fully published in English. Despite scholarly neglect of the objects, they give us striking visual evidence of how local people in one small area of the vast Western empire renegotiated their identities within the context of sweeping cultural changes.³

Optatila Festa's monument is divided into three registers and decorated with a figured scene, inscription and discoid design (Fig. 1).⁴ It is at first sight abstract and simple when compared with metropolitan Roman sculpture, but it firmly adhered

¹ Martínez-Burgos 1935; García y Bellido 1949; Trillmich *et al.* 1993.

² Fernández Fuster 1954; Abásolo 1977; García Merino 1977; Marco Simón 1978.

³ The issue of political and economic change in central Spain has recently been given its fullest treatment in English in Curchin 2004.

⁴ Grave monument of Optatila Festa. Ht 0.54; w. 0.37 m. Limestone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, no. 18026.

to local commemorative traditions and made its statement in a powerful manner.⁵ The uppermost-register once boasted a finely carved half-hexapetal design.⁶ The inscription is skilfully executed; devoid of words of description or sentiment it focuses on the names of the deceased and her family.⁷ The figured scene, in the centre of the stele, is repeated on at least 33 grave monuments from the region, and was probably not meant to be a unique or personal representation of Festa's life. Indeed, the monuments are characterised by such homogeneity that they must have been produced *en masse*, their inscriptions added after purchase. Despite its repetitiveness, the figural scene is highly unusual within the greater corpus of Roman art and deserves a closer look.

A three-legged table is placed at the right of the scene. On top of it is a tall globular vessel and, next to that, a wreath tipped onto its side so as to be viewed front-on. To the left of the table is a figure seated in a high-backed chair. The figure wears a long garment that reaches to her ankles, and a special head-covering — which is, I will suggest later, a veil. In her left hand she holds a mirror or fan. The table, drinking vessel, wreath and female figure seated in profile are essential ingredients of Roman banquet imagery. The mirror is a non-banquet accessory that has been added to modify classic 'Totenmahl' iconography in order to make it more suitable to a woman's commemorative monument. Absent is the reclined male banqueter, the quintessential visual signifier of a Roman formal meal or drinking party. While single (male) banqueters frequently appear on Roman grave monuments, and women-only banquets are known from occasional late antique mosaics, grave monuments and urns,⁸ the single female banqueter was a phenomenon that seems to have been isolated to Celtiberia.

The archaeological record reveals little else of Festa's life. Her grave monument was uprooted from its original placement and reused as a paving stone in a local medieval church. The Celtiberian town or village in which she lived has been buried

⁵ Lorrio 1997, 125-28; Argente and García-Soto 1994; Ortego 1960.

⁶ The so-called discoid elements have been variously interpreted as rosettes, suns, wheels, flowers and lunar symbols. It is beyond the scope of this essay to describe every classification of discoid object, but it is worth mentioning workshop specialisation theory. According to this, each workshop had its own discoid element(s), and its stonecutters perfected and repeated these designs so that their monuments could be recognised. Whether this really was an intentional measure to attract business, or was instead simply a by-product of mass production, cannot be said. (Marco Simón 1978, 74-76, 83-90.)

⁷ The inscription reads: OPTATILAE F / ESTAE CAND / IDI BAEBI VE / RNACVLLAE AN XXIII.

⁸ See, for example, the mosaic showing Mnemosyne's funerary symposium from Antioch (Kondoleon 2000, 121-22). The urn of Loriania Cypare from Rome, now in the Louvre, shows a reclined woman by herself with a *mensa tripes* on the floor in front of her. But note that she does not actually touch the drinking cups on the table. Rather, her left hand supports her head and her right arm is crossed in front of her, as if she is asleep. The urn of M. Domitius Primigenius is a very interesting example and will be discussed in full later in the paper (Dunbabin 2003, 116-18).



Fig. 1: Grave monument of Optatila Festa. Ht 0.54 m; w. 0.37 m. Limestone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, no. 18026 (Museum photograph).



Fig. 2: Map of the Iberian Peninsula with tribal territories as they existed in the pre-Roman era.

by the infrastructure of modern Lara de los Infantes.⁹ Grave goods that may have been interred with Festa were lost long ago. We know of this woman's existence only through a carved stone slab that has come to be called a funerary banquet monument.

What should be made of this iconographic category? How did banquet iconography come to feature on Celtiberian grave monuments, and what did it mean for viewers? It is highly probable that the monuments were influenced by Totenmahl iconography, but it is clear that they were reconfigured to meet local needs. This reconfiguration sometimes meant that non-banquet accessories or figures were included in the banquet template. This article asks how and why Totenmahl iconography came to be adopted by the Celtic-speakers of central Roman Spain. The answers to these questions provide a stimulating glimpse into the long process of cultural change and self-redefinition in one area of the Western empire. The first section describes and gives background information on the stelai. The second section considers the Totenmahl images and how they may be the source of inspiration for the Celtiberian monuments. The third section investigates the cultural implications for banqueting women in Roman funerary art, with reference to a highly interesting group of mid-imperial urns from Rome. The final section discusses the contribution of the Celtiberian stelai to the larger framework of *convivium* studies.

The Grave Monuments from Celtiberia: Description, Variations and Meaning

Thirty-four stelai with relief scenes of a woman seated in front of a three-legged table have been found in the former Roman province of Tarraconensis. The objects were concentrated in the *Conventus Cluniensis* and of the total, 25 come from one town, Lara de los Infantes, which is located in the modern province of Burgos (autonomous community of Castilla y León) (Fig. 2). Celtiberia was situated between a zone of Celtic-speakers to the north, and a zone of Iberians to the south.¹⁰ Despite using a Q-Celtic language and sharing some social and material practices traceable to peoples in France and Britain, the Celtiberians are not easily classified as 'Celtic'. Their culture was influenced by a number of groups, including Iberians, Phoenicians and Greeks, in addition to seafaring traders from Britain and the western coast of

⁹ The identity of the Celtiberian town that predated Lara de los Infantes is much debated. In the absence of thorough archaeological investigations of the site, the debate rests on the evidence of inscriptions. For the argument that the city should be identified with Nova Augusta, see Gimeno and Mayer 1993. The town's juridical status is studied in Espinosa 1984. For its social and political organisation, see Alföldy 1981.

¹⁰ The development of Celtiberian culture is charted in several recent publications. Some of the more provocative: Beltrán Lloris 1993; Lorrio 1995; 2000; Ruiz Zapatero 1995. On the origins and structure of the Celtiberian language, see de Bernardo 2001; de Hoz 1986; Untermann 1997.

France.¹¹ Just as there was no monolithic culture in Ireland, Britain, France and northern Spain that can be called 'Celtic', so there was no single characteristic that defines Celtiberian ethnicity.¹²

When the Romans arrived in central Spain at the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the Celtiberian tribes had expanded over the Ebro valley and to the south-east coast (Livy 27. 50). After a few years' fighting with Roman forces, Celtiberians were suffering. Poor growing conditions, along with crop destruction and loss of life at the hands of enemy soldiers, led to poverty, starvation and unstable leadership.¹³ Unable to sustain themselves as farmers, Celtiberian men enrolled as mercenary troops in the Carthaginian, Turdetanian and Roman armies (Livy 21. 43; 34. 19; 25. 33).¹⁴ Long, bitter wars were fought throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, including the rebellion of the Roman senator Quintus Sertorius, who led Celtiberian soldiers in war with the Roman army from 82 to 72 BC.¹⁵ Roman military power proved overwhelming, and by the end of the 1st century BC, Celtiberia was integrated into the Roman political sphere, though it was never fully integrated into the Roman cultural sphere.

It is unclear whether the reliefs on the stelai present real women, deities, or mythical women. Some scholars have interpreted these figures as goddesses, but there is insufficient evidence to support this view. As Silvia Alfayé has demonstrated, the principal theme in these monuments is funereal. Without a proper archaeological context, it is difficult to conclude that these are anything but mortal women. Owing to their ambiguous nature, the seated figures are called 'female figures' in this article. Because the monuments were set up to commemorate real women, who are named in the inscriptions, it is legitimate to call them 'women's stelai'. It is likely that the women's stelai were set up in extramural necropoleis, a burial practice favoured by Celtiberians in the early imperial period.¹⁶

The production period for the monuments has been estimated at anywhere from the first quarter of the 1st century AD to the late 2nd century AD.¹⁷ Tradi-

¹¹ Ruíz Zapatero 1997.

¹² The myth of a monolithic Celtic culture is examined critically by James 1999. Cunliffe 2001 studies the impact of seafaring and intercultural contacts on Atlantic communities.

¹³ Burillo Mozota 1998, 235.

¹⁴ See also Blázquez 1983, 218.

¹⁵ The culmination of the Celtiberian wars was the siege and destruction of the Celtiberian town of Numancia (Numantia) in 133 BC. In an act that is still honoured in Spain today, the inhabitants of the town committed suicide *en masse* rather than surrender to the Roman forces. On the Celtiberian wars, see Salinas de Frías 1986. On the mythology of patriotism at Numancia, see Ruíz Zapatero 1996.

¹⁶ Curchin 1997.

¹⁷ Ortego 1960.

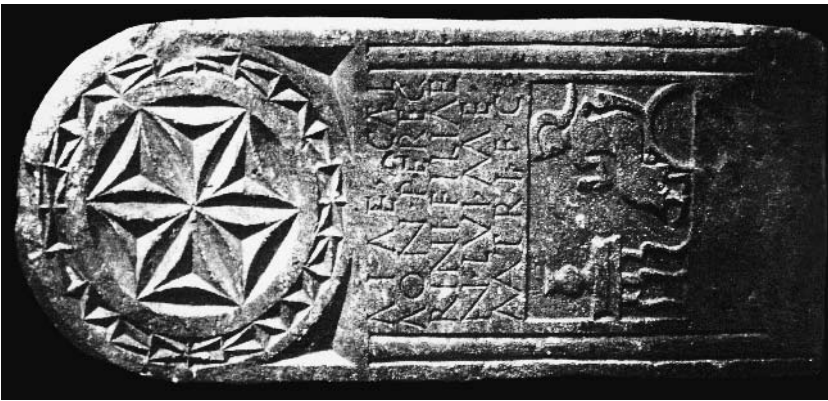


Fig. 3: Grave monument of Aia Caelaon. Ht 0.98 m; w. 0.39 m. Limestone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Museo Arqueológico de Burgos, no. 140 (Museum photograph).

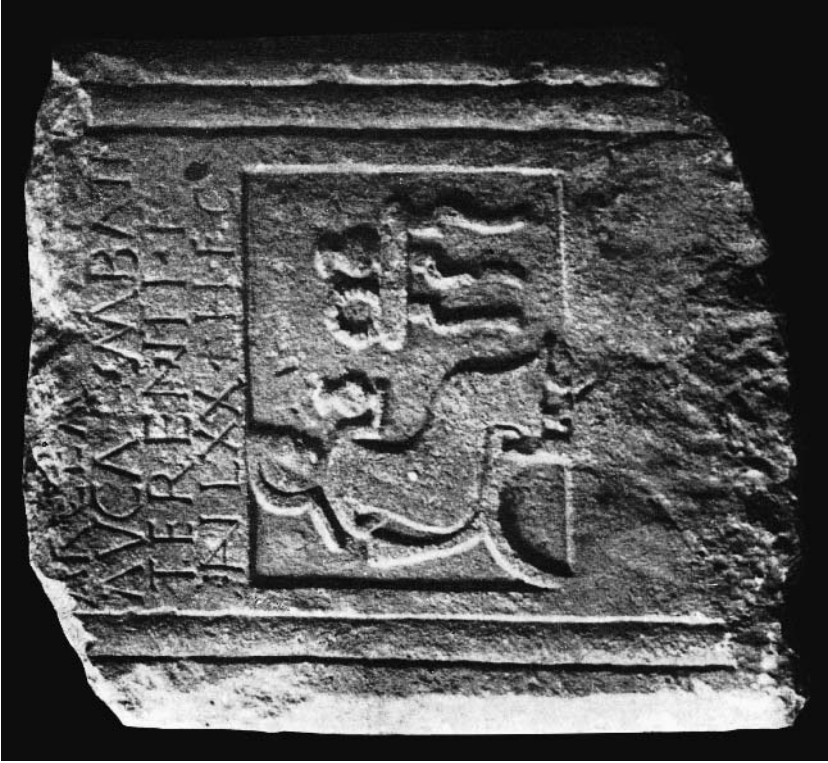


Fig. 4: Grave monument of Arcea Auca. Fragment: ht 0.44 m; w. 0.38 m. Sandstone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, no. 18025 (Museum photograph).

tional methods of dating sculptural reliefs (dress, hairstyles, drill-work and archaeological context) are not always helpful in the case of the Lara de los Infantes tombstones. The figural scenes are highly schematic and do not comfortably fit into the chronology of metropolitan Roman representational art. The carving techniques reveal only that local workshops continued to produce shallow-relief works with geometric discoid designs into the 2nd century AD. Since the objects were found as recycled construction materials and cannot be identified with specific burial sites, there are no *in situ* finds that might inform the chronology. This leaves the epitaphs as the most reliable key to dating. Based on the use of the formulae *DM* (*dis manibus*) and *FC* (*faciendum curavit*), and the propensity to express age at death as *AN XXX* (*annorum* + numerals), it is safe to conclude that the objects were produced in the late 1st to late 2nd century, with peak production in the mid-2nd century AD.¹⁸

The basic iconography has already been described through discussion of Optatila Festa's monument. A few further examples will fill out the picture.

The grave monument of Aia Caelaon is the best preserved of the group (Fig. 3).¹⁹ It is divided into three registers: hexapetal emblem, inscription, and figural scene. The inscription tells us that Aia Caelaon was the daughter of Peregrinus and lived to be 56 years old (*An[norum] LVI*).²⁰ The figural scene presents a female figure seated in a high-backed chair at right. She faces towards the viewer's left, and looks toward a three-legged table on top of which stands a globular vessel. In her right hand, nearer the table, she holds a small object that has been variously identified as a vial of perfume, a knife and a drinking cup. In sum, the precise identification of this object remains inconclusive. As in so many of the Celtiberian women's tombstones, the seated female figure looms large: she fills up half the figural register and her head (or headdress) touches the upper limit of the frame. This is not a diminutive figure: rather, this is a woman with great presence who is configured in such a way as to take up space.

A fragment of a sandstone stele from Lara de los Infantes presents a similar scene but with a different combination of accessories (Fig. 4).²¹ This time, the seated figure in the high-backed chair holds a small globular vessel out towards the three-legged table, which supports another globular vessel and a wreath, tipped forward

¹⁸ Estimates for the dates of Lara stele production are based on L. Keppie's analysis of trends in inscription formulae (Keppie 1991). Provincial areas were slower to adopt new inscriptional formulae than were metropolitan centres.

¹⁹ Grave monument of Aia Caelaon. Ht 0.98 m; w. 0.39 m. Limestone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Museo Arqueológico de Burgos, no. 140.

²⁰ Trillmich *et al.* 1993, tabl. 123.

²¹ Grave monument of Arcea Auca. Fragment: ht 0.44 m; w. 0.38 m. Sandstone. Provenance: Lara de los Infantes (Burgos). Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, no. 18025.

on its side. The Latin inscription above the scene is preserved only in part, but enough survives to tell us that Arcea[...] Auca, daughter of Ambatus Terentius, lived to be 70 years old, and that her heirs saw to the putting up of the monument (*AN LXX H F C*). 'Arcea' was an indigenous *nomen*, and 'Auca' an indigenous cognomen, whilst 'Ambatus' was an indigenous *nomen* and 'Terentius' a Latin cognomen.²² Evidently, the father of the deceased was of Celtiberian origin but took on a Latin cognomen.

The seated figures are occasionally accompanied by auxiliary figures. The stele of Ambata Aionca, preserved in a fragment, shows a female figure seated on a chair at the right side of the scene, facing left and holding a cup aloft.²³ On a three-legged table in front of her are a vessel and two more cups. Across the table is a smaller, male, figure, standing as he offers the seated figure a circular object. Further to the left of the relief is a larger standing male figure, holding a rod or a sword and facing left. His pose and distance from the table suggest that he should not be understood as part of the action involving the seated woman and the standing man. Above the three figures are garlands and three running horses, probably meant to be read as part of the background rather than as objects floating in the sky. Beneath this scene are two cows, with a tall stalk of grain growing up between them. This is a complicated example that brings together indigenous, Celtiberian symbols and Graeco-Roman visual vocabulary.

The grave monument of Pompeia Flaccila presents a seated female figure assisted by a servant or child. The relief shows a female figure seated in a chair at the right, facing left and wearing the veil. She holds an object with a long handle and a striated circle at the end, perhaps a fan or a mirror. The striations could be understood as decoration on the surface of the fan, but they may also be interpreted as rays of light reflected on the shiny surface of the mirror. In front of her is a three-legged table supporting a serving tray, on which are a vessel and a round, striated object propped on its side. Approaching the other side of the table is a female figure in a tunic with hair pulled back, holding a cloth napkin or purse in her left hand. The servant is smaller than the seated figure, reflecting her lower social status.

The basic visual ingredients in the Celtiberian funerary banquet reliefs, then, are a seated figure in a high-backed chair, a three-legged table and one or more accessories associated with the banquet, including a globular vessel and a wreath. Where

²² Marco Simón 1978, 227-39.

²³ The grave monument of Ambata Aionca has been damaged beyond recognition and is now best studied through line drawings. A fragment of the original monument, indicated on the line drawing by a solid line, is in the Museo Arqueológico de Burgos (no. 360). The monument was found in Lara de los Infantes (Burgos), and is estimated to have stood 1.03 m tall, measuring 0.30 m across.

variations occur, they tend to be in the number of figures (standing figures are occasionally added) or type of accessory (with fans or mirrors sometimes appearing). If male figures are included they stand; only female figures are shown seated at the table.

Costume and Accessories

The tables are of the same general type in every relief, shown with a round top and three legs. A few reliefs feature tables with straight legs, but the majority have curved legs. This suggests derivation from Roman *mensae tripes*, which sometimes had legs that were fashioned after animal legs, and would have been made of bronze and marble, elaborately adorned with scrolled braces and sphinxes. But more simple wooden models did exist, and an example comparable to the Celtiberian tables appears in a fresco from Herculaneum, which shows a *mensa tripes* with slender, curved legs and a round top.²⁴ Some of the tables support a serving tray (distinguished by a clear line between table top and tray). The important point is that the tables are modelled after Roman examples, which recur regularly in the Totenmahl reliefs (see below) and in central, metropolitan reliefs and paintings of convivial scenes.

The Celtiberian figures wear one of four costumes. The most common is an ankle-length tunic with no contours of the body revealed, occasionally decorated with incised lines. Another popular costume choice is a long dress with folds marked by incised lines. There is one example (from San Pedro de Arlanza) of a long tunic with the shoulders uncovered. The fourth type of costume, known only in two or three examples, is a short tunic. In most cases, the footwear is obscured, although heels are sometimes visible. The women do not wear the *stola* or *himation*, which are distinctive costumes with readily identifiable fold patterns. Evidently, the patrons and artisans desired long garments on hidden bodies.

One of the most striking aspects of the iconography is the headdress. The *forma de sartén* (Spanish for 'frying-pan shape') is sometimes interpreted as the tympanum, or kettle-drum, described by Strabo, who writes,

In some places [the women] wear round their necks iron collars with curved rods that bend overhead and project far in front of their foreheads. [...] In other places the women wear round their heads a tympanum, rounded to the back of the head and, as far as the ear lobes, binding the head tightly. Other women keep the hair stripped from the forepart of the head so closely that it glistens more than the forehead does (3. 4. 17).

Although this text is sometimes cited in studies of these stelai, its relevance is doubtful. Strabo never visited the region, and it is not clear that he is referring to Celtiberia

²⁴ Richter 1926, fig. 324.

in this passage. Moreover, the description originated with Artemidorus, who lived some 200 years before the monuments were made. I suggest that the figures are not wearing the kettledrum headgear of the Strabo text. Rather, the figures wear veils or head-coverings, rendered schematically. A ceramic figurine of a female, found at Numancia, wears a long, high-necked garment and a veil that covers her head and drapes down across her shoulders.²⁵ A similar figure is shown on a vase fragment from Numancia, which shows a female figure in a long garment and a veil covering her head and billowing out behind her.²⁶ These objects, with undeniable Celtiberian provenience, demonstrate that veils featured in local female costume.

On a few of the women's grave monuments, the head is marked with striations underneath the headgear (Fig. 1), making clear a hairline distinct from the veil. The same hairstyle features on a Celtiberian stele that shows a woman weaving. She is not veiled, which suggests that the headdress had a special purpose for special occasions — feasting among them. Auxiliary female figures, for example the female servant on the tombstone of Pompeia Flaccila, do not wear this headdress, further underscoring its significance as a marker of status.

The prevailing approach to the accompanying elements is to explain them as accessories to a banquet: the globular vessel is a jug for wine, the circular object a wreath or a braided loaf of bread,²⁷ and the flat, rounded object on a handle a patera. But the accessories cannot always be thus identified. The monuments of Optatila Festa and Pompeia Flaccila illustrate the uncertainties: their figures hold mirrors or fans. Mirrors were included in burials throughout the Celtic-speaking world, and recovered examples demonstrate the great skill with which they were made.²⁸ Hand-held fans also played a part in women's funerary iconography. A fan held by a female figure on the stele dedicated to Pompeia Flaccila is similar to a stele in Autun, France, which shows a woman holding a goblet in her right hand and a fan in her left.²⁹ There is no reason why the Celtiberian figures cannot be holding fans, mirrors, or

²⁵ The female figurine stands 16 cm and measures 6 cm across at the shoulder. It is decorated with ochre and black paints, and probably dates from the middle of the 2nd century BC. Its forearms and feet are now missing. Provenance: Numancia. Now in the Museo de Numancia. Published by Lorrio (1997, 330-32).

²⁶ Fragments of the border and belly of a red clay wheel-thrown storage vessel. Black, white and red paints. The fragment shows one female figure and several animals (including fish, a bird and hippocamps). Projected maximum diameter of the vessel 52 cm; diameter of the mouth 32 cm. Provenance: Numancia. Published by Romero Carnicero (1976, 22, no. 21).

²⁷ For the argument that the rounded objects represent ceremonial loaves of bread that are still used in this region of Spain, see Fernández Fuster 1954; Abásolo 1977.

²⁸ Compare the bronze mirror from a 1st century woman's burial in Birdlip, Gloucestershire (Salway 1993, 33).

²⁹ Nerzic 1989, 207.

other non-banquet accessories in banquet scenes. The main message of the reliefs was that the women were part of an elevated class, able to partake of refined Roman 'feminine' social practices. Calling to mind a real banquet was not the main point. In an upwardly mobile provincial town, social symbolism was a staple of aspiration politics. The stelai needed to address local artistic and cultural values whilst also projecting the image of *haute* Roman behaviour.³⁰

The pairing of image and text on an upright stone slab, the use of Latin language and nomenclature, the appearance of the three-legged table — all of these elements suggest that the Celtiberian women's stelai drew upon Roman iconography. In a fundamental way, however, the images deviated from Roman models: the reclined male figure is absent. Two questions follow from these observations: How did banquet imagery find its way to central Tarraconensis? What happened to the male banqueter along the way?

The Diffusion of Banquet Imagery

If a single image can be said to symbolise the phenomenon of Roman feasting, it is that of the reclined male diner. K. Dunbabin sees this image as 'among the most characteristic of all Graeco-Roman art', and describes its typical formulation:

The basic motif, which persists through all the changes of time, place, and culture, shows the banqueter reclining in a standard position, leaning on his left elbow, his torso upright, his legs stretched out sideways, usually with his right knee bent. It may be used on its own, or in a convivial group, and there is usually at least one attendant, normally serving drink.³¹

Whereas single banqueters rarely feature on Greek vases, which emphasise the dining group, they comprise a significant number of examples in the corpus of Roman grave monuments.

Participants in private meals were a popular choice for Roman commemorative imagery, with the iconography on funerary monuments from the Rhineland exemplifying this category.³² The Totenmahl monuments' single male figure, reclined on a *kline* and holding a drinking vessel with a table on the foreground, enjoyed long and widespread use. A tombstone from Cologne illustrates the motif.³³ It dates from the third quarter of the 1st century AD, and was dedicated to Titus Julius Tuttius,

³⁰ Most Celtiberians in the 1st and 2nd centuries continued to commemorate their dead with simple ceramic vessels or urns. Men and women of high social status commissioned the individualised, stone funerary monuments (Abásolo and Marco 1995).

³¹ Dunbabin 2003, 14.

³² Boppert 1992; Noelke 1998.

³³ Chalkstone, 1.11 m in height; Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne.

a soldier of the XXII legion.³⁴ The monument's relief shows a reclined male figure dining alone and attended by two servants. He holds a drinking cup in his right hand, and two more cups await him on the table. A wine jug sits on the floor in the foreground. The reclined figure occupies most of the carved register and is surrounded by emblems of luxury: cups, servants, and a fine woven blanket draped over the couch. Drapery folds were deeply carved, creating a visual cascade of fabric indistinguishable from the edge of the blanket.

The grave monument of Marcus Valerius Celerinus (Fig. 5), also from Cologne, bears a relief scene that depicts a reclined male diner and a seated female figure.³⁵ The man is twice the size of the seated woman, who is in turn twice the size of the servant who stands near the head of the couch. In the foreground is a *mensa tripes* and on the floor next to the table, a jug stood upright. A wool basket rests next to the woman's chair; in her lap she holds a basket of fruit. Drinking cups have been placed on the table, and as the man leans on his left arm he holds with his right hand a drinking cup (now missing).³⁶ The inscription tells us that Celerinus, a citizen of the town but originally from Astigi in Spain, set up the monument for himself and his wife, Marcia Procula, while he was still alive.³⁷ Thus a Spaniard in Germania was commemorated with Totenmahl iconography.

Did these soldiers really dine this way? Did they recline whilst eating on military campaigns? It is unlikely that they supped lavishly in camp; they were legionary soldiers, not cavalymen or officers. Whether they really ate like this at home, with servants and fine drinking services, is difficult to say with certainty, but is ultimately irrelevant. What is significant is the appearance of dining: that is, why people like Tutius and Celerinus chose to be remembered as cultivated diners. Dunbabin writes of the unreachable nature of lavish banquets, and how pleasing was the fantasy of reclining whilst served among provincial soldiers with no real chance of partaking of such luxury.³⁸ We must assume that Totenmahl iconography was intended to bring comfort to patrons and viewers alike with its messages of plenty and pleasure.

The reclined man controlled proceedings. He was, in John D'Arms's words, the powerful host and spectacle-maker, contriver of the *convivium* whose larger purpose

³⁴ The full inscription reads: T(ito) IVLIO TVTTIO, T(iti) f(ilio) / CLAVDIA VIRVNO / MIL(iti) LEG(ionis) XXII PRIMIG(eniae) / ANN(orum) XXXXVI, STIP(endii) [...].

³⁵ Chalkstone, 1.96 m in height; Römisches-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. First quarter of the 2nd century AD. Published in: Espérandieu 1907-25 Recueil vol. 8, 357-58, no. 6457.

³⁶ Noelke 1974, especially Bild 10.

³⁷ *CIL* XIII 8283. The full inscription reads: M(arcus) VAL(erius) CELERINVS / PAPIRIA ASTIGI / CIVIS AGRIPPINE(nsis) / VETER(anus) LEG(ionis) X G(eminae) P(iae) F(idelis) / VIVOS FECIT SIBI / ET MARCIAE PRO / CVLAE VXORI.

³⁸ Dunbabin 2003, 34-35.

was to see that his guests enjoyed his munificence and decorum.³⁹ The host of a dinner was a benefactor, obliged to offer food and entertainment.⁴⁰ To place oneself at the centre of a fantasy banquet was to aspire to power and elite rank. The Totenmahl reliefs commemorate their subjects primarily as generous hosts who enjoy the good life, and secondarily as soldiers (and then, only in the inscriptions).

The Totenmahl reliefs may provide the link between central Roman banquet imagery and Celtiberian banquet stelai. Roman soldiers were often responsible for the transport and diffusion of metropolitan ideas and practices. 'The Roman army was not only the tool which created the empire,' P. Middleton argues, 'it was also an important agent in transmitting the Roman way of life to the provinces. This took place not simply by example, through building programmes, veteran colonies and so on, but also by the creation of networks of contact which resulted in the interplay of Roman and Native groups.'⁴¹ As early as 1954, L. Fernández Fuster proposed that soldiers in legion VII Gemina, stationed in northern Iberia, learnt the banquet imagery from members of legion XV Apollinaris, with whom they had contact in Pannonia.⁴² Similarly, L. Bianchi noted a parallel between funerary banquet reliefs found in Macedonia and those found in Pannonia, and argued that legion V Macedonica first brought the iconography to Dacia, where it was in turn passed on to legion XV Apollinaris.⁴³ José Abásolo, who produced one of the two thorough studies of the Celtiberian banquet stelai to date, saw in them 'remarkable compositional similarities' with Dacian and Pannonian Totenmahl reliefs.⁴⁴

There is ample archaeological evidence of attempts on the part of indigenes in other provinces to take up the visual commemorative practices of the Roman soldiers in their area. In Gaul, for example, numerous stone commemorations of veterans and soldiers depicted their wife (and sometimes children) in funerary banquet scenes. The soldier's legion was often named in the epitaph, and in some cases a native civilian man adopted the same motif (reclining on a couch; wife seated at his feet) for his gravestone relief.⁴⁵ It is a popular argument among historians and archaeologists that the aspect of provincial society most resistant to change was funerary practice, but the evidence from Roman Spain attests acceptance and widespread adoption of new, Roman practices rather than steadfast fealty to indigenous traditions.⁴⁶

³⁹ D'Arms 1999.

⁴⁰ Jones 1991.

⁴¹ Middleton 1983.

⁴² Fernández Fuster 1954.

⁴³ Bianchi 1974, 159-81.

⁴⁴ Abásolo 1977.

⁴⁵ Curchin 1991, fig. 5.3; Nerzic 1989, 121-25.

⁴⁶ Graves containing Roman coins, *terra sigillata* wares and jewellery, and new forms of tombstones and necropoleis design testify to these changes (Curchin 1997, 30).



Fig. 5: Grave monument of M. Celerinus. Chalkstone: ht 1.96 m.
Römisches-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. First quarter
of the 2nd century AD (Museum photograph).



Fig. 6: Funerary urn of Loriania Cypare. Marble, Early 2nd century
AD. Louvre Museum, Paris (photograph: Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, NY).

Soldiers from the Roman army, auxiliaries and legionaries alike, passed through or were stationed in central Tarraconensis, and they, along with local men who served abroad and then returned home, will have had an impact on local cultures. There is a strong possibility that soldiers introduced Celtiberians to banquet iconography. The grave monument of M. Valerius Celerinus, discussed earlier, demonstrates the adoption of Totenmahl imagery by a soldier from Astigi (Colonia Augusta Firma, Andalucía). Able to conceive of himself in Roman cultural terms, Celerinus is but one example of a provincial whose self-identity was expressed through new visual ideas. Granted, he was from a part of Spain that was always more 'Romanised' than Celtiberia. Nevertheless, Celtiberians had their own approach to adopting central visual motifs, and the evidence from coins and sculpture suggests that they were no different to the people of urban, southern Spain in their interest in Roman iconographic practices.

In part, we face an epistemological problem: we will probably never know how the iconography came to be used on Celtiberian tombstones. If Celtiberian men were also featured at the *mensa tripes*, reclined alone or with their wives, it would suggest that they continued the westward diffusion of central banquet imagery. Celtiberian men, however, did not go the way of the Totenmahl soldiers: they continued to be commemorated with pre-Roman equestrian imagery.⁴⁷

Regardless of how banquet imagery came to Celtiberia, it did come. It came to feature in local media, however, without the reclined male figure. Evidently, Celtiberians took the seated female at the end of the Totenmahl couch, brought her closer to the *mensa tripes*, and excised the male banqueter completely. How does this change affect our reading of the scene? What does it say about the Celtiberian women involved?

Women at the Table

The role of host or benefactor was identified foremost with men. The role of women in banquet scenes on funerary monuments is normally that of the restrained, attentive wife. They sit upright, at the foot of the man's couch. Although women are shown reclined in banquet scenes from other parts of the empire, these examples feature important differences that diminish the women's stature — or, at least, remind us of their inferiority to the male figures. The funerary urn of Loriania Cypare from Rome, dated to the early 2nd century AD, presents a woman reclined on a couch (Fig. 6).⁴⁸ The woman wears a thin tunic and a mantle covering her lower body. In front of her, in the foreground, stands a *mensa tripes* that supports drinking cups. The

⁴⁷ Marco Simón 1978. The horseman motif was also popular on local coinage (García Bellido 1995; 1997).

⁴⁸ Sinn 1987, 202, no. 462.



Fig. 7: Funerary altar of Socconius Felix. Marble. 1.50 x 1.30 m. Found beside the Via Triumphalis west of the Tiber; now in the Via Quattro Fontane 13-18 (photograph: Felbermeyer, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome. Neg. 63.756).

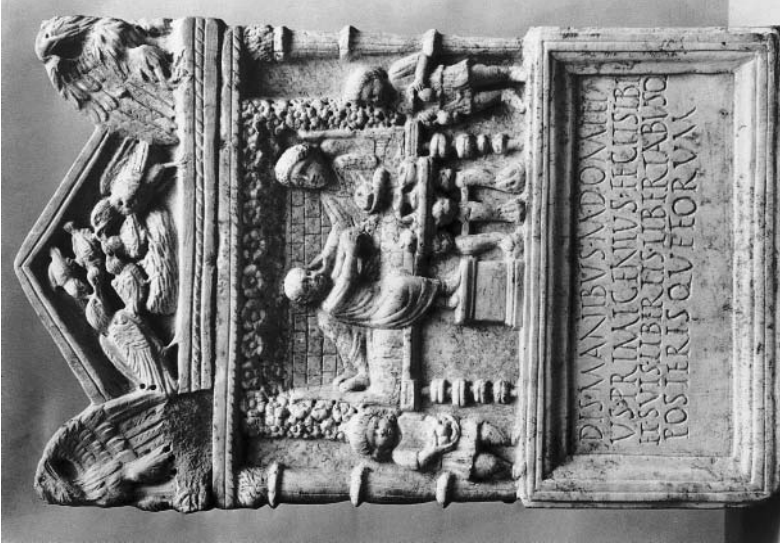


Fig. 8: *Cippus* of M. Domitius Primigenius. Marble. 0.403 x 0.337 m. Late 1st century AD. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.122.2 ab) (photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, all rights reserved).

woman does not reach for the cups; her left hand props up her head and her right arm is folded across her torso. Two servants, one at either end of the scene, differentiate the woman's high social status from their own low rank, and along with the garlands overhead, they underscore the woman's rich surroundings. Above the woman is Eros holding a mirror towards her. The inscription tells us that Loriania's husband, a freedman called C. Lorianus Adiutor, dedicated the monument to Loriania.⁴⁹ The woman reclines on a couch, and drinking apparatus are present, but she is not presented as engaged with drinking, feasting, or spectacle-making. Instead, emphasis is placed on her femininity: Eros and his mirror signal her desirability, beauty and self-control.

The grave monument of Quintus Socconius Felix from Rome, dated to the second half of the 1st century AD, presents a man and a woman reclined on a couch together (Fig. 7).⁵⁰ The man holds a drinking cup and the woman holds an incense box (*acerra*).⁵¹ The woman's right arm lies along her hip and rests across her right thigh, but her hand is lightly opened and does not reach for the table. Three servants stand around the *mensa tripes* in front of the couch and hold up a serving tray that bears more drinking cups. Flying in from the upper left-hand corner of the scene is Eros, who heads for the woman. He holds in his outstretched left hand a shell, and in his right hand a small cloth (handkerchief?) that has been rolled up.⁵² Again, the woman does not imbibe wine. She reclines on the couch with her husband as beautiful, restrained wife, not as drunken spectacle.

A third grave monument presenting a reclined woman was set up by M. Domitius Primigenius and is unusual in its presentation of a man seated upright and a woman lying on the couch (Fig. 8).⁵³ A garland canopy stretches overhead from the head of the couch to its foot, and one child servant stands at each end. In the foreground is a *mensa tripes* laden with cups. The man attends the woman. He is much smaller than she (his feet supported by a stool), and seated upright. The woman reaches for him with her right arm, and leans on her left elbow. She holds a drinking cup in her right hand. The urn's lid takes the form of a pediment and features a scene in which two adult birds feed four baby birds. We might see a link between this familial vignette and the banquet below, such that we may be looking at a devoted son and his mother.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The full inscription reads: DIS MANIBVS / LORANIAE CYPARE / C LORANIVS ADI-
VTO / CONIVGL.

⁵⁰ Marble. 1.50 × 1.30 m. Found beside the Via Triumphalis west of the Tiber; now in the Via
Quattro Fontane 13-18. The full inscription reads: D M / Q SOCCONI FELICIS.

⁵¹ Dunbabin 2003, 114-16, fig. 64.

⁵² Goethert 1969, pls. 50-56.

⁵³ Marble. 0.403 × 0.337 m. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Late 1st century AD.

⁵⁴ Dunbabin 2003, 119-20.

In all three examples, women occupy the physical place of a man but the symbolic place of the beautiful wife or good mother. Although the monument of M. Domitius Primigenius shows the woman holding a cup, it is so unusual and outside the expected imagery for this medium that it stands as the exception that proves the rule. Respectable Roman women did not drink to excess. Inebriation is linked with licentiousness and sexual transgression in Latin literature, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 2. 25. 6) stating that a Roman man was permitted to kill his wife on charges of adultery *or* of drinking, since drinking inspired adultery.⁵⁵ M. Roller argues that the reclined woman diner was under suspicion of shameful, lascivious behaviour (whereas the seated woman, assuming the ideal posture and place, was removed from this suspicion). In order to exculpate the reclined woman from charges of flirtation or coquettishness, funerary banquet scenes stress that the female figures do not drink, reach for cups, or engage with vinolent pleasures in any way.⁵⁶ The separation of women from one of the principal pleasures of the banquet diminishes their status within the dining hierarchy and reinforces the primacy of place of male participants — especially that of the male host.⁵⁷

The opprobrium attached to women who reclined and imbibed in Rome is not readily apparent in the Celtiberian monuments. The Celtiberian figures preside over their own event, and are regularly depicted with drinking apparatus to hand. Is this the message of the monuments — that Celtiberian women were, in real life, accorded positions of honour at ceremonial meals? There are several interrelated problems here. First, the vessels on the stelai are of such a general, amorphous type that they cannot be corroborated with material finds. As with the Totenmahl soldiers and their fantasy silver service, it seems that the Celtiberian figures have been given objects meant to symbolise the banquet.⁵⁸ Second, the figures are seated upright. They may hold cups aloft, but unlike their Roman counterparts they are not configured reclined.⁵⁹ In fact, the veil, pose and concealing costume (much less revealing than the Roman women's costumes) make for conservative imagery. A third problem is our lack of knowledge of women's lives in Celtiberia. What meagre literary evidence there is for them was written by Greek or Roman men (themselves working through informers, not their own first-hand observations),⁶⁰ and the

⁵⁵ On Roman women and drinking, see Pomeroy 1995, 153–54.

⁵⁶ Roller 2003, 416–17.

⁵⁷ Social segregation and hierarchy at Roman formal meals is examined in D'Arms 1990.

⁵⁸ The vessels are not archaeologically attested, but it is clear that wine was consumed in Celtiberian settlements from the end of the 2nd century BC (Cerdeño Serrano *et al.* 1999).

⁵⁹ Men do not recline, either, on Celtiberian funerary monuments, but reclined male banqueters feature on a wall-painting in the Tumba del Banquete Funerario (Carmona, Seville): Bendala Galán 1976.

⁶⁰ On stereotyping Celts in Greek and Latin historiography, see Webster 1996.

material evidence from contemporary burials and houses does not suggest a tradition of banqueting in Roman-era Celtiberia. The Celtiberian images, far from overturning Roman mores, reinforce gender divisions by isolating women from men, covering their bodies and heads, and seating them upright.

Conclusion: The Contribution of Celtiberian Women's Stelai to Convivial Studies

The Celtiberian banquet monuments are a case study in peripheral adoption and adaptation of central cultural trends. The indigenous practice of carving a slab of stone with an image and (Iberian) text was brought forward to the Roman era and updated with Latin inscriptions and an image with Roman furniture and a Roman practice. But the Celtiberian scenes were not slavishly copied from Roman banquet iconography. In excluding the reclined male figure and in configuring the seated female figure prominently, the Celtiberian reliefs play to local aesthetic and commemorative needs. Since Celtiberian men continued to be commemorated with equestrian imagery in the imperial period — carrying on a long-standing tradition in indigenous cultural practice — they did not need to be remembered as reclined banqueters. Celtiberian men historically won social and political respect through battle prowess, and this value still had resonance in the first centuries AD.

Celtiberian women, however, did not have a strong iconic image the way the men did. What little evidence there is for images of Celtiberian women in the pre-Roman era shows that they could be shown in elaborate costume with unusual head-dress, without clear symbolic or narrative roles. In the early imperial period, when the Celtiberian elite Latinised their names and took positions on the Romano-Celtiberian social hierarchy, women were interred in their own burials and commemorated with carved upright stone slabs, which required appropriate iconography. Somehow, contact was made with Totenmahl-type images, and they must have been felt suitable for women's grave monuments.

The cultural dynamism that the Celtiberians knew through centuries of contact with Gallic, British and Iberian traders is ever-present in the women's stelai, which demonstrate what is possible when a central motif is adjusted for local demands. The Celtiberian female figures are seated at a *mensa tripes* and sometimes have in front of them drinking vessels. But direct allusion to the banquet is diminished, particularly when the figures hold objects that have no clear link with feasting. The motif (seated at a table) was conventional: an image of the dead in a position of notional honour and prestige, but which does not necessarily convey the values of banquet images from more central, metropolitan parts of the empire. The inclusion of mirrors, fans and handkerchiefs underscores the adaptability of the motif as well as the ingenuity of Celtiberian patrons and makers. Women could be shown preening, in local costume and style, whilst still playing along with elite Roman convivial practice.

The Celtiberian women's grave monuments remind us of the enduring popularity of Roman banquet imagery. They demonstrate the flexibility of central imagery in local contexts, to the extent that the original meaning might lose its relevance. They pose the intriguing possibility that male soldiers were inadvertent ambassadors of visual culture. The monuments illustrate poignantly how provincials used convivial images to make their own claims on Roman identity.

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THE ASIAN MIGRATIONS OF THE ALANS IN THE 1ST CENTURY AD

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Abstract

The Asian migrations of the Sarmato-Alan population start in the late 3rd or the early 2nd century BC. As a result of prolonged Hunno-Yueh-chih warfare, the nomadic Irano-Tocharian population was forced out from the Khesi corridor, at first to the south of Sinkiang/Xinjiang, and then to the steppes and oases of southern Central Asia. This resulted in the appearance here of the Tulkhar (northern Bactria) and Lyavandak (oases of the southern Central Asia, Ural-Kazakhstan steppes) groups. The next phase starts in the middle of the 1st century AD. The Alan population was forced from Xinjiang by the northern Hunnu. This was the most powerful wave and longest route of the Alan migrations, which covered Central Asia, the northern Caucasus and the Don-Volga area. After that, as is well known, the Alans invaded Central and Eastern Europe.

Migratory Areas

The first centuries AD were marked by numerous migrations crossing the Eurasian steppes, which resulted, above all, in a general regrouping of populations, and then in the appearance of new ethno-cultural developments. In this period the migration of populations into the steppe and forest-steppe areas of Eastern Europe was permanent, therefore processes of ethno-cultural genesis that had taken place here during several centuries were always at a destructive stage. The start of this was marked by a coming of a new and, probably, final wave of Sarmatian migrations, which was connected with tribes of the Alan confederacy, who occupied the steppes of the Don and Lower Volga basins,¹ and the steppes and foothills of the northern Caucasus, in the eighth decade of the 1st century AD.

The afflux of the population in this period was quite impressive, which to a certain degree may be indicated by the high concentration of sites of the 1st-early 2nd century AD on the Lower Don, in the interfluvium of the Sal and Manych rivers,² in the forest-steppe Don area,³ and on the Lower Volga as well.⁴ To the east of the Volga

¹ Sergatskov 1998, 45.

² Ilyukov and Vlaskin 1992, 230-34; Maksimenko 1998.

³ Medvedev 1998.

⁴ Skripkin 1990.

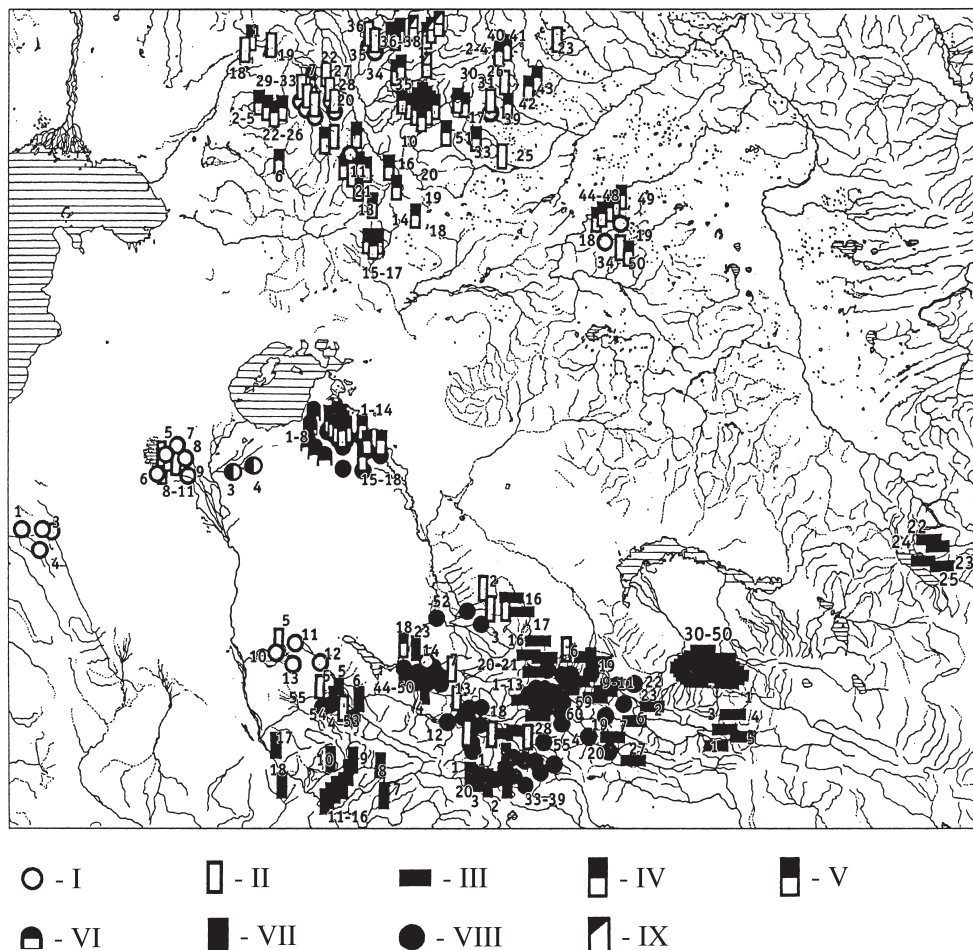


Fig. 1: Location of separate groups of burial sites of the Early Iron Age and late antiquity in the south of Central Asia.

Yueh-chih-Sarmatian HCC (Lyavandak)

- I. Burials at the end of longitudinal catacombs, southern orientation (late 3rd-1st century BC): 1. Parkhai; 2. Khas Kiryaz; 3. Kyzyl Chashma; 4. Meshterkhazinskii; 5. Tuz-Gyr; 6. Tumek-Kichidzhik; 7. Taikyr; 8. Yasy-Gyr; 9. Shakhrivaironskii; 10. Lyavandak; 11. Kuyu-Mazar; 12. Atalyk; 13. Kyzyl-Tepe; 14. Shaushukum (catacombs of the second type); 15. Zhaman-Togai; 16. Vostochno-Kurailinskii I; 17. Solntse; 18. Zheltyr; 19. Berlik; 20. Mechetsai; 21. Uvak; 22-26. Pokrovka 1, 2, 7, 8, 10.
- II. Simple burials and burials with recess, southern orientation (late 3rd-1st century BC): 1. Karabulak; 2. Kensai; 3. Berkara II; 4. Agalyksaiskii; 5. Kyzyl-Kainar; 6. Durmen; 5,8. Tuzgyr; 6,9. Tumek-Kichidzhik; 10. Yasygyr; 11. Shakhsenem; 12. Isfarinskii; 13. Kulbulak; 14. Kuvinskii; 15. Katakurganskii; 16. Tamdy; 17. Zhaman-Togai; 18. Barbastau; 19. Zhorsuat; 20. Tselinnyi I; 21. Zhaman Kargala; 22. Kardailovskie; 23. Graultry; 24. Streletskoe; 25. Lisakovskii; 26. Solntse; 27. Mechetsai; 28. Uvak; 29-33. Pokrovka 1, 2, 7, 8, 10; 34. Sargary; 35. Bishungarovo; 36. St. Kiishki; 37. Astana; 38. Ulangom; 39. Nukhtin-Am.

Saka-Usunian HCC (Chilpek) late 3rd-1st century BC; 1st-5th centuries AD.

- III. Simple burials and burials with recess, western orientation 1. Chilpek; 2. Kargalinskoe; 3. Tenlik; 4. Sokolovka; 5. Dzhergetal; 6. Burana; 7. Aigyr dzhal; 8. Tot-Aryk; 9. Tot-Bashat; 10. Dzhele-Tyube; 11. Aktash; 12. Baitalchi; 13. Kyzyl-Kainar; 14. Dzhanysh-Bulak; 15. Teketash; 16. Tamdy; 17. Berkarra; 18. Uryuk Zorskii; 19. Shoshkala I; 20. Uun-Bulak; 21. Karasha I; 22. Baty; 23. Tuskain; 24. Pchela; 25. Kula-Zhurga; 26. Orto-Kairma; 27. Alymashik; 28. Sufanskii; 29. Karaly II; 30-31. Kapgachai II-III; 32-34. Utegen I-III; 35. Kyzyl-Espe; 36-38. Kyzylauz I-III; 39, 40. Ungur-Kora I, II; 41. Besshatyr II; 42. Taigak I; 43, 44. Kalkan I, IV; 45-47. Altyn-Emel I, III, IV; 48, 49. Chulak-Dzhigide I, II; 50. Aral-Tobe I.

Hunno-Sarmatian sites of the 2nd-4th centuries AD.

- IV. Western group: 1. Barbastau; 2. Lebedevka II; 3. Lebedevka IV; 4. Lebedevka V; 5. Lebedevka VI; 6. Saralzhin; 7. Linevskii; 8. Tselinnyi I; 9. Georgievskii Bugor; 10. Vostochno-Kurailinskii I; 11. Zhaman-Kargala I; 12. Ulke; 13. Sary-Tau I; 14. Zhanabaz; 15. Atpa I; 16. Atpa II; 17. Atpa IV; 18. Zholutken; 19. Dzhanaan; 20. Krasnogor.
Eastern group: 21. Komsomolskii IV; 22. Komsomolskii VI; 23. Krasnyi Yar I; 24. Kara-Tal; 25. Almukhametovskii; 26. Derbenevskii; 27. II Sibaiskii; 28. III Bekeshevskii; 29. Khvorostyanskii; 30. Agapovskii; 31. Magnitnyi; 32. Temyasovskii; 33. Kamennyi Ambar 5; 34. II Akhmerovskii; 35. Salikhovskii; 36. Chumarovskii; 37. Uyazybashevskii; 38. Lekaldy; 39. Druzhenskii; 40. Bairamgulovo; 41. Malkovo; 42. Shatrovo; 43. Pershino; 44. Novonikolskoe; 45. Yavlenka; 46. Kenes; 47. Petrovka; 48. Berlik; 49. Pokrovka; 50. Zhabai-Pokrovka; 51. Bolshekaraganskii; 52. Basshiili.

Hunno-Kangyui (Dzhetyassar) HCC of the 5th-8th centuries AD.

- V. Simple graves and graves with recess, northern orientation: 1. Altynasar 4a; 2. Altynasar 4b; 3. Altynasar 4v; 4. Altynasar 4g; 5. Altynasar 4e; 6. Altynasar 4zh; 7. Altynasar 4z; 8. Altynasar 4i; 9. Altynasar 4k; 10. Altynasar 4l; 11. Altynasar 4m; 12. Altynasar 4o; 13. Altynasar 4r; 14. Altynasar 4t; 15. Kosasar 1; 16. Kosasar 2; 17. Kosasar 3; 18. Tompakasar; 19. Aktobe-2 (burial).
VI. Surface and underground adobe crypts: 1. Altynasar 4b; 2. Altynasar 4d; 3. Altynasar 4e; 4. Altynasar 4i; 5. Altynasar 4n; 6. Altynasar 4o; 7. Altynasar 4kh; 8. Kosasar 1.

Yueh-chih-Kuchanian (Tulkhar) HCC, 2nd century BC-1st century AD.

- VII. Small stone mounds, simple burials and burials with recess, northern orientation: 1. Dzhalpaktobe; 2. Maashan; 3. Kyzyl-Tau; 4. Kul-Ata; 5. Miratkulskii; 6. Sazagan; 7. Ksirov; 8. Kafirninganskii III; 9. Tulkharskii; 10. Kokumskii; 11. Aruktauskii; 12. Bishkenskii IV; 13. Bishkenskii V; 14. Bishkenskii VI; 15. Bishkenskii VII; 16. Chainarrakskii; 17. Babashovskii; 18. Tilya-Tepe; 19. Dzhilamysh; 20. Kurgak; 21. Bor-korbaz; 22. Khazara; 23. Shaushukum (simple burials).

Kangyui-Alan (Kenkol) HCC, 1st-5th centuries AD.

- VIII. Catacombs of the *dromos* type: 1. Teke-Tash; 2. Bos-Tektir; 3. Dzhal-Aryk; 4. Dzhal-Aryk II; 5. Dzharagata; 6. Torken; 7. Almalu; 8. Kairak; 9. Sary-zhon; 10. Dzhelpak-tash; 11. Akchii-Karasu; 12. Akchii-Karasu II; 13. Dzhalanyshe-Bulak; 14. Kyzylkainar; 15. Karasha; 16. Kenkol; 17. Tot-Tash; 18. Tot-Aryk; 19. Aigyr dzhal; 20. Chatkal; 21. Kyzart; 22. Burmagan II; 23. Burch-Mulla; 24. Gurmiron; 25. Kairagach; 26. Kara-Muinak; 27. Isfara; 28. Kalatarkhon; 29. Surukh; 30. Charku; 31. Vorukh; 32. Shart; 33. Karadzhar; 34. Dzhalpaktobe; 35. Maashan; 36. Khangiz; 37. Borkorbaz; 38. Turatash; 39. Kyzyl-Tau; 40. Shaushukum (catacombs of the first type); 41. Ak-Tobe I; 42. Zhaman-Togai; 43. Vrevskaya; 44. Shirinsai; 45. Orekhovskoe; 46. Yangiyul; 47. Durmen; 48. Kurgans on the Nikiforov's lands; 49. Tuyabuguz; 50. Altyn-tobe; 51. Borizhar; 52. Oktobe; 53. Sazagan; 54. Adzhar-Tebe; 55. Kyzart; 56. Alamyshik; 57. Khazara; 58. Nichke; 59. Ak-Senir; 60. Altynasar 4k; 61. Astana.

Turbasly HCC, 6th-8th centuries AD.

- IX. Earthen mounds, simple graves with niche, northern orientation: 1. Kushnarenkovskii; 2. Novo-Turbaslinskii; 3. Ufimskii; 4. Dezhnevskii; 5. Shareevskii.

river the number of these sites decreases sharply, although they are present up to the Orenburg area in the south-western Urals. But in the steppes of the southern Transurals and northern and western Kazakhstan a very small number of complexes of the late 1st century BC to the early 2nd century AD are known. To a certain degree this may be explained by the fact that the Alan invasion, according to I.V. Sergatskov, went from Central Asia to the south of the Caspian Sea through Hyrcania and the Caucasus.⁵ The use by the Alans of this route is confirmed by the information of Josephus Flavius that, in the same period, the Alans penetrated Media and Iberia (AD 72-73). In the opinion of A.S. Balakhvantsev, they came from an area to the east of the Caspian Sea, first into Media, and then (moving along the south Caspian coast) into Transcaucasia.⁶ The steppe of the southern Transurals was, in this case, a very remote periphery of the area of the Middle Sarmatian culture.

However, I suppose that the south of Central Asia was not the initial area of the final Sarmato-Alan migration. In my view, during the same period, the territories of Talas, Ketmen-Tyube, Ferghana, Isfara and Syr-Darya were actively populated by new settlers from the east, which determined the basic ethno-cultural Alan dominance of Kangyui/Kangju and Kan. An initial cause of this was the exodus of a considerable part of the eastern Iranian population belonging to the confederacy of Yueh-chih, which occupied up to that moment an area within the borders of north-western Gansu and south-eastern Turkestan, where was the country 'Small Yueh-chih'.⁷

The movement of the northern Hunnu into eastern Turkestan, provoked by their defeat by the Syanbi, and also integrated troops of Han and southern Hunnu, initially resulted most probably in the final exodus of the Yueh-chih and disappearance of 'Small Yueh-chih' in the Gansu 'corridor' and eastern Turkestan. In my opinion, this late Yueh-chih migratory wave consisted of several very different ethno-cultural groups. It is possible to judge it by its historico-cultural consequences.

The Alans and Southern Central Asia

Archaeological materials from sites of the first centuries AD allow the new cultural features of settlers of this period to be differentiated clearly enough. Kangyui and Kan are presented by complexes in 'catacombs with *dromos*' of the Kenkol group (or Kangyui-Alan historico-cultural complex: 'HCC') (Fig. 1); Davan (Ketmen-Tyube) had been developed by a population which left burial pits with a recess and simple burials with southern orientation of the Karbulak type.

⁵ Sergatskov 1998, 47.

⁶ Balakhvantsev 2000, 28.

⁷ Gabuev 2000, 58.

The sites of the Kenkol group (or Kangyui-Alan HCC) are situated in oases of southern Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan. In the east they are situated in the Upper Talas and Ketmen-Tyube. Here these sites coexist with the Talas and Ketmen-Tyube sites of the Saka-Usun HCC. It seems to me, however, that Usun sites in this area had been left in an earlier period. Similarly to this, the sites of this group in the south-east – in the upper course of the Chu river and in the Tien-Shan region (Kum-Aryk, Aigirdzhal, Chatkai and Kizart) – replace famous sites such as Buran, Aigirdzhal and Alamishik. In the west these sites cover an area situated on the right bank of the Middle Syr-Darya, where they form the so-called Arys group (Altıntobe, Boriddzhar, Aktobe, etc.). Here they replace Saka-Usunian complexes such as Berkkara I, III and Toldy, as well as complexes of the Lyavandak type such as Berkkara II and Kensai dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

From here the border of the distribution of the Kenkol group goes down to the south into the Tashkent oasis and Chardar, where they form a large compact Dzhun-Kaunchi cultural group. Here they arise in an area occupied earlier by populations which left complexes with recesses and catacombs of the Lyavandak group or Sarmato-Yueh-chih HCC (Shaushkukum, Taikyr and Kizil-tepe) and Yueh-chih-Kuchan complexes (Shaushkukum flat burials and pit burials with a recess). Three cemeteries (Sazagan, Adzhar-tebe and Khazara) have been excavated in the Samarkand oasis, where they are also situated in immediate proximity to cemeteries of the Lyavandak group dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. The cemetery of Kenkol was one of the first sites studied in this group. Catacomb burials of this cemetery had a similar construction: a long *dromos*, arranged perpendicularly to the burial chamber; a round entrance into a catacomb was closed by a flagstone, wooden planks or adobe bricks. The burial chambers were oval-shaped and had a vault-shaped covering. Graves contained single or collective burials on a wooden bed, in a coffin made of the wood of the archa-tree or on a bedding (a mat or felt mat). Orientations of the dead vary widely⁸ (Fig. 2.29, 73, 86, 87, 97, 111, 112, 127, 128, 137, 143, 169, 197, 208, 222, 227, 237, 243, 244).

As a whole, the main features of the construction of transverse catacombs with *dromos* are present in this or another form in sites of different areas.

However, we can observe local typological features in different groups. Thus, the catacombs of the Khangiz type (from Shakhimardan up to the Osh valley) have a small oval chamber oriented west-east and a small, very flat *dromos*, and also very steady latitudinal orientation of the body (head to the east). The catacombs of the Gurmiron cemetery in northern Ferghana have a more rectangular form of chambers and shortened *dromos*. Some *kurgans* of the Shaushkukum cemetery (Kurgan

⁸ Bernshtam 1940.

52) and catacombs of the Zhamai-Togai cemetery at Chardar have a stepped *dromos* and an oval, more elongated burial chamber (Fig. 2.I, III).

The catacombs of the cemeteries of Khazara and Sazagan, in the Samarkand oasis, have stone gobbing of the input shaft and *dromos* (Fig. 2.II).

A broad spectrum of local peculiarities in types of weaponry, ornaments and household implements has been described in the work by N.G. Gorbunova.⁹ However, despite these local features, following S.S. Sorokin, N.I. Berlizov and V.N. Kaminskii, I am inclined to consider the sites of this type within the framework of a monocultural type: sites of the Syr-Darya-Ferghana group of the 1st century BC-3rd century AD¹⁰ and later catacomb burials of the whole southern area of Central Asia.¹¹

Grave-goods of male burials are represented by weapons of distant combat: a composite bow of the Hunnic type, three-winged iron arrowheads with a tang of different types (the earliest among them, dated to the 1st century BC-1st century AD, are arrowheads with a short tang and more elongated wings truncated at an acute angle; and later (2nd-4th centuries AD) arrowheads with a long tang and broad wings truncated at the base at a right or obtuse angle, and a stop at the tang), and also long swords without guard, buckles with a round frame and mobile plate, or buckles with a rectangular frame. In the male burials wooden vessels, small tables and burners with perforated bodies have also been found. In female burials the most characteristic finds are mirrors (Chinese eight-arched, 'hundred-knobbed' of the Bactrian type), ceramic spindle-whorls, beads (a very characteristic type are glass and cornelian 14-faceted beads), pins, fibulas and round-framed buckles (Fig. 2.7-27, 30-38, 43-49, 62, 63, 66-72, 74, 75, 79-85, 88, 98-106, 113-118, 120-123, 128-129, 133-137, 138, 145-149, 157-161, 154, 164, 174-181, 183, 189-193, 201-204, 209, 215-220, 223, 226, 228-232, 237, 239, 245, 246, 250).

The most widespread and typical forms of vessels of this group are jugs with a spherical body, flat bottom, rather narrow neck and outcurved rim, sometimes with a handle or with a handle and spout (in the catacombs of the Tashkent region and the Talas valley the jugs comprise about 50% of a total number of household vessels, and in Ferghana more than 70%); flasks with a flat side, cups with zoomorphic handles, and open bowls with a simple or complicated profile. There are also washtubs, pots, jars, miniature vessels, simple mugs, cups, bowls, burners, etc., but they are present in complexes less often¹² (Fig. 2.6, 11-15, 28, 42, 50-54, 57-60,

⁹ Gorbunova 1991.

¹⁰ Berlizov and Kaminskii 1993.

¹¹ Sorokin 1956, 102-05.

¹² Sorokin 1956, 104.



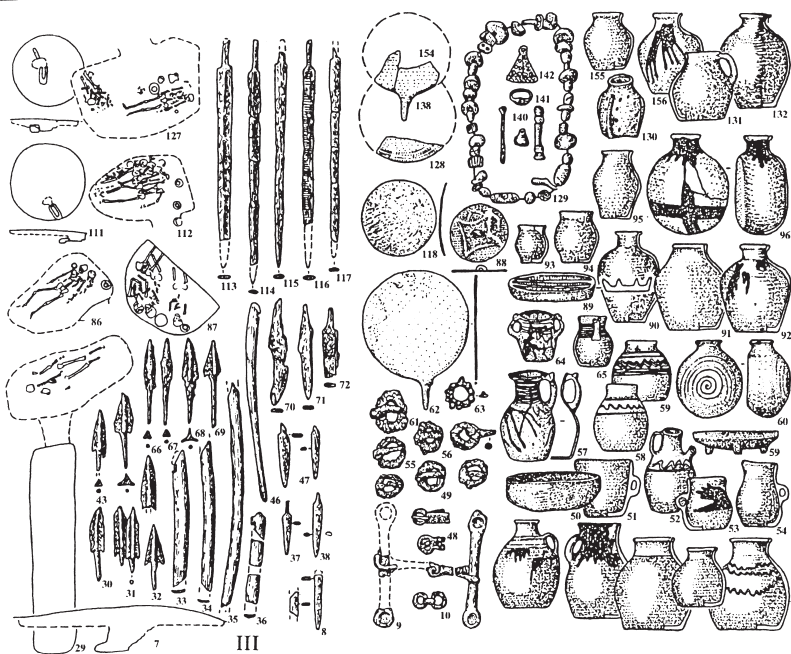
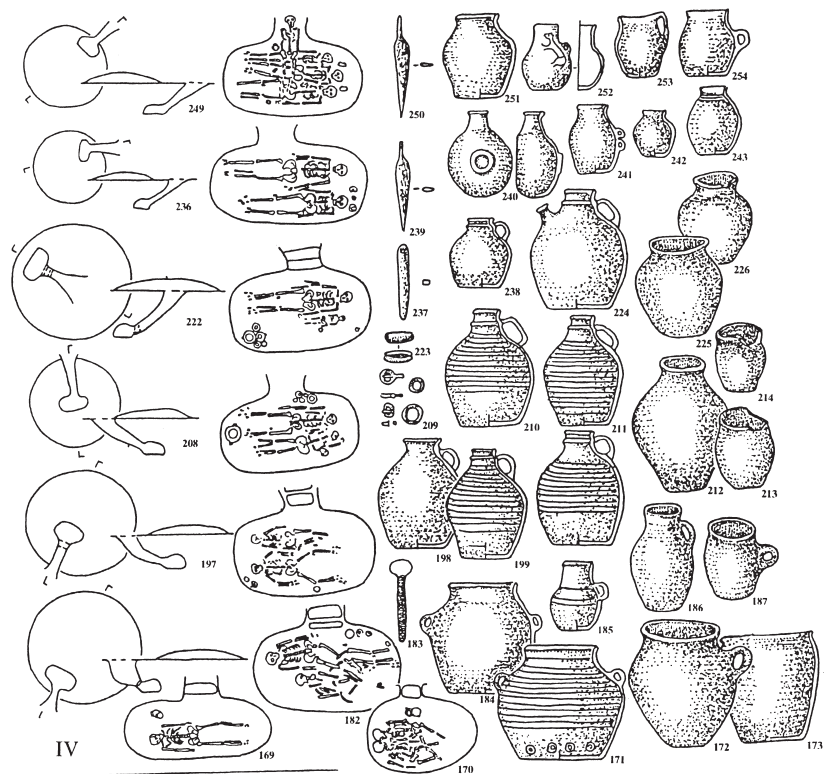


Fig. 2: Kenkol group (Kangyui-Alan HCC).

- I. Sites at Talas, Ferghana: 1-6, 16-28, 37-39, 42, 73-75, 85, 137, 149, 161, 167, 152, 120-122, 151 – Kenkol; 27, 41, 80, 84, 77, 166, 123, 107, 106, 148, 133, 121, 147, 159, 150, 164 – Ketmen-Tyube; 6, 78, 81, 110, 119, 98, 99, 100, 105, 79, 157, 158, 145, 173, 134, 136, 161 – Akchii-Karasu; 97, 143, 165 – Aigyrdzhal; 76, 40, 125, 126, 143, 148 – Chatkal.
- II. Samarkand and Bukhara oases: 174-181, 189-193, 201-204, 226-233, 215-220, 245, 246 – Orlatskii cemetery, mound 2; 189, 234, 247 – Sazagan, mound 1; 221, 244 – Khazara, mound 3; 194, 205, 227 – Khazara, mound 2; 195 – Sazagan, mound 5; 196, 206 – Sazagan, mound 2; 207 – Sazagan, mound 8; 235, 248 – Sazagan, mound 3.
- III. Tashkent oasis: 7, 8, 9 – Shaushukum, mound 56; 8, 117, 48, 49, 130, 95, 96, 44 – Shaushukum, mound 80; 9, 46 – Shaushukum, mound 50; 10, 70-72, 61, 57, 64, 50, 99 – Shaushukum, mound 106; 12, 13, 111, 112 – Aktobe, mound 90; 14, 155, 115, 34, 35, 37 – Shaushukum, mound 60; 15, 127, 51, 53, 54 – Aktobe, mound 40; 11, 87, 58, 59, 129, 140, 141, 142 – Shirin-sai; 30, 45, 94, 132, 156 – Shaushukum, mound 62, 31, 43, 116, 47 – Shaushukum, mound 5; 32 – Shaushukum, mound 6; 33, 36, 38, 114 – Shaushukum, mound 72; 48, 66-68, 56, 138 – Shaushukum, mound 110; 52, 88, 118 – Shaushukum, mound 109; 63, 154 – Shaushukum, mound 71; 113 – Shaushukum, mound 107; 86 – Aktobe, mound 43.
- IV. Arys cultural group: 169, 226, 212, 240, 241 – Borikarskii, mound 9; 170, 253, 254 – Borikarskii, mound 2; 171, 208, 199, 237 – Altyn-Tobe, mound 8; 172, 186, 187 – Borikarskii, mound 3; 173, 182, 200, 209, 237 – Altyn-tobe, mound 11; 185, 197, 198 – Altyn-tobe, mound 10; 210, 211 – Altyn-tobe, mound 5; 184, 222, 223, 238, 239, 241, 250 – Altyn-tobe, mound 3; 213, 214 – Borikarskii, mound 8; 236, 240, 242 – Altyn-tobe, mound 2; 249, 251, 252 – Altyn-tobe, mound 1.

General layouts of kurgans and burials: 1, 7, 29, 37, 73, 86, 87, 97, 111, 112, 127, 143, 169, 170, 182, 188, 197, 208, 222, 227, 236, 244, 249. Wood, fibre, textile, reed: 2-5, 24-27, 41, 80, 85, 161. Ceramics: 6, 11-15, 28, 40, 42, 50-54, 57-60, 64, 65, 76-78, 89-96, 107-110, 124-126, 130-132, 150-153, 155-156, 165, 167, 168, 171-173, 184-187, 194-196, 198-200, 205-207, 210-214, 221, 224-226, 233, 234, 235, 238, 240-243, 247, 248, 251-254. Iron: 8-10, 16-21, 23, 30-32, 37, 38, 43-45, 47-49, 55-56, 61, 66-69, 70-72, 79, 98-100, 113-117, 119-121, 144, 174-177, 189-191, 201-203, 215, 216, 226, 227, 228-230, 239, 245, 246, 250. Stone: 22, 81, 82, 192, 220, 223, 237. Bronze: 62, 63, 74, 75, 88, 106, 118, 128, 145, 154, 157. Gold, silver, stone: 105, 137, 145-149, 159-161, 162-164. Bone: 23, 33-36, 46, 217-219, 231, 232. Glass: 123, 166.

64, 65, 76-78, 84, 89-96, 107-110, 124-126, 130-132, 149-153, 155, 156, 165-168, 194-196, 170-173, 198-203, 205-207, 210-214, 221, 224-226, 233, 235, 238, 240-243, 247-248, 251-254).

A majority of archaeologists suppose that the sites of this type are to be dated within a very broad time span from the 1st to the 5th century AD. Recently Berlizov has readjusted the dates of the Central Asian, North Caucasian and Eastern European complexes of late antiquity.¹³

By the middle of the 1st century AD, the Alan wave in the West reached, at first, the western Caspian area and the north-eastern Caucasian foothills, where in the early 2nd century AD catacomb burials of the Terek-Dagestan group appeared,¹⁴ and then penetrated the Don basin and the Lower Volga. This area was, in my opinion, penetrated by a particular vanguard group of the nomadic and semi-nomadic Alan population. This process had two main results: on the one hand, the population of the Volga-Don region belonging at that moment to the common Sarmatian area was forced out (Roksolani, Aorsi, Siraki); on the other hand, a country 'Don Alania' arose.¹⁵ This Alan population left the numerous complexes which determined the features of the final phase (1st-early 2nd century AD) of the Middle Sarmatian culture (graves with recess and southern orientation and diagonal burials).¹⁶

Southern Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan

Let us turn to parallels which arise in the context of consideration of sites of the Kangyui-Alan HCC. In the 1940s, A.N. Bernshtam expressed his opinion that there were close connections between Turkestan and the south of Central Asia.¹⁷ Confirmation of this was obtained much later. The excavations of the cemeteries of Karakhodzho and Astana in the Turfan oasis have yielded extremely rich material for the culture of inhabitants of the Chesh and Gaochan states. As a whole, the burials fall into a rather long period from the 3rd to the 8th century AD. On the one hand, a number of features of burial culture of the Astana cemetery indicate an obvious influence from China: wall-paintings in burial chambers, stone plates for writing, tablets, silk coverlets for the face, drawings of Chinese deities, varnished ware, etc. On the other hand, we can observe almost direct analogies to burial complexes of the Kaunchi-Dzhuna and Kugai-Karabulak cultural groups of southern Central Asia.

¹³ Berlizov and Zhuravlev 1989; Berlizov 1990; 1998; Berlizov and Kaminskii 1993.

¹⁴ Berlizov and Kaminskii 1993, 94-96.

¹⁵ Machinskii 1974, 131-32; Yatsenko 1993, 83; Vinogradov 1994, 162, fig. 3; Skripkin 1997, 24-25.

¹⁶ Skripkin 1990, 184-85; Maksimenko 1998, 82-93.

¹⁷ Bernshtam 1947.

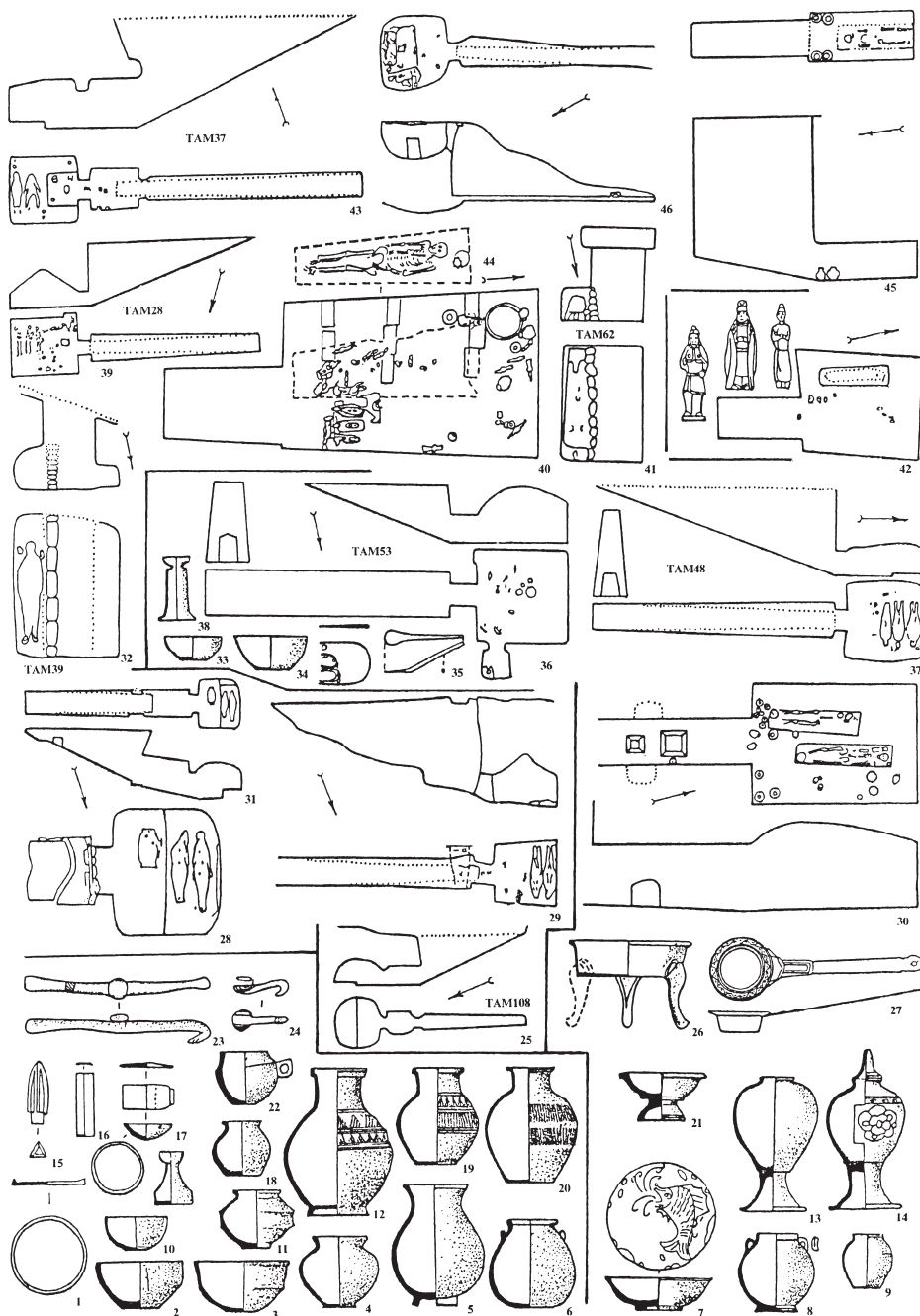


Fig. 3: Catacomb burials of eastern Turkestan. 1-6, 10-12, 15-20, 22-24 – grave-goods from different burials from Astana cemetery; 7-9, 13, 14, 21, 26, 27, 30 – Xinjiang (Tang period, Henan province); 28, 29, 31-45 – Astana cemetery.

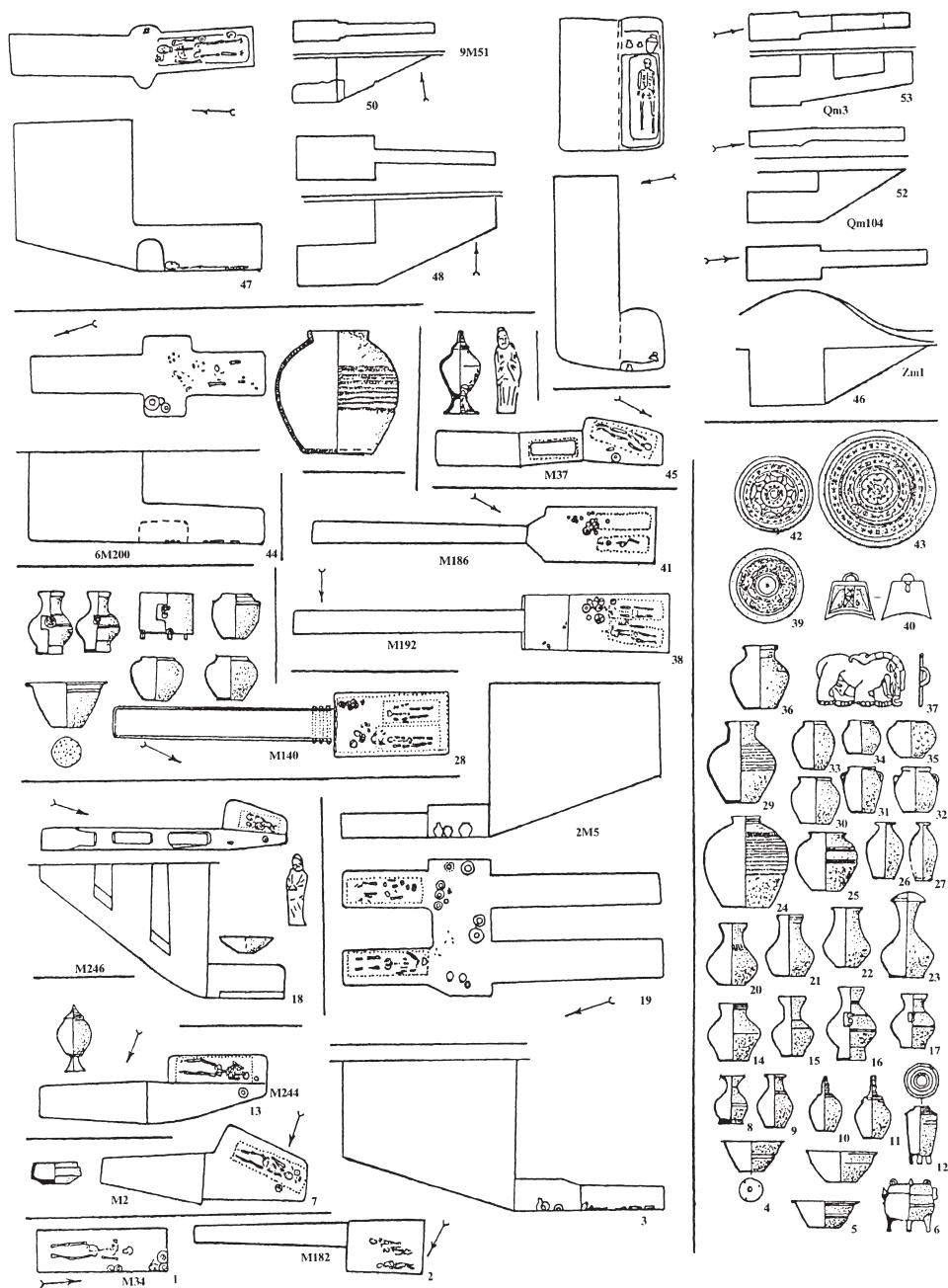


Fig. 4: Catacombs and crypts of northern China. 1, 2, 7, 13, 18, 23, 38, 41 – Dyantszy (Han and Tang periods, Shaanxi province); 19, 50, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51 – Shuoxian (Qin-Han period, Shanxi province); 4-6, 8-12, 14-17, 24-27, 29-35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43 – material from burials from cemetery.

Above all, these analogies are demonstrated by the burial rites. The Astana burials were arranged either in graves with recess and the southward orientation of the deceased, or in catacombs of square form with a long (including stepped) *dromos* and individual or collective burials having no regular orientation. The deceased were laid on a wooden bed or in a wooden coffin. It was the tradition to lay silk and metal (gold) masks and eye-flaps on the face. Analogies may also be traced in other materials: small wooden tables, forms of ceramic ware (grey clay vessels with engobe and geometrical decoration, zoomorphic figurines).¹⁸ In addition, it is very important to note that many of the traditions listed above were preserved throughout the long period of the ethno-cultural unity of population of this part of the Turfan oasis.

Today we know a great number of burial complexes in catacombs and chambers with *dromoi* in Xinjiang, Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Shaanxi and other areas of northern China dated to the earlier period, which allow the sources of the Astana burial traditions to be traced back¹⁹ (Figs. 3-4).

The parallels established, in my opinion, allow us to speak not only about direct influence from eastern Turkestan but also about direct participation of the settlers from Xinjiang (and, probably, from some areas of northern China) in the formation of cultures and sites of the Kenkol type. We argue this from the fact that sites of this type appear *en masse*, as a migratory explosion in the 1st century AD, and mark a new and final wave of the late Sarmatian and Alan populations.

Alans in Eastern Europe

The Alan migrations probably embraced different Iranian (formerly Yueh-chih) groups which had essential cultural differences. It is indicated by the difference in cultural features of sites, which had comprised the historico-cultural special features of particular areas of the south of Central Asia (Talas, Isfara, Syr-Darya, Ferghana and northern Bactria) and Eastern Europe (the north-eastern Caspian area, the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the Volga-Don area).

There is a very important question: how far is it correct to posit such an extended range for Alan migration? The North Caucasian, Volga-Don and Central Asian parallels do not give rise to doubts among the majority of archaeologists today. A certain commonality has been established in the analysis of materials from rich burials with Alan features, in which the precious weapons, ceremonial vessels, belt sets, necklaces, bracelets have been found, to search for analogies for them among the artefacts from

¹⁸ Lubo-Lesnichenko 1984, 109-12.

¹⁹ Aidin 1982; *Xinjiang* 1983, 72-111; Xujianian 1982; Xie Duanju 1987, 1097-1102; Shuoxian 1987; Ningxia 1993; 1995; Gongyi 1996; Yanshi 1996; Longxian 1999.

the southern Central Asian centres of Parphria and Kuchan Bactria and, above all, among the finds from the necropoleis of Tillya-tepe.²⁰

E.E. Kuzmina and V.K. Guguev believe that much jewellery, including the objects of 'Sarmatian polychrome-turquoise animal style', was made by the Bactrian craftsmen to the order of steppe nomadic aristocracy (Saka, Yueh-chih and Sarmatians).²¹ However, in my opinion, the 'bright splash' of these finds in burials of the second half of the 1st century AD was occasioned by their being brought by the population of Alans or 'former Massagetic tribes', who invaded Eastern Europe from eastern Central Asia. In this sense I share absolutely the opinion of A.S. Skripkin and B.A. Raev about the migratory nature of the Middle Sarmatian culture.²² However, the starting-point of the Alan movement was somewhere in an area removed further east from the southern Central Asian region.

It seems to me that, to some extent, the basis for this opinion is the presence of numerous striking parallels in particular categories of artefact, whose straight analogies have been found far to the east among materials of northern China and eastern Turkestan. Skripkin has devoted a special study to consideration of these parallels.²³ In it, he adduces a number of Chinese borrowings among objects of weaponry found in the Middle Sarmatian complexes: iron swords and daggers with a ring-shaped terminal to the handle, as well as swords with a rhombic iron, bronze or nephritic guard.²⁴ Probably, some additional objects must be related to this list, for example, a quiver from the catacomb burial of Porogi, which includes also arrowheads (stepped, armour-piercing) of obviously Eastern (Mongolian or northern Chinese) origins.²⁵

The most expressive are Eastern analogies of ornaments whose origins are also connected with regions of northern China, Mongolia and Xinjiang. These, above all, are objects, which were found in rich burials (Porogi; Zaporozhye; Kobyakovo, mound 10; Khokhlach; Sadovii, mound 1; Zhutovskii, mound 28; Pervomaiskii VII, mound 14; Kosika; Alitub; etc.). Similar things or composite motifs decorating weapons, horse bridle and belt-fittings have been labelled as objects of the 'Ordos style'. These plates, buckles, clasps, ferrules of belts or stylistic motifs are present in almost all socially significant burials of the 1st century AD.²⁶

²⁰ Shilov 1983, 190; Dvornichenko and Fedorov-Davydov 1989, 1993, 159; Bespalyi 1992, 189; Guguev 1992, 123-27; Prokhorova and Guguev 1992, 157; Simonenko 1992, 157.

²¹ Kuzmina 1978, 199; Guguev 1992, 127-28.

²² Raev 1989, 126-28; Skripkin 1990, 127-30.

²³ Skripkin 2000, 19-22.

²⁴ Skripkin 2000, figs. 1, 7.5-13.

²⁵ Simonenko 1992, fig. 1.

²⁶ Shilov 1983, fig. 5; Dvornichenko and Fedorov-Davydov 1989, fig. 1; 1993, figs. 13, 16, 19; Bespalyi 1992, figs. 3.7, 9, 12; fig. 12; Ilyukov and Vlaskin 1992, figs. 7.3, 7.5, 13.3-4, 20.8-10, 21.4; Prokhorova and Guguev 1992, figs. 12, 14, 15; Simonenko 1992, figs. 2-3.

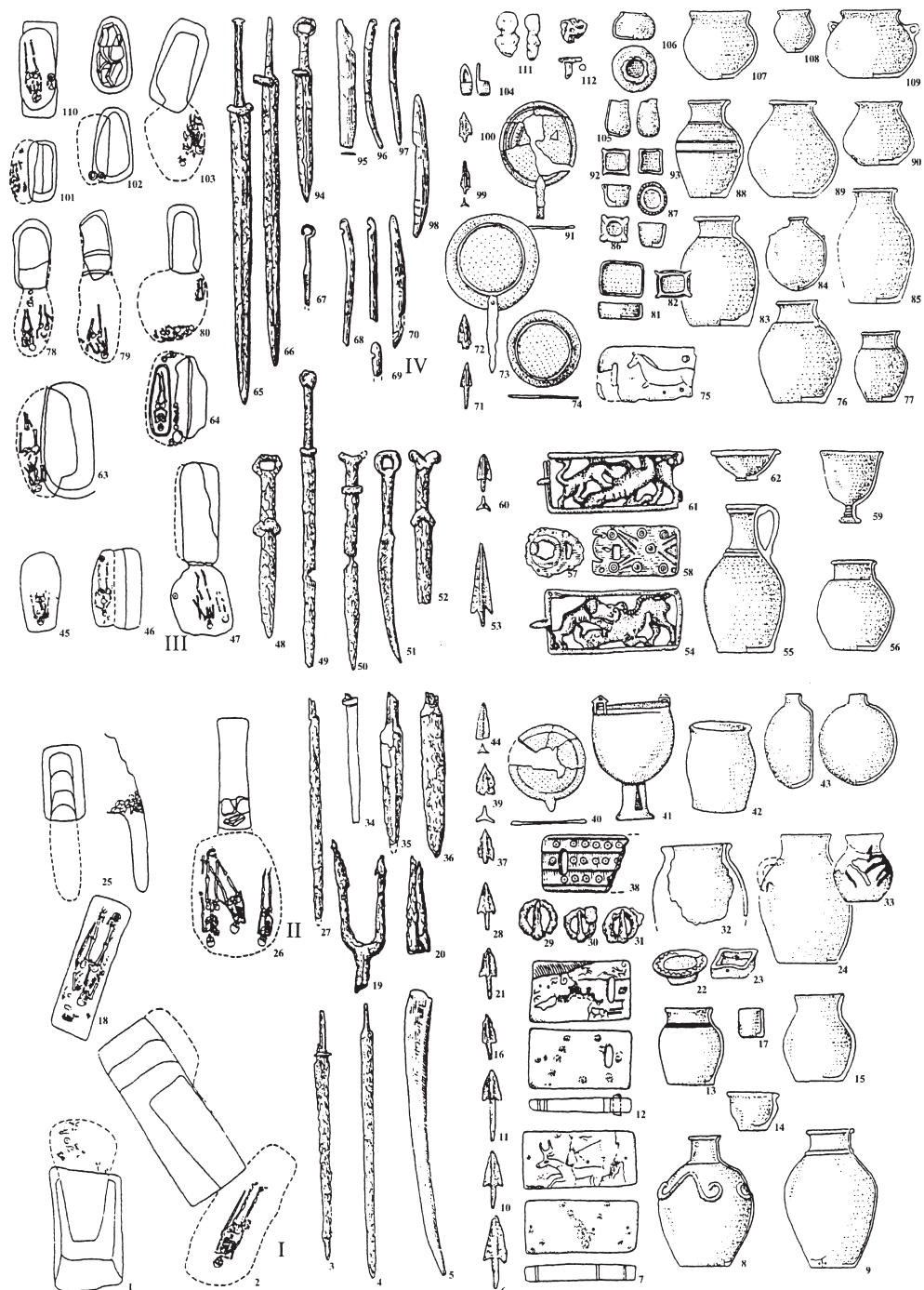


Fig. 5.I

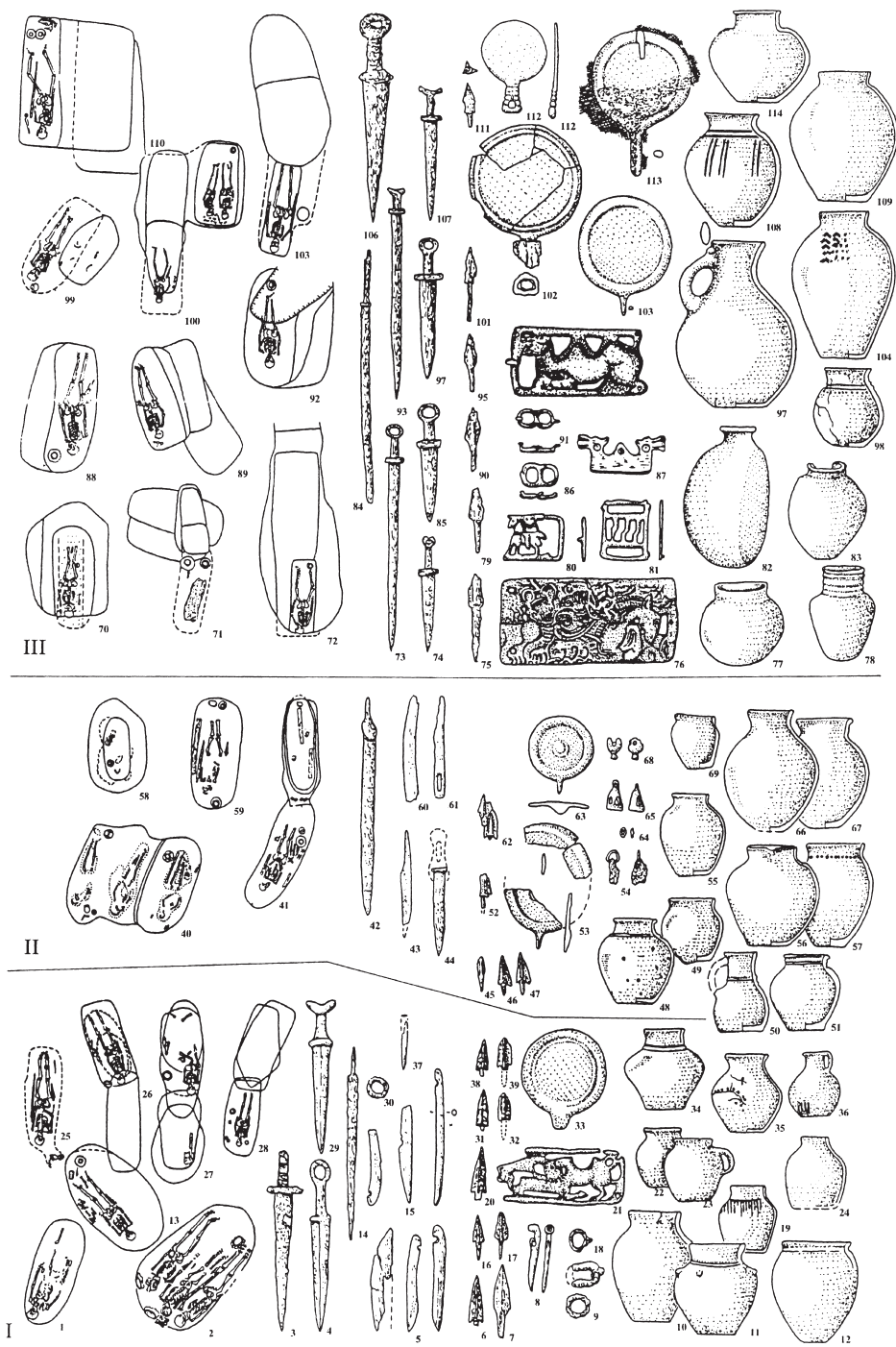


Fig. 5.II

Fig. 5.I: Yueh-chih-Sarmatian HCC (Lyavandak).

- I. Tashkent oasis: 1-3, 18, 21, 28-31, 35, 41, 42 – Zhaman-Togai; 4, 19, 20, 22-25, 32, 33, 36, 38, 40 – Shaushukum (catacombs of the second type).
- II. Northern Parphia: 26, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44 – Meshterkhazinskii.
- III. Samarkand and Bukhara oases: 45, 47 – Akzhartepe; 46, 48, 51, 53-55, 58-60, 62 – Lyavandak; 49, 50 – Agalyksaiskii; 52, 56, 57 – Kuyumazarskii; 61 – Shakhrivaroi.
- IV. Khorezm: 63, 66, 102; 110 – Gyaury; 64, 65, 74, 79, 83, 88-90; 91 94-100, 104, 110 – Tumek-Kichidzhik; 73, 75, 76-78, 80-82, 85-87, 92, 93, 105, 106 – Tuzgyr. General layouts of burials: 1, 2, 18, 25, 26, 45, 46, 47, 63, 64, 78-80, 101-103, 110. Iron: 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27-31, 34-37, 39, 44, 48-53, 57, 60, 65-72, 94, 99, 100. Resin: 5, 58, 68-70, 75, 92, 95-97, 7, 12, Ceramics: 8, 9, 13-15, 17, 22-24, 32, 33, 38, 42, 43, 55, 56, 59, 62, 76, 77, 81-90, 92, 93, 105-110. Bronze: 40, 41, 54, 61, 73, 74, 91, 104, 111.

Fig. 5.II: Yueh-chih-Sarmatian HCC (Lyavandak).

- I. Kazakhstan: 1, 4, 18, 35 – Konursa; 2, 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 24, 28 – Zhabai-Pokrovka; 3, 6, 8, 26, 31, 38 – Zhaltyr; 10, 11, 33, 37 – Petrovka; 15, 22, 23, 25, 36 – Sargary; 12, 27, 29 – Berlik.
- II. Southern Transurals: 40, 41, 45, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60-69 – Solntse; 42-44, 46-48, 51-59 – Streletskoe; 50, 54, 55, 58 – Lisakovskii.
- III. Or-Ilek interfluvium: 70, 71, 78, 86 – Uvak; 80-84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 98, 102 – Mechetsai; 76, 90, 97, 99, 107, 110, 113 – Pokrovka 2; 72-74, 93, 94, 103-106, 108, 109, 114 – Pokrovka 1; 79, 85, 112 – Pokrovka 7; 87, 100 – Pokrovka 8; 91, 96 – Novo-Kalkashenskii. Layouts of burials: 1, 2, 13, 25-28, 40, 41, 58, 59, 70-72, 88, 89, 92, 99, 100, 105, 110. Iron: 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20-22, 30-32, 37-39, 42-47, 52, 62, 73-75, 79, 84, 85, 90, 93-95, 101, 106, 107, 111. Bone: 5, 7, 8, 15, 60, 61, 87. Ceramics: 10-12, 19, 22-24, 34-36, 48-51, 55-57, 66, 67, 69, 77, 78, 82, 83, 97, 98, 104, 108, 109, 114. Bronze: 21, 34, 54, 63-65, 68, 78, 80, 81, 86, 91, 96, 102, 103, 112, 113. Iron/gold: 54.

It is generally known that the 'Ordos style' is a rather conventional name for materials of eastern Central Asian (both in the geographical and historical sense) origins. The first 'splashing' of the 'Ordos' bronzes into the steppes of the southern Urals, Kazakhstan, Volga and Don took place with the coming of populations of the Yueh-chih-Sarmatian identity of the Lyavandak group in the late 3rd-early 1st centuries BC. Thereupon, plates and buckles of the 'Ordos type', as well as their imitations appeared in typical complexes of this period (Fig. 5.I, 7, 12, 38, 54, 58, 61, 75; 5.II, 18, 21, 76, 80, 81, 86, 91, 96).²⁷ These facts were a consequence of the exodus of the Yueh-chih-Sarmatian population (Yueh-chih of the 'Home Chzhaovu')²⁸ from northern China (through the Gansu corridor) and eastern Turkestan after their defeat first from Hunnu, and then from Usun. In this connection the appearance of new examples of this style 200-300 years later, reflects peculiarly the second and final phase of the exodus of the Yueh-chih-Alan population, most probably, from the same area ('Small Yueh-chih'). New 'Ordos' objects are often present at this time at sites not only in the northern Chinese provinces and Greater Mongolia, but also in Xinjiang.²⁹

A particular distinctive category of artefacts of this style in this phase is formed by the convex metal buckle-clasps with a volumetric profile and zoomorphic image on the external side. They have been found in the Novii cemetery (mounds 20, 46, 70), Azov mound, Kosika and Porogi.³⁰ In my opinion, this category of belt-fittings arose and obtained its development among the populations of northern China and Inner Mongolia, where it occurred in early sites of Scythian times,³¹ and subsequently was developed and perfected down to the Wei and Tang periods.³²

To this number of Far Eastern parallels may be added the finds of little metal bells, which occur *en masse* in complexes of the 1st century AD.³³ The closest to these in derivative form are those known also in complexes of 'Ordos bronzes' and sites of the Early Iron Age of China.³⁴ The similarity of individual, rather specific objects, found among Alan materials of the Volga and Don areas, is striking. The finds of leaf-shaped and spherical plates of belt-fittings and horse bridles, which have been

²⁷ Skripkin 2000, 25, fig. 6.

²⁸ Vainberg 1972.

²⁹ Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin 1980, 334, fig. 1.1, 3, 4; 335, fig. 3.9, 12, 13; 1986, 72, figs. 1-5; 73, figs. 1-4; 93, figs. 1-3; 94, figs. 1-4; 177, fig. 6; 344, figs. 1-4; 345, fig. 2; Liu Dezhen and Xu Junchen 1988, 418-21.

³⁰ Bepalyi 1992, fig. 3.7; Ilyukov and Vlaskin 1992, figs. 7.3, 13.4, 20.8; Simonenko 1992, figs. 2-3; Dvornichenko and Fedorov-Davydov 1993, fig. 19.

³¹ Wu En 1984; Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin 1986, 71-72.

³² Wang Renxiang 1986; Mu Shunying 1994, 58, fig. 139; Sun Ji 1994; Dong Gao 1995, 35, fig. 1.

³³ Kosyanenko 1997; Maksimenko 1998, 139, fig. 84.1-2, 4-6.

³⁴ Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin 1986, 137-38; Datong 1994, figs. 6, 8, 9, 11.

found in the cemeteries of Pervomayskii VII (mound 14) and Kobayakovskii (mound 10), may be related to such objects.³⁵ Plates of a similar form were found in the burial 1 in the Laoheshen cemetery (the Jilin province in China), which, in the opinion of Chinese archaeologists, belongs to the early Syanbi.³⁶ Judging from the accompanying grave-goods (stepped two-winged arrowheads, a sword, bronze cauldron and a Chinese mirror – *ssi-ju*), this cemetery may be dated to the 1st century BC–1st century AD.

Certain parallels may be viewed also in pottery. Above, we have already paid attention to the similarity of individual types of ceramics from the sites of the Kenkol group (Kangyui-Alan HCC) with vessels from the catacomb burials and burials with a *dromos* in northern China and Xinjiang. Similar forms of pots with flat bottom and bellied body, narrow neck and outcurved rim, as well as vessels with smoothly profiled extracted body and straight outcurved rim, appearing in the Volga and Don areas in complexes of the late 1st century BC–1st or 2nd centuries AD,³⁷ are known not only at synchronic sites of southern Central Asia but also in burials of northern China, and especially in cities in eastern Turkestan³⁸ (Fig. 4.20–22, 29, 30, 33, 36, etc.). These parallels might be seen as merely a tendency of a general similarity of ceramic forms existing separately from each other. However, among ceramic materials from the burials of the 1st century AD (Krepinskii I, mound 11, grave 2; Starie Kiishki, mound 20, burial 4; Berezhnovskii, south-eastern group, mound 17; Kobayakovskii, mound 10)³⁹ there are quite typical two-handled low vessels, which exist as a special type of vessel in northern China and eastern Turkestan. The vessel from mound 10 of the Kobayakovskii cemetery is notable in this connection because it has a typical spherical cover identical to those from the Chinese sites.⁴⁰

Finally, a distinctive category of artefact from the Don-Volga complexes of the period under consideration is represented by the Chinese mirrors, which occur in these areas in many complexes of the 1st century AD. Skripkin emphasises especially in this connection that the infiltration of Han mirrors in Eastern Europe was connected with the arrival of the Alans here.⁴¹

Viewing distribution maps of Han mirrors in the Ural-Kazakhstan and Volga-Don steppes⁴² one fact draws attention: that in the latter area they occur not only

³⁵ Prokhorova and Guguev 1992, fig. 8.45–46; Mamontov 1995, fig. 3.

³⁶ Yushu 1985, 69, fig. III, 81, fig. XX.

³⁷ Skripkin 1990, fig. 8.2, 11, 14–15, fig. 14, fig. 49.

³⁸ Aksu 1995, 30, 34, 85.

³⁹ Skripkin 1990, fig. 16.13–15; Prokhorova and Guguev 1992, fig. 3.15.

⁴⁰ Yushu 1985, figs. III.5, XIV.17; Shuoxian 1987, fig. 44.2, 5, 8, fig. 2.9, 11; Longxian 1999, fig. 18.11–13.

⁴¹ Skripkin 1997, 34.

⁴² Botalov and Gutsalov 2000, fig. 45.

in earlier complexes (1st-2nd centuries AD) but they are also represented by earlier stylistic types (*ssi-ju* and *ching-poi*),⁴³ in contrast to the mirrors of the Hunno-Sarmatians, which relate to the eight-arched type without hieroglyphs and all of which have been found in sites of the 2nd-4th centuries AD.

The same picture is given by the cartography of cauldrons. If one looks at the map of their distribution in complexes of the 1st century BC-early 2nd century AD – represented by funnel- or wineglass-footed cauldrons with a spherical, hemispherical and semi-oval reservoir, loop-shaped or zoomorphic handles, and different decoration (corded, polygonal lines) (N.A. Bokovenko's type II; S.V. Demidenko's types VI, IX, X and XI) – we shall see that their main distribution covers the Volga-Don region; further west single samples of these types are found in the north Pontic area.⁴⁴ In the east, in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes, such examples are virtually lacking.⁴⁵ Conversely, cauldrons with hemispherical or ovoid body, loop- or ring-shaped handles, with or without knobs, and decoration (corded, tamga-signs) (Bokovenko's type III; Demidenko's types VII and VIII) are present in the majority of instances in complexes of the second half of the 2nd and of the 3rd century AD in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes and the Lower Volga (although in the Volga area most of these cauldrons have been chance finds). Further, a small number of these cauldrons occur in the Don area and foothills of the northern Caucasus.⁴⁶

These facts illustrate two relatively independent historico-cultural phases, whose division was conditioned by two processes: during the early phase, the coming of the Alan population took place along the western Caspian shore, at first into the Don area and then into the Lower Volga; and in the later phase (middle of the 2nd century AD), that of the Hunno-Sarmatians was directly into the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes. Probably, this peculiarity of the historico-cultural processes proceeding in the steppes of Eurasia was responsible for the fact that Han mirrors of earlier types do not occur in this area in complexes of the 1st-2nd centuries AD to the east of the Volga.⁴⁷ Besides, as I have emphasised more than once, complexes of the late 1st century BC-first half of the 2nd century AD are extremely rare in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes.

⁴³ Guguev and Treister 1995.

⁴⁴ Bokovenko 1977, fig. 2; Demidenko 1997, figs. 12, 14.

⁴⁵ Demidenko 1997, 136.

⁴⁶ Bokovenko 1977, fig. 2; Demidenko 1997, fig. 13.

⁴⁷ An exception is a sample of an early Han mirror of type TLV found in the cemetery of Lebedevka VI, mound 39, grave 1; but the presence of well-dated artefacts – the fibula with a flat receiver and a volute at the termination, the curled earring with settings in and metal bunch below – allow this complex to be dated between the second half of the 2nd and the 3rd (possibly early 4th) centuries AD.

The Phases of Alan Migration

Concluding this description, we shall briefly plot the historical events which underlay the Alan migrations in the East. The time span from the middle of the 1st century AD to the 2nd century AD may provisionally be divided into two phases.

The first started in AD 48 with the partition of the Hunnic empire and into northern and southern Hunnu, and finished in AD 87-91 in the heaviest defeat by the Syanbi (the death of the *Shan-yui* Yulu) and the battles at the Tsi-lo-shan and Gin'-vei-shan' mountains against the joint forces of the southern Hunnu (*Shan-yui* Tun'tukhe) and Han imperial troops (military leader Gen-Bin).⁴⁸

In this phase the nomad-camps of the northern Hunnu were situated most probably in north-western Mongolia and southern Tuva (the foothills of the Mongolian Altai, the valley of the Upper Yenisei).⁴⁹ This region can quite reliably be correlated with the terrains of the Shurman and Kokel late Hunnic cultures of the first centuries AD.⁵⁰

The second phase starts in the late 1st century AD (after AD 91) and finishes in the second half of the 2nd century AD (151-181). At this time the Hunnu finally leave Mongolia and relocate into the Dzungarian steppe of eastern Turkestan. The camp of the northern *Shan-yui* is situated between the lakes Pkhu-lei-khai (Barkul) and Tsin-Khai (Torkul).⁵¹ Here they participate actively in politico-military events against Han China: in the revolt of the Pulean princes from Chesh (AD 107), the rout of the Chinese garrison in Ivu (AD 112), as well as acting against the Syanbi.

In spite of the fact that in AD 48 Hunnic power was cracked into two, and a certain part of the northern Hunnic nomad-camps remained within the borders of southern Tuva (Shuman-Kokel sites, as is well known, existed up to the 4th century AD),⁵² a huge quantity of nomadic populations arrived in eastern Turkestan in the second half of the 1st century AD. This encroachment should, according to the 'domino-principle', have displaced the local tribes of eastern Turkestan. This is clearly indicated by Chinese written sources, reporting that when the Hunnu had taken possession of the western region, *Shan-yui* evicted the Pulean inhabitants into the Khava district situated to the north from Chesh, probably, in the valley of the Upper (Black) Irtysh river. Furthermore, after the defeat of the southern Hunnu by the Syanbi in AD 117, a part of them decamped to the northern Hunnu.⁵³ The superfluity of the population, most probably, was a decisive factor, which resulted in the exodus of the

⁴⁸ Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926, 131-33; Bichurin 1950 vol. 1, 128; Duman 1973, 82-84, 153.

⁴⁹ Sorokin 1956, 114.

⁵⁰ Kyzlasov 1979, 79-120; Kenk 1984.

⁵¹ Bichurin 1950 vol. 2, 281; Borovkova 1989, 177.

⁵² Nikolaev 1996, 51.

⁵³ Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926, 133-34.

Sarmato-Alan population living in the Dzungarian steppes, the foothills of the eastern Tien-Shan and the Tarbagatay range into the south of Central Asia. The Hunnu themselves stayed within the borders of eastern Turkestan up to the second half of the 2nd century AD. After AD 151, and the final strengthening of Chinese in the western region, they vanish from the pages of the Chinese chronicles. In the 160-170s, the Syanbi, led by Tanshikhai, completely occupy the Dzungarian steppe, set out for the Tarbagatay range and conquer Usun.⁵⁴

Thus, the appearance of the population who left the sites of the Kenkol type in southern Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan was connected with the Hunnic encroachment in eastern Turkestan and their ouster from these areas of the nomadic and semi-nomadic eastern Sarmatian and Alan populations. Probably, Ass-Alans played a dominant role in this. This was a definitive movement and resulted not only in the renaming of the Sarmatian country 'Yantsyai' to 'Alania' in the 1st century AD,⁵⁵ but also in the encroachment of the Alans-Massagetae (Maskutot) in the northern foothills of the Caucasus in the early 2nd century AD⁵⁶ and the appearance of similar catacomb sites of the Terek-Dagestan group there.⁵⁷ This Alano-Massagetic migratory wave was so sweeping that in all likelihood it created the redundancy of population within the borders of the oasis zones of Kangyui, Kan and Davan. Part of population, having probably stayed not very long in Central Asia, migrated into the steppe foothills of Dagestan and further on to the Lower Tanais, where the country 'Don Alania' arose.⁵⁸

In this connection, it should be noted that there is the rather interesting view of T.A. Gabuev about the problem of the appearance of the ethnic name 'Alan'. In his opinion, the origin of the common ethnic name was a reflection of the increased political activity and military power of Kangyui by the 1st century AD, which allowed an idea of ethno-political identity to be developed. It was also no accident that the most ancient name, 'Aryana', had been chosen for this unified ethnic name, i.e. 'Arias', which was in antiquity common to all Iranian-speaking tribes. This name was assimilated in the new phonetics as 'Alana'; but this does not contradict the rules of linguistics.⁵⁹ Henceforth, as is well known, this ethnic name was widespread both in Kangyui itself and in Eastern Europe, in the forms Alanorses, Alan'mi, Alani, etc.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926, 160; Bartold 1963, 30.

⁵⁵ Kyuner 1961, 180.

⁵⁶ Yatsenko 1998, 86.

⁵⁷ Berlizov and Kaminskii 1993, 108.

⁵⁸ Yatsenko 1993, 83-85.

⁵⁹ Abaev 1965, 35-41.

⁶⁰ Gabuev 2000, 61.

It is necessary to add one more point. I suggest that the Hunnic infiltration into eastern Turkestan, as well as the previous migration of the Alan population, was not of the nature of a single phenomenon. Most probably, this process lasted a whole century – from the first decades of the 1st century to the early 2nd century AD.

In this period the great steppe unity of Turkestan-northern Pontus, about which B.I. Vainberg and E.A. Novgorodova have written,⁶¹ readily reacted to encroachment from outside, and the movement, which had began in the region of lakes Lop Nor and Barkul, swept across the whole steppe-belt up to the Danube. The termination of this movement was the last migratory wave of the Iranian-speaking nomads within the borders of 'Great Asian Sarmatia'. In spite of the fact that the subsequent encroachment of Hunnu/Huns was composed of a considerable proportion of the Sarmato-Alan tribes, this wave had been already determined by a quite different cultural group: the final chord of the Sarmatian migrations sounded in the late 1st-early 2nd century AD.

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⁶¹ Vainberg and Novgorodova 1976.

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BROOCHES WITH MEDALLIONS: *INSIGNIA* AND *LARGITIONES* OR JUST ADORNMENTS?

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Abstract

A number of cruciform brooches have been found in south-eastern Europe over the last half century. Typical of their ornamentation are medallions with portraits of young men. The facial features are rough and schematic. The general opinion of scholars is that the youthful draped figures are representations of members of the Constantinian dynasty, which is in opposition to their typological and chronological evolution. These brooches are the product of a common art industry (*Kunstindustrie*), connected with many aspects of the imitative arts. *Imagines clipeatae* on the brooches as well as those on silverware are the result of the translation of ornaments between the various products of late antique art.

During the second half of the last century a group of brooches remarkable for their decoration has filled museum collections in south-eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria. Their special features are a cross-shaped bow form with large proportions and onion-shaped knobs on the ends and the centre of the cross-bar wing. In these peculiarities they belong to the group of the onion-head brooches (*Zwiebelknopffibeln*), which is one of the most typical forms of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century AD. All composing elements are hollow and mould. The decoration is engraved over the surface of the bow and the footplate. The cut out lines are filled with more or less qualitative *niello*, as a rule the whole form is gilt. Typical of the ornamentation are medallions with portraits of young men (*imagines clipeatae*). According to the known and published examples, their number ranges from one to ten. The facial features are rough and schematic without aspiration for personality. Usually the vista is half leftwards or to the right. Other elements of the decoration are various waves, intended lines or geometrical patterns.

According to the proportions and form, these brooches are of Keller's types 5 and 6, dated mainly between AD 350 and 380.¹ Other typical features are the solid bow and foot that permits more varied decoration than other types of *Zwiebelknopffibeln*. The pairs of volutes in relief on the footplate-rim echo the earlier Keller type 4 that could be considered as the prototype.

¹ Keller 1971, 140.

Among the brooches from the Lower Danube area the number of portrait medallions varies between six and one. Six images are represented on the bow and foot-plate of the brooch from Cherna Gora, Chirpan district (Fig. 1.1-3). It was found in a tomb with a belt-buckle and glass vessels (the first report was published by T. Iliicheva,² but, in the context of more recent finds, it was re-examined at the symposium '2000 Years of Christianity', held in October 2002 at Sandanski). Five medallions adorn the brooches from the North Cemetery of Augusta Traiana (Fig. 1.4) and the accidental find from Chomakovtsi-Zetnocurtu;³ four an example from the cemetery in 'Strazhata' near Pleven (Fig. 1.5);⁴ three on brooches from Yagodin Mala near Naissus (Fig. 1.6), Kozlodui-Regianum (Fig. 1.7), and on a piece of unknown origin. (Fig. 2.1).⁵ There are two medallions on the brooch from the Odessos cemetery⁶ and that from an unknown site in Serbia,⁷ and one portrait on the examples from 'Strazhata'⁸ and Kolartsi⁹ (Keller's type 6) (Fig. 2.2-3).

The interpretation of the images is important both for the whole discussion about the date of this type of fibula and for the problem of ornamental schemes and pattern transference between different kinds of art production. In 1959 R. Laur-Belart suggested for the first time that three medallions on a brooch from a grave in the vicinity of Basel are representations of Constantine the Great's sons Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans.¹⁰ T. Ivanov drew a general conclusion from some pieces in present-day Bulgaria and has given an interpretation to the medallions as images of some members of Constantine's dynasty. According to his investigations, the brooches from Augusta Traiana and Chomakovtsi-Zetnocurtu are the earliest pieces. The five medallions contain representations of Constantine the Great and his sons Crispus, Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans. He supposed a date of manufacture not later than AD 326, as the reason is Constantine's *vicennalium*.¹¹ The connection between the historical persons and the representations is based on detailed analysis of other fine arts products with similar images – glass vessels, small bone and stone plastics, mosaics. The principal iconographical analogies, used by

² Iliicheva 1960, 23.

³ Ivanov 1972, 10-13, figs. 2-4; 13-15, figs. 5-7.

⁴ Tabakova-Tsanova 1981, 121, fig. 6.2.

⁵ Tabakova-Tsanova 1981, 136, fig. 6.1; Ivanov 1972, 16-18, figs. 12-13; Jovanović 1975, 237 n. 7, sl. 5; 1976, 43, sl. 1-2; 1978, 65, k. br. 52, sl. 127; Drča 1993, 305 n. 104; Popović 2001, 222; Ivanov 1972, 15-16, figs. 7-10.

⁶ Haralambieva 1990, 95 n. 38, tabs. 5-6.

⁷ Popović 2001, 152 n. 88.

⁸ Tabakova-Tsanova 1981, 121, fig. 6.2.

⁹ Ivanov 1972, 18, figs. 14-15.

¹⁰ Laur-Belart 1959, 57.

¹¹ Ivanov 1972, 22.

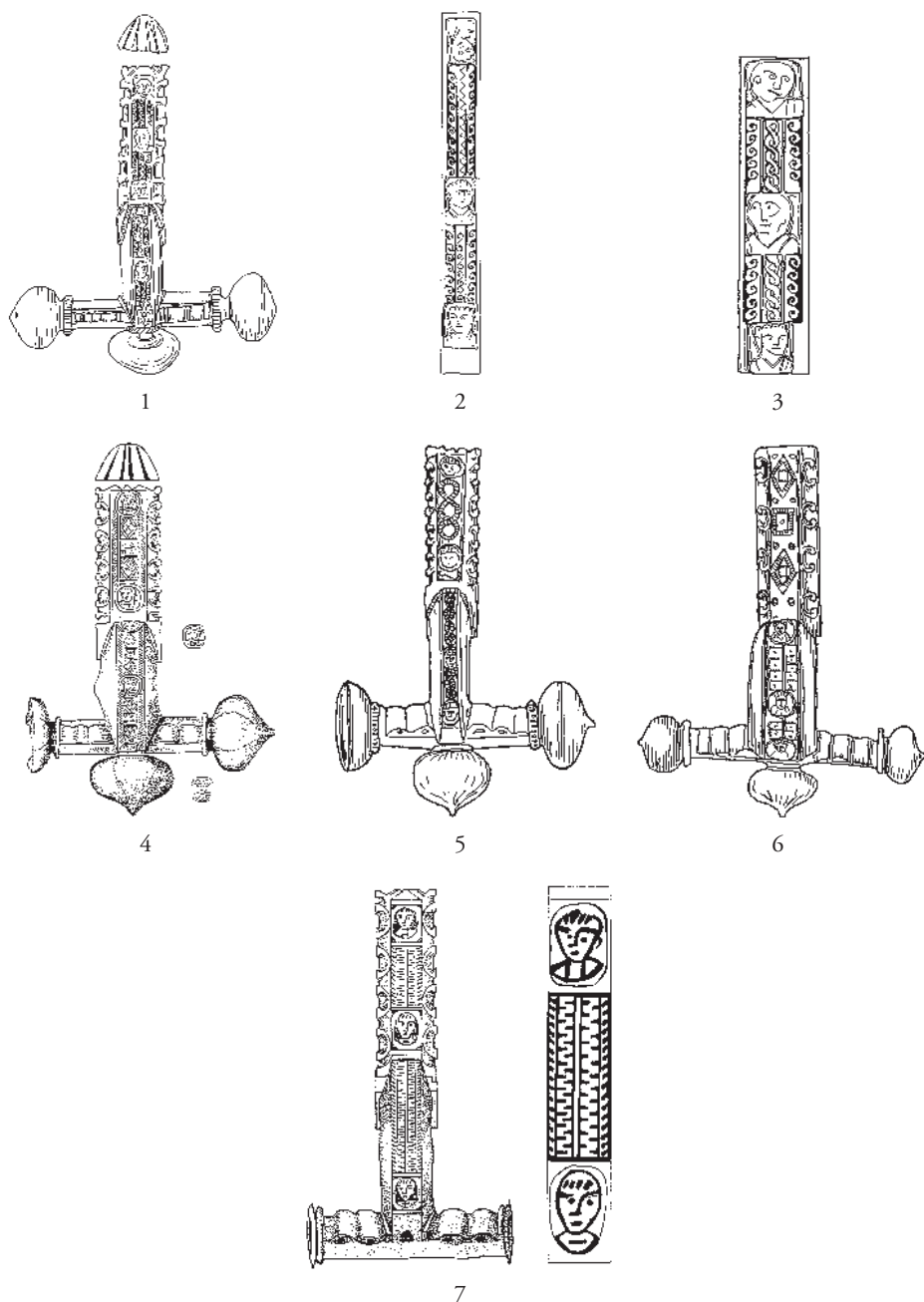
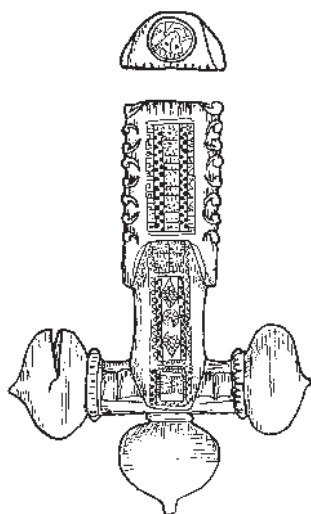


Fig. 1: 1. Brooch from Cherna Gora; 2. Brooch from Cherna Gora (detail from foot); 3. Brooch from Cherna Gora (detail from bow); 4. Brooch from Augusta Traiana (adapted from Ivanov 1972). 5. Brooch from 'Strazhata' near Pleven; 6. Brooch from Yagodin Maala near Naissus (adapted from Jovanović 1978). 7. Brooch from Kozlodui-Regianum and detail from the foot (adapted from Ivanov 1972).



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Fig. 2: 1. Detail from brooch-foot of unknown origin (adapted from Ivanov 1972). 2. Brooch from 'Strazhata' near Pleven; 3. Detail from brooch-foot from Kolartsi; 4. Ornaments from lid of 'animal ewer', Sevso treasure (adapted from Mango and Bennett 1994). 5. Ornaments from body of 'animal ewer', Sevso treasure (adapted from Mango and Bennett 1994).

Ivanov were the floor mosaics in the South Church under the cathedral of Aquileia (Fig. 5).¹² These are five mosaic portraits, situated immediately next Victoria, recognised by H. Kähler as representations of Constantine the Great and his four sons.¹³ However, their situation on the floor of the building makes their identification as 'Constantinian princes' questionable.¹⁴

In the same way, Ivanov gave an interpretation to the three medallions on the brooch from Kozlodui-Regianum and on the one with unknown origin as representations of Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans, and, basing his arguments on their maturity, dated the manufacture between AD 326 and 337.¹⁵ The brooches with one medallion are also said to have imperial images. Other East European scholars followed this point of view: A. Jovanović in regard to the brooch from Jagodin Mala, also I. Popović; and until now it has been the common assumption in Bulgarian archaeological publications.¹⁶ An exception is the recent study by E. Gencheva, but without any solid argument.¹⁷

As Ivanov noted correctly, interpretation of the representations would fix the date of these brooches and they could serve as an exact chronological indicator.¹⁸ In this way the *terminus post quem* is the end of the third or beginning of the fourth decade of the 4th century. However, no finds with clear archaeological context support any such suggestion. According to some examples, dated with coins from cemeteries in Pannonia at Ságvár,¹⁹ Somodor and Kisáprás,²⁰ and in Raetia at Andernach and Krefeld-Gellep²¹, the main range of these brooches is between AD 350 and 380. The latest pieces were also grave-goods – the Abbeville-Hombelières brooch was found with a buckle of Hermes-Loksted type from the early 5th century.²² Undoubtedly the well-known brooch with medallions from Basel must also be assigned to around AD 400, along with buckle of the same type.²³

¹² Ivanov 1972, 23.

¹³ Kähler 1962, 11, figs. 1-6.

¹⁴ According to some views the original function of that building was civil, not as a church. The edicts of the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Iustinianus* do not allow imperial images to be placed on the floor (*Codex Iustinianus* I.8; Engemann 1988, 1013).

¹⁵ Ivanov 1972, 26. According to the data from the published specimens the number of images on some Pannonian brooches reach ten (Grave 114 from Ságvár [Burger 1966, 144]). They could represent the whole of Constantine the Great's dynasty, including Constantius I Chlorus and Julian (Laur-Belart 1959, 66, fig. 44.5-8), though this may be over interpretation.

¹⁶ Popović 2001, 222; Tabakova-Tsanova 1981, 136; Haralambieva 1990, 94.

¹⁷ Gencheva 2004, 65.

¹⁸ Ivanov 1972, 27.

¹⁹ Burger 1966, 124-25, figs. 113, 124.

²⁰ Keller 1971, 41.

²¹ Keller 1971, 41.

²² Böhme 1974, 82, Taf. 112.2, 7.

²³ Laur-Belart 1959, 57, Abb. 37, 40.

The absence of any agreed view about the images and their interpretation by such leading investigators as I. Kovrig, E. Keller and P.M. Prötel is suggestive.²⁴ The largest number of this type of decorated fibula is known from complexes in Pannonia. The authors declined to offer any interpretation of the images, dating them clearly in the second half of the 4th century.²⁵

Brooches of Keller's types 5 and 6, decorated with portrait medallions, date to the second half of the 4th century; hence the idea of a connection with some members of the Constantine dynasty is invalid. The evolution of the shape demonstrates clearly that the earlier specimens are smaller in size, more modestly decorated and made of consistent metal. The 'classical' forms appear about the second half of 4th century with the largest incidence of Keller's types 3 and 4, whose most characteristic features are the well-shaped 'onions' and enlarged lower part of the footplate. The brooches of type 5 are products of this evolution with proportional extension and rich decoration. In this sense, the explanation that, regardless of all later analogies of these brooches, they had a long life and were in use from the 320s to the end of the 4th century AD with unmodified pattern is hardly acceptable.²⁶ The idea, they had been a personal imperial *largitio*, delivered for merit, declines the possibility for they being worn and being placed in the graves of later generations.

Undoubtedly onion-like gold or gilt brooches, inscribed with names of emperors and their appellations, were imperial *largitio*. The adornments with medallions would be connected also with this tradition, as the images replaced inscriptions and invocations. However no image or representation has any marks of the imperial iconography of power or its attending inscriptions.

A review of the bibliography shows that in the past these representations have been interpreted variously by some leading specialists in late antique art as the images of bishops²⁷ or saints.²⁸ Neither is acceptable because, regardless of the development of the cult of saints in the 4th century, we are still at an early stage in the construction of saints' iconography. Saints are not yet real figures in religious art. Take, for example, the decoration of Santa Constanza in Rome, where youthful images and

²⁴ Prötel determines this group as transitional between 3/4 C and 5, while Keller classifies them as type 5. Neither author dates the brooches earlier than the middle of the 4th century (Keller 1971, 53; Prötel 1988, 364-65).

²⁵ Kovrig 1937, Taf. XXXIV.1-3, 7; Burger 1966, 142-44.

²⁶ Ivanov 1972, 26.

²⁷ Cabrol and Leclercq 1923, 1490; 1936.

²⁸ Heurgon 1958, 25-26. His attitude to these brooches is based on the Christianity, relating their cruciform shape to Christianisation, thus opposing the earlier functional origin to the later decorative one. Although Heurgon presents no explanation for his idea, it is possible that his assumption derived from the 6th-century images of the Apostles in medallions from San Vitale in Ravenna.

pastoral scenes are still the main element in Christian decorative symbolism and the imagery of heaven (see below).²⁹ The absence of any Christian indicator (nimbus or inscription) is also clear. Analogous images in medallions on metal objects of the Christian cult have too later a date (6th-7th centuries) to form an adequate comparison.³⁰ Another flaw with this interpretation is the fact that in the 4th century, although bishops had the status of spiritual leaders, they were still secular individuals, not to be represented on objects of everyday life.

The faces on the brooch bows and feet are schematic without aspiration for personality, their features are expressed with incised dots and lines. The artistic skills of the engravers are various, as the degree of plasticity shows. Maybe the most expressive face is the one on the triangular field of the foot of the Kolartsi brooch (Fig. 2.3). The head is turned, three-quarters to the left and slightly bowed down. Unlike other representations, the eyes are prolonged ovals, not rendered by commas and stretched lines. Together with the low-placed mouth, these features impart to the face a melancholy and wistfulness, which was typical of painting and sculpture from the second half of the 4th and the 5th century. It harks back to the type of *Homo Spiritualis*, the image of the thinker and philosopher.³¹ Most of the other images have too generalised features and it is hard to believe that their smooth faces and hairstyles could be chronologically decisive. It is also difficult to indicate the models, used by the jeweller for these representations – sculptural monuments, wall-paintings, mosaics or coins. This question concerns also the ornamental composition of other pieces with portrait medallions. The so-called ‘animal ewer’ (*lagoena*) from the Sevso treasure is decorated with ten portraits of youths in medallions on the lid. The faces are expressive, and the hairstyles are more detailed than the ones from the brooches, which could be explained by the larger size of the surface suitable for ornamentation,³² but the similarities are obvious (Fig. 2.4). Hexagonal shapes with figures of bestiaries and animals, busts of hunters, various floral and geometric motifs are engraved upon the ewer’s body (Fig. 2.5). The rosette-like motif is the basis of the decoration, but there are also triangles and ‘running waves’, accentuated with *niello* –

²⁹ Deichmann 1948, Taf. XII-XX.

³⁰ See the images on the pectoral and reliquary crosses from the collection of Hellene Stathatos and the Walters Art Gallery (Amandry 1957, 59 n. 44, pl. V; Walters Art Gallery 1947, 72 n. 305, tabl. XXXVIII). An interesting exception is the representation of the young Jesus on the bronze cross from Aquileia, correctly dated to the middle of the 4th century. However, the exact symbol – the nimbus – exists around the Jesus’ head (Warland 1986, 125, 184, Abb. 138). For its earlier interpretations as image of Constantine the Great, see Cecchelli 1954, 196.

³¹ L’Orange 1943, 95.

³² Mango 1990, 74-76 n. 3, figs. 5-7; Steiner 1990, 14; Biroli Stefaneli 1991, 310 n. 200, fig. 255; Mango and Benet 1994, 304, fig. 7.40-44.



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Fig. 3: 1. Ornaments from body of 'animal ewer', Sevso treasure (adapted from Mango and Bennett 1994); 2. Gold intaglio of Eusebius from Vatican (after Rumpf 1957).

a feature, known from the footplate and the bow of the brooches (Fig. 3.1). The ewer is dated to the middle or late 4th century.³³ Youthful portraits in medallions, hunting scenes and most highly polished floral motifs are also the decoration of the *lanx* from the Concești treasure.³⁴

One of the most famous productions of late antique art decorated with human faces is the glass from Braunsfeld (Cologne) (Fig. 4.1-2).³⁵ Alongside the Bible scenes, represented with gold foil, there are four medallions with youthful images under the glass's mould. These representations are very similar with the ones on the brooches. According to the still-authoritative opinion of R. Delbrueck, these images depict the four sons of Constantine the Great; this piece is in common with many others, mainly from the European parts of the Roman empire, and it was a part of the dynastic policy of the first Christian emperor.³⁶ The images on this glass, as well as many others with similar decoration, are deprived of personality and contrast strongly with the plastic representations of Constantine the Great and his family, known from other monuments of art. In no way could these so-called 'Constantinian' hairstyles be restricted to the first half of the 4th century or to the emperor's court.³⁷ Such schematic images are typical of the stylistic features of the art on glass from the middle-second half of the 4th century.³⁸ The glass from Braunsfeld could be connected with some earlier pieces, as the bottom of the vessel is decorated with a realistic portrait in medallion of the owner or the person to whom the glass was presented. Indeed the gold intaglio of Eusebius from Vatican (Fig. 3.2) is dated to the end of 4th century, but it represents the other main stream in late antique art – that of classicism.³⁹ Such glassware was given as presents to 'heartly friends', as sometimes the medallion is substituted by an inscription, like the one on the glass from Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, containing the invocation *Piperio vivas*.⁴⁰ From the middle of the 4th century these realistic representations lose their character of individuality and, even in the cases of historical persons, they are

³³ Mango and Bennet 1994, 318.

³⁴ Matzulewitsch 1929, Taf. 48; Harhoiu 1998, 120-21, 172 n. 14, Taf. XV, XVI.1-4.

³⁵ Poppelreuter 1908, 67-76.

³⁶ Delbrueck 1933, 132.

³⁷ In fact the 'Constantinian hairstyles' reflect the imperial propaganda of Constantine the Great – to compare himself with Augustus, copying many elements of his image and also his hairstyle. The later representations, dating from the 330s demonstrate the real Constantinian hairstyle, spread all over the Eastern empire and used by his ancestors (compare the colossal statue from the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome). Its main features are the longer locks on the neck and the forehead, thus representing an oriental style (Delbrueck 1933, 39, 121, Taf. 37).

³⁸ Süssenbach 1983, 18.

³⁹ Rumpf 1957, 25.

⁴⁰ Süssenbach 1983, 19, Abb. 12.



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2

Fig. 4: 1. Ornamentation of glass from Braunsfeld (after Süssenbach 1983);
2. Busts of youths on glass from Braunsfeld (after Delbrueck 1933).



Fig. 5: Detail from floor mosaic at Aquileia (after Kähler 1962).

schematic and have common features. The example with the glass, inscribed *Piperio vivas*, reflects an old antique tradition, as the expressed wishes of luck and welfare on the gift are often attended by Dionysian and hunting scenes, Eroles, etc. The grapevine ornament is also a common element. With the widespread introduction of Christianity, part of these subjects disappeared, and others continued their existence with new symbolism. Near by the apse of the mausoleum of empress Constantia (d. 354) in Rome is a mosaic with *genii* and Eroles. Medallions with busts of youths, surrounded by grapevine motifs, are placed among them.⁴¹ This applies also to the case of the medallions from the baths (*nymphaeum*) in Catania, representing January (Ianuarius) or busts among the hunting scenes in Piazza Armerina.⁴² Other

⁴¹ Deichmann 1948, 25; Jobst 1976, 432.

⁴² Wilson 1990, 187, fig. 156a.

important examples combining old pagan or classical motifs with Christian ones are the fragment of a sarcophagus from the Villa Doria-Pamphili in Rome,⁴³ on which the departed is represented as sacrificing according to pagan rites between two rows of biblical scenes, the floral ornamentation between cornucopia with busts in medallions of youths on the mosaic pavements from the villa in Daphne, near Antioch,⁴⁴ and the classical motifs from the basilica of Constantine the Great in Bethlehem.⁴⁵

The youthful images on the glass from Braunsfeld could be explained in the same way, and biblical ones replace the pagan-related scenes.

Human images in medallions decorate other elements of dress apart from brooches – belt-buckles and appliqués. The larger ornamental surface allows greater opportunity for the display of compositions, which are known from the imitative arts. A composition like this is represented on a belt-buckle from Intercisa. There are two medallions with youthful busts on the buckle. They are set among schematic floral motifs. Hunting scenes and a life-and-death struggle between animals is displayed on appliqués.⁴⁶ The same scene could be seen on a belt-buckle from Muthmannsdorf (Austria),⁴⁷ and there are also a great number of belt elements with medallions only, belonging to the period of the second half of the 4th-beginning of the 5th century. Similar in date is the bronze casket-plate decorated with four busts from *Bottega artigiana* in Assisi.⁴⁸

All the abovementioned artefacts with medallions are unified by symbolism, originating from Dionysian subjects and their new interpretation in early Christian art.⁴⁹ In this sense the brooches decorated with medallions could be considered in several aspects. Their exact chronological determination – after the middle of the 4th century – excludes the possibility that the images are those of Constantine the Great's dynasty. The features of the images, as well as multiple analogies among works of late antique art, negate the thesis that these are imperial representations. In many cases these items of jewellery do not provide any opportunity for presenting a full ornamental scheme or pattern. The surfaces of brooches are small and there is room for representations of just the medallions, which are the central ornament on the larger artefacts, and some very modified floral ornaments. The decoration of these adornments is used as the total ornamental system and adapted to their features. Probably its symbolism is preserved and a fact of interest is the presence of a Christogram on

⁴³ Wilpert 1929, Taf. 86.1.

⁴⁴ Hanfmann 1951, fig. 101.

⁴⁵ Levi 1947, 506, fig. 185.

⁴⁶ Bullinger 1969, n. 163, Taf. XLII.1-1c.

⁴⁷ Bullinger 1969, n. 95, Taf. XXXV.2.

⁴⁸ Bonfioli 1989, 93-94.

⁴⁹ Süssenbach 1983, 23.

several examples (for example – the brooches from Neviodunum, Basel-Aeschenvorstadt, Moosberg, etc.).⁵⁰ It is also possible that these brooches were given as presents, following the ancient tradition of a 'gift for a hearty friend' in which the bust in the medallion is more or less realistic.

The high concentration of brooches and belt elements with medallions in the Middle Danubian provinces and Pannonia points to their possible origin. In the quality and plasticity of their images, the brooches from Thracia and Dacia are comparable with the Pannonian examples; even the image on the Kolartsi brooch is more closely related to the originals of the paintings than the Pannonian brooches. Taking into consideration the popularity of the form of these brooches and the standardisation of costume in the second half of 4th century, the workshops that produced them could have been located in Middle, but also in Lower Danubian centres.

To conclude. Undoubtedly the cruciform brooches served as *largitio* and *donativa*, marking imperial jubilees or military victories. In the 4th century the civilian population acquired more military characteristics and this type of fibula and the decorated belts had become characteristic (*ornamenta dignitatis*) of a large section of the population. Considering the grave complexes of various *chlamydati*, we could also make the assumption about some kind of fashion among the citizens of the empire for wearing elements typical of the representatives of the military and civil services. Their adoption into the costume of the provincial population led to the unification of the dress elements, to the reduction of their quality, but also to a variety of ornamental motifs. From the arguments exposed above, we can make some deductions. In spite of some similarities with imperial iconography, these images can no longer be regarded as emperors or 'Constantinian princes' because of the later dating of the brooches (to the second half of 4th century). Nor can they form a part of the propagandising programme of the Constantinian family: their archaistic hairstyles do not compare with the imperial coiffures of the Late Constantinian period. In connection with these arguments, all other 4th-century artefacts (glass, bone plastics, silver vessels and floor or wall mosaic pavements, etc.) ornamented with busts of youths can no longer be considered as imperial monuments and enter into a particular group of art works, decorated with Dionysian subjects or images drawn from the nature, just symbolising the 'good life'. Some elements of these subjects, especially the busts of youths but also children at play, animals and aquatic creatures, grapevines and the various stylised ornaments, are adopted from Christianity. Pagans and Christians used them in the decoration of their private houses and did so in spite

⁵⁰ Keller 1971, 34, Abb. 11, 12; Prötel 1988, 365, Abb. 6.1.

of criticism by such authoritative preachers as John Chrysostom.⁵¹ Even when pagan deities were removed (as occurred in the baths of a Roman house at El Haouria, in Tunisia: a frontal mask of Ocean was rubbed out, leaving the images that had framed it in the four corners⁵²), these ornaments survived as relicts of the classical past. In this way Christians often demonstrated their education and high social and economic status.⁵³ The draped busts of youths were also part of this classicising decorative programme. Their origin could be seen as later and more puritanical expressions of minor deities; or as personifications of the powers of nature and thus symbols of life. The cruciform brooches decorated with portraits are the results of a common art industry (*Kunstindustrie*), connected with many aspects of the imitative arts. *Imagines clipeatae* on the brooches as well as these on the silverware (also often used as *largitio*) are the result of the translation of ornaments between the various products of late antique art.

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⁵¹ Maguire 2001, 238.

⁵² Poinssot 1935, figs. 2-6.

⁵³ Reece 1997, 148.

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THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EASTERN BLACK SEA LITTORAL (WRITTEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES)*

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Abstract

This article presents a brief summary of the literary and archaeological evidence for the spread and consolidation of Christianity in the eastern Black Sea littoral during the early Christian era (4th-7th centuries AD). Colchis is one of the regions of the late antique world for which the archaeological evidence of Christianisation is greater and more varied than the literary. Developments during the past decade in the field of early Christian archaeology now enable this process to be described in considerably greater detail

The eastern Black Sea littoral—ancient Colchis—comprises (from north to south) part of the Sochi district of the Krasnodar region of the Russian Federation as far as the River Psou, then Abkhazia as far as the River Ingur (Engur), and, further south, the western provinces of Georgia: Megrelia (Samegrelo), Guria, Imereti and Adzhara (Fig. 1).

This article provides a summary of the literary and archaeological evidence for the spread and consolidation of Christianity in the region during the early Christian era (4th-7th centuries AD).¹ Colchis is one of the regions of late antiquity for which the archaeological evidence of Christianisation is greater and more varied than the literary. Progress during the past decade in the field of early Christian archaeology now enables this process to be described in considerably greater detail.²

The many early Christian monuments of Colchis are found in ancient cities and fortresses that are familiar through the written sources.³ These include Pityus (modern Pitsunda, Abkhazian Mzakhara, Georgian Bichvinta); Nitike (modern Gagra); Trakheia, which is surely Anakopiya (modern Novyi Afon, Abkhazian Psyrtskha); Dioscuria/

* Translated from Russian by Brent Davis.

¹ For more detailed information, see Khrushkova 2002a; forthcoming.

² Khrushkova 1993.

³ In addition to the familiar summary of literary sources presented in *RE*, information on the historical geography of the eastern Black Sea littoral and on excavations can be found in Kacharava and Kvirkveliya 1991: 30-32 (Apsarus); 41-43 (Bata); 76-78 (Gyenos); 86-89, 234 (Dioscuria-Sebastopolis); 162-63 (Mokhore); 178 (Nikopsis); 181, 244 (Nitike/Stennetika); 221-23 (Pityus); 235 (Ziganis); 289-93 (Phasis). See also O. Lordkipanidze 1996; Braund 1994; Tsetschladdze 1994; etc.

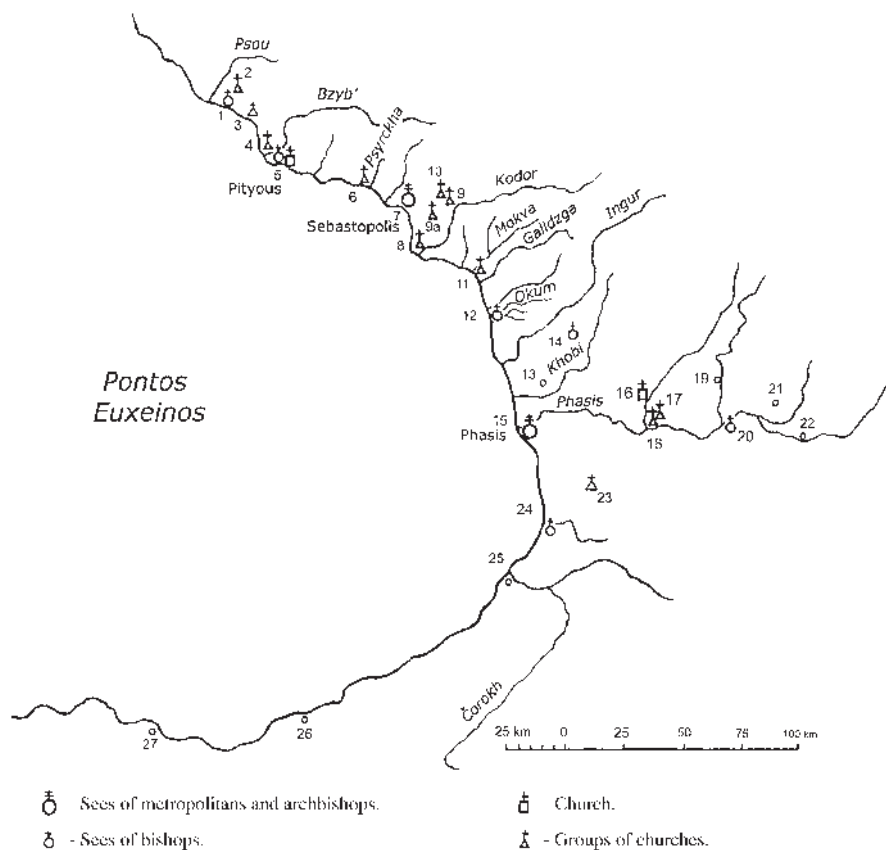


Fig. 1: Map of the eastern Black Sea in late antiquity.

1. – Tsandripsh; 2. – Khashupse; 3. – Nitike; 4. – Alakhadzy; 5. – Pityus; 6. – Anakopiya; 7. – Sebastopolis; 8. – Dranda; 9. – Tsibila; 10. – Shapky; 11. – Gyenos; 12. – Siganeon, Sicanabis; 13. – Khobi; 14. – Saisine; 15. – Phasis; 16. – Archaeopolis; 17. – Onoguris; 18. – Nodzhikhevi; 19. – Kotais; 20. – Rhodopolis; 21. – Skandeis; 22. – Sarapanis; 23. – Vashnari; 24. – Petra; 25. – Apsarus; 26. – Rhize; 27. – Trapezus.

Sebastopolis (modern Sukhum/Sukhumi, Abkhazian Aqwa, and the Tskhumi of mediaeval Georgian sources); Gyenos (near the modern city of Ochamchira); Ziganne, also Ziganis, Ziganeos (Gudava); Tsibilia, also Tsibilon (near the modern village of Tsebelda, in the valley of the same name); Archaeopolis (Tsikhegodzhi, modern Nokalakevi); Petra (modern Tsikhisdziri, in the opinion of most); and Onoguris (presumably modern Sepieti). Some of these are well known, having been

established as Greek colonies: Pityus, Dioscuria, Gyenos and Phasis.⁴ There appears to be no consensus about the locations of the others: Nitike, Trakheia, Ziganis and Petra. A number of monuments are situated in inhabited places, the historical names of which are unknown: Alakhadzy, Tsandripsh (Gantiadi), Khashupse, Aba-Anta, Dranda, Vashnari, Nodzhikhevi and others. For this study I have examined museum material and various elements of church decoration found in secondary use, in addition to the religious buildings themselves.

History of the Study of the Early Christian Monuments of the Region

This history of the study of these monuments could be said to begin with the works of the 17th-century Catholic missionary Don Cristoforo de Castelli, whose long labours in Megrelia resulted in an album of drawings and records.⁵ At about the same time, Megrelia was visited by Russian emissaries who attracted special attention to the state of Christianity in the region.⁶ Academic research in the eastern Black Sea littoral began later than in the neighbouring Crimea or in Asia Minor thanks to continued disturbances in the region in the first decades of the 19th century (especially in Abkhazia), Russo-Turkish rivalry, and Caucasian war. The first serious explorer, in a journey conducted in 1833 from Pitsunda to the mouth of the Ingur, was the Swiss scholar F. Dubois de Monpéroux (1798-1849); his work is particularly valued for its illustrations.⁷ It is possible to find some information on ecclesiastical buildings in the works of M. Brosset⁸ and D.Z. Bakradze,⁹ who were historians working in the middle and second half of the 19th century. In the second half and at the end of the 19th century, systematic expeditions were carried out by the well-known Russian scholars N.P. Kondakov,¹⁰ P.S. Uvarova¹¹ and A. Pavlinov.¹² The resulting 14-volume 'Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus', published by the Moscow Archaeological Society, still retains its significance. Architectural monuments were the priority, and brief archaeological projects rather bore the character of surveys, such as the excavations of V.I. Sizov at Sukhumi.¹³ Russian ecclesiastical historians also became interested in Abkhazia as the country of ancient Christianity.¹⁴

⁴ On the Greek colonisation of the eastern Black Sea littoral, see Tsetskhladze 1998.

⁵ Translation of this source into Georgian: Giorgadze 1976.

⁶ Likhachev 1954

⁷ Dubois de Monpéroux 1839 (and Atlas 1843).

⁸ Brosset 1851.

⁹ Bakradze 1875.

¹⁰ Kondakov 1876; Tolstoi and Kondakov 1891, 36-111.

¹¹ Uvarova 1894; 1891.

¹² Pavlinov 1893.

¹³ Sizov 1889. On the study of the monuments of antiquity, see Chernyavskii 1879.

¹⁴ A.L. 1885.

Thus, by the start of the 20th century, no broad archaeological exploration had yet been conducted in the eastern Black Sea littoral. The Abkhazian Scientific Society was created in the 1920s; its member, archaeologist A.S. Bashkirov, investigated the monuments at Sukhumi and Pitsunda.¹⁵ Then, in the 1930s, a student of local lore, I.E. Adzinba, gathered information on the mediaeval architectural monuments of Abkhazia.¹⁶ At that same time, the well-known archaeologist and Byzantinist A.M. Schneider was invited to investigate Archaeopolis-Nokalakevi;¹⁷ and the architectural historian G.N. Chubinashvili began studying the still-unexcavated Church of the Forty Martyrs in Nokalakevi.¹⁸

In the 1950s, and then more intensively in the 1970s and 1980s, a great deal of archaeological research was conducted on the late antique, early Christian and mediaeval monuments of the eastern Black Sea littoral. The principal centres that undertook this work were the Dzhavakhashvili Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, Georgian Academy of Sciences; the Guliyā Abkhazian Institute of Language, Literature and History of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (now the Humanities Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Abkhazia), in Abkhazian territory; and the Berdzenishvili Batumi Research Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, in Adzhara. The important excavation of Pityus was carried out under the direction of A.M. Apakidze, and later under G.A. Lordkipanidze.¹⁹ I.I. Tsitsishvili studied the early Christian complex within the walls of the town.²⁰ V.A. Lekvinadze proposed his own interpretation of the monuments discovered in Pityus.²¹ Outside the town walls, T.M. Mikeladze excavated the ruins of a double-apse church.²² Lordkipanidze and Z.V. Agrba investigated the remains of a religious complex situated near a large mediaeval church at Pitsunda.²³ Later, this complex was re-examined in order to establish the plans of its original construction and subsequent rebuilding.²⁴ Lordkipanidze excavated part of the Late Roman necropolis at Pityus.²⁵ It is worth noting that the habitation levels of the Classical period at Pityus have not been uncovered, and that due to the presence of groundwater at the site, archaeologists have nowhere reached virgin soil.

¹⁵ Bashkirov 1926.

¹⁶ Adzinba 1958.

¹⁷ Schneider 1931.

¹⁸ Chubinashvili 1970.

¹⁹ A. Apakidze 1975; 1977; 1978.

²⁰ Tsitsishvili 1977.

²¹ Lekvinadze 1968a; 1970b; Khrushkova 2002a, 67-91.

²² Mikeladze 1963; Khrushkova 2002a, 91-96.

²³ G. Lordkipanidze and Agrba 1982; Agrba 1985.

²⁴ Khrushkova 1985, 64-66; 2002a, 97-110.

²⁵ G. Lordkipanidze 1991.

Near Pityus, in the village of Alakhadzy, Apakidze and Agrba uncovered a large basilica.²⁶ Our own excavations completed the study of this complex: the plan of the early basilica and the character of its reconstruction were clarified, and the mediaeval church was entirely excavated.²⁷ The principal religious centre of Abazgia was Tsandripsh, where I conducted the excavation of a large basilica in 1980.²⁸ Previously, this monument had been studied by Lekvinadze.²⁹ In the Khashupse gorge, on the summit of a mountain 7 km from the shore, stands a large fortress, as yet unstudied; within its walls lies a small church which the architect T.V. Zantariya and I measured in 1980.³⁰

In Gagra, 17 km south-east of Tsandripsh, a single-nave church is situated; it had been heavily rebuilt in the second half of the 19th century, and was not excavated.³¹ Still another single-nave church with annexes was found in the fortress of Aba-Anta, on the outskirts of the large village Lykhni, in the Gudauta district. It was excavated by L.A. Shervashidze and dated to the 7th-8th centuries.³² In 1986, L.A. Bolshakov and I carried out a new measurement of this church;³³ and having freshly examined it in the summer of 2003, I am now of the opinion that it is a mediaeval construction, probably of the 10th century.

Let me move on now to the monuments of Apsilia. Archaeological exploration of Sebastopolis was made difficult by the fact that it sits beneath the modern town of Sukhumi. In the 1950s and 1960s, work was conducted in a narrow zone along the shore by Apakidze, O.D. Lordkipanidze, M.M. Trapsh, L.N. Solovyev, Shervashidze and Lekvinadze.³⁴ Later, together with M.M. Gunba, and with the participation of B.S. Kobakhiya and M.K. Khotelashvili, I resumed excavations in a broader area.³⁵ It was at this time that the first early Christian church at Sebastopolis was discovered.³⁶ S.M. Shamba, studying the ancient Gyenos, uncovered a single-nave church in a Late Roman level, with the assistance of Kobakhiya and myself.³⁷ In Ziganis, P.P. Zakaraya and Lekvinadze discovered a baptistery, part of a religious complex that had been destroyed by the mouth of the River

²⁶ Agrba 1972.

²⁷ Khrushkova 1985, 66-68; 2002a, 119-36.

²⁸ Khrushkova 1985, 15-16; 2002a, 137-84.

²⁹ Lekvinadze 1970a.

³⁰ Khrushkova 2002a, 185-86.

³¹ Didebulidze 1977; Khrushkova 2002a, 186-89.

³² Shervashidze 1979.

³³ Khrushkova 2002a, 189-91.

³⁴ Lekvinadze 1966; Trapsh 1969, 285-362.

³⁵ Gunba and Khrushkova 1989; 1990a; 1990b.

³⁶ Khrushkova 1995a; 1995b; 2002a, 195-259.

³⁷ Kobakhiya *et al.* 1987; S. Shamba 1988, 50-61; Khrushkova 1985, 70-71; 2002a, 273-90.

Okum.³⁸ The large domed church in the village of Dranda was not excavated, though architects and restorers found amphorae lying in a ceiling-vault.³⁹ All of these monuments are situated in the coastal area.

As for the mountainous part of Apsilia, particularly the valleys of Tsebelda: a late antique necropolis was actively explored by Trapsh, G.K. Shamba, Gunba, Y.N. Voronov, O.K. Bgazhba and others.⁴⁰ The fortress of Tsibilia was studied under the direction of Voronov.⁴¹ In 1977-79 I investigated the religious complex on the summit of the cliff ('Church Hill'), consisting of two early Christian churches and a mediaeval one.⁴² The chronology of the Apsilian tombs remains in dispute;⁴³ also variously dated are the Christian objects (not large in number) found in the burials.⁴⁴ In this same region of Tsebelda, single-nave churches of the 6th century were uncovered in the fortress of Shapky⁴⁵ and in the village of Mramba,⁴⁶ where slabs engraved with early Christian symbols had earlier been found.⁴⁷

Archaeopolis, the main city of the Lazica, was studied by an expedition directed by Zakaraya, and with the participation of N.Y. Lomouri, T.V. Kapanadze, Lekvinadze and others. Here were uncovered complexes of defensive, public, domestic and ritual buildings. The most comprehensive work on the ecclesiastical architecture of Archaeopolis and its environs is that of Kapanadze;⁴⁸ while articles by Lekvinadze contain the principal observations and conclusions regarding the basilicas of Lazica: Archaeopolis,⁴⁹ Vashnari,⁵⁰ Sepieti and Petra.⁵¹

After an interruption caused by political instability, excavations resumed at the Sukhumi (now Sukhum) fortress. A.N. Gabeliya is successfully studying one of the urban quarters of Sebastopolis. At a neighbouring site in 2001-03, Y.V. Gorlov,

³⁸ Zakaraya and Lekvinadze 1974; Zamtaradze 1979; Khrushkova 2002a 331-32.

³⁹ Tsintsadze 1979; Khrushkova 2002a, 259-71.

⁴⁰ Voronov 2003.

⁴¹ For a summary of the work in Tsebelda, see Voronov 1998.

⁴² Khrushkova 1982; 2002a, 291-322. On some details uncovered later when the church was re-examined, see Voronov *et al.* 1986.

⁴³ Besides Voronov 1998, on the dates of the Tsebelda necropoleis see Gei and Bazhan 1997, 9-30, 54-62. Voronov follows the chronological scheme of A.K. Ambroz, which is disputed by other archaeologists, see Kazanski and Soupault 2000, 262-68.

⁴⁴ Khrushkova 2002a, 327-30, Voronov 2003, figs. 27.7, 74.23, 114.10, 125.6, 125.22, 191.2, 207.5.

⁴⁵ O. Bgazhba 1985; Khrushkova 2002a, 322-23.

⁴⁶ Voronov *et al.* 1985; Khrushkova 2002a, 323-27.

⁴⁷ Khrushkova 1980, 32-33.

⁴⁸ Kapanadze 1991.

⁴⁹ Lekvinadze 1974.

⁵⁰ Lekvinadze 1972.

⁵¹ Lekvinadze 1973.

D.S. Bzhaniya and M.G. Abramzon uncovered a small basilica adjoining an octagonal church that I excavated in 1990-92.⁵²

At the end of the 1980s, due to the political changes taking place in Eastern Europe, Western European historians and archaeologists became more interested in the history of Colchis in late antiquity and the early Christian period. In the encyclopaedia *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, O.D. Lordkipanidze and H. Brakmann published the article 'Iberia', which contained much information not only on the Iberia of the ancient authors, but on Colchis as well.⁵³ In D.C. Braund's book *Georgia in Antiquity*, the history of Lazica in the time of Justinian is examined in detail.⁵⁴ An article by W. Seibt is devoted to the history of Lazica.⁵⁵ One of the long-established meetings of historians and mediaevalists at Spoleto was devoted to the Caucasus; issues raised in this present article were discussed in several of the papers.⁵⁶ The frequently disputed problems of historical geography have always attracted interest.⁵⁷ A number of maps in the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* depict the Caucasus in late antiquity and in the early Christian period.⁵⁸ The overall problems of historical geography are discussed by R.H. Hewsen in his monograph on the *Geography of Anania of Shirak*.⁵⁹

Scholars have lately turned their attention back to well-known written sources: Strabo's data on Georgia was re-examined by O.D. Lordkipanidze.⁶⁰ A new edition of the corpus of documents associated with St Maximus the Confessor has appeared.⁶¹ In the pages of *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*⁶² we encounter many individuals active in Lazica and Abazgia in the 5th-6th centuries. B.G. Hewitt examined some linguistic aspects of the ethnic history of the Abazgians,⁶³

⁵² In August 2003 I was shown the basilica by colleagues who had excavated it. They considered it to date to the time of Justinian (Abramzon *et al.* 2003, 99-104). In my opinion, the newly excavated basilica and the octagonal church were parts of a single architectural complex from the beginning of the 5th century. I took part in the excavation and measurement of the basilica in order to assess this supposition. By the time the western part of the basilica had been excavated, the supposition had been verified.

⁵³ O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994. For brief notes about the Abazgians and Apsilians, following up *RE*, see *Neue Pauly. Encyclopädie der Antike* 1, 7-8 (D. Sigel), 916 (A. Plontke-Lüning).

⁵⁴ Braund 1994. For a critical discussion of this book, see Wheeler 1994-96; Khrushkova 1996; Tsatskhiladze 1996.

⁵⁵ Seibt 1992.

⁵⁶ Outtier 1996; Carile 1996b; Van Esbroeck 1996; Giardina 1996; Seibt 1996.

⁵⁷ Bryer 1966; 1967; Bryer and Winfield 1985, 325-26, 346-47; Zuckerman 1991, 527-40.

⁵⁸ *TAVO* B VI 11 (S. Pirker, S. Timm and T. Mallmann); *TAVO* B VI 14 (R.H. Hewsen).

⁵⁹ Hewsen 1992, 112, 125-27, 328.

⁶⁰ O. Lordkipanidze 1996.

⁶¹ Allen and Neil 1999; 2002.

⁶² Martindale 1989; 1992.

⁶³ Hewitt 1990-91b – in debate with Gamkrelidze 1990-91.

and is also responsible for a note on the etymologies of the toponyms Bichvinta/Pitsunda.⁶⁴

The number of archaeological publications is increasing. Some of them contain historiographical information,⁶⁵ while others address specific types of monuments, sites and objects, such as an inventory of late antique Apsilian burials,⁶⁶ or the detailing of Byzantine marble decoration.⁶⁷ Information is emerging about new excavations in the territory of Adzhara.⁶⁸ A characteristic feature of recent years is a multiplication of the number of works of Georgian and Russian authors published in Eastern European languages. They are dedicated to such topics as the excavations of Archaeopolis and the problems of the history of Lazica (Egrisi),⁶⁹ architectural constructions,⁷⁰ mosaic pavements,⁷¹ the burials of Apsilian elites,⁷² and a defensive complex known as the 'Abkhaz/Kelasurskaya Wall'.⁷³

Written Sources on the Spread of Christianity

Christianity permeated Colchis through Roman coastal towns and fortresses. The system of Roman defences in the eastern Black Sea littoral, which Lekvinadze called the Pontic *limes*,⁷⁴ includes a series of forts along the shore. Arrian, in his *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (AD 130 or 131),⁷⁵ mentions Apsarus (modern Gonio) at the mouth of the River Chorokhi, Phasis (modern Poti) at the mouth of the River Phasis, and Sebastopolis, which at this time marked the limit of Rome's possessions.⁷⁶ A similar picture is provided in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*:⁷⁷ Apsaro (Apsarus), Phasin (Phasis), Sicanabis (Ziganis),⁷⁸

⁶⁴ Hewitt 1990-91a.

⁶⁵ Bortoli-Kazanski and Kazanski 1987.

⁶⁶ Kazanski 1991, 488-93; Soupault 1995.

⁶⁷ Djobadze 1984; Barsanti 1989.

⁶⁸ Kakhidze and Plontke-Lüning 1992; Geyer and Mamuladze 2002; Geyer 2003. See also Tsetskhladze 1999.

⁶⁹ Lomouri 1969; 1985; Zakaraya *et al.* 1979.

⁷⁰ Zakaraya 1987; Khrushkova 1981; 1989a; 1989b; 1990; 1995b; 1998; 1999; 2002b.

⁷¹ Odišeli 1995.

⁷² Voronov 1995.

⁷³ Aleksidze 2000, 673-81.

⁷⁴ Lekvinadze 1969. N.Y. Lomouri denies the existence of a Roman *limes* in the eastern Black Sea littoral: Lomouri 1981, 279; 1986.

⁷⁵ On a now-lost stone with a Latin inscription found at Sukhumi in the 19th century can be read the remains of the names of Hadrian and Arrian (Elnitskii 1964; Braund 1994, 195).

⁷⁶ *RE* II.3, 955-56.

⁷⁷ Facsimile edition, with commentary: E. Weber (Graz 1976). Podossinov 2002, 297-378.

⁷⁸ The point under the name 'Zigana' is situated 55 km from Trapezus (Zuckerman 1991, 534). Hewsens places Ziganis at the modern village of Igana, between Phasis and Rodopolis (Hewsens 1992, 127 n. 12; *TAVO* B VI 14 [Hewsens]).

Cyanes (Gyenos)⁷⁹ and Sebastopolis. Of the cities named, early Christian buildings have been uncovered at Sebastopolis, Gyenos and Ziganis.

Judging by the *Notitia Dignitatum* assembled around the beginning of the 5th century,⁸⁰ Roman troops were stationed in Valentia, Ziganis, Sebastopolis, Mochore and Pithiae (Pityus) during the reign of Theodosius II.⁸¹ The location of some of these places continues to be disputed. Lekvinadze placed Valentia in Apsarus,⁸² and Mochore in Mamai-kala near Sochi. In the opinion of Lomouri, and later of C. Zuckerman, the series of places in the *Notitia* are situated not in Colchis, but in Turkish territory. Zuckerman supposes that Colchian Sebastopolis was renamed Valentia, and he places Mochore in Asia Minor.⁸³ Curiously, the written sources and archaeological evidence are not always in agreement. A brick with the stamp VEXFA was found in Tsikhisdziri (Petra) near Batumi;⁸⁴ Lekvinadze dates it to the 2nd-3rd centuries and supposes that the mark was the stamp of two legions, Fulminata and Apollinaris.⁸⁵ M.P. Speidel, and after him Braund, dated this brick to the beginning of the 4th century, and believed that it came from a 'Phasian' or 'Phasiac' vexillation.⁸⁶ Such a vexillation is unknown; while the legion XV Apollinaris is attested in this region in a single piece of evidence—tiles with the legion's insignia have been discovered at Pityus in 2nd-3rd-century levels,⁸⁷ and also at Sebastopolis in levels from the end of the 4th century.⁸⁸

Thus, under Theodosius II, Pityus (the Πιτυοῦς ὁ μέγας of Strabo 11. 2.14)⁸⁹ found itself within imperial borders. The presence there of a church organisation in Constantine's time, as well as the custom of banishing Christian soldiers there during the period of the Diocletian persecutions, could point to the presence of Roman

⁷⁹ G. Guliyā supposed that the Greek 'Gyenos' originated from the Abkhazian toponym *Dyuan* 'dry meadow' (S. Shamba 1998, 9-12).

⁸⁰ Edition of the text by O. Seeck (Berlin 1876; repr. Frankfurt 1962), 83-85. On specifying the date of the *Notitia*, see Zuckerman 1998.

⁸¹ P. Peeters considered the unusual form 'Pithiae' to be a copyist's error (Peeters 1932, 13 n. 2). However, it also appears later in Byzantine sources.

⁸² Lekvinadze 1969, 82. D.C. Braund is of the same opinion (1994, 265).

⁸³ Zuckerman 1991, 530-32. So far there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

⁸⁴ On the identification of Petra with modern Khopa in Turkey, and of Mochore with Tsikhisdziri, see Inaishvili 1991, 10-12. However, the majority of scholars identify Petra with Tsikhisdziri (Seibt 1992, 142-43 n. 29; Braund 1994, 294 n. 112; Bryer and Winfield 1985, 1, 326, 349 n. 26).

⁸⁵ Lekvinadze 1967.

⁸⁶ Braund 1994, 189. For the same opinion, see O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994, 77.

⁸⁷ Kiguradze *et al.* 1987.

⁸⁸ Khrushkova 2002a, 224-25.

⁸⁹ The Pisinum named in the 'Ashkharatsuits' (AŠXARHAC'OYC') is Pityus, according to Hewsén (1992, 111 n. 27, 203-11). V.F. [R.] Butba considers Pisinum to be the earliest instance of the Abkhazian word *Apsny* 'Abkhazia' (Butba 2001, 73-79).

forces in Pityus as early as the 4th century.⁹⁰ Church buildings existed there during the course of the 4th-6th centuries. The Justinianic era in the eastern Black Sea littoral is well known to historians, in large part thanks to Procopius of Caesarea.⁹¹ The city of Petra played a key role in the military events of this time; and a complex consisting of a basilica and baths was uncovered there. Within the system of imperial defences, the Laz towns and fortresses situated in the hinterland acquired a special significance: Archaeopolis, Kotais (Kotiaion, Kytaiia, Kotatission, modern Kutaisi), Rhodopolis (modern Vardtsikhe; both the Greek and the Georgian mean 'Rose City'), Sarapanis (modern Shorapani), Skandeis (modern Skanda) and Ukhimereos or Utimereos.⁹² Of the places named in Lazica, early Christian churches have been uncovered at Archaeopolis and in its environs.

Under Justinian I (527-565), a line of Byzantine defences advanced alongside the mountains for the protection of the passes leading into the North Caucasus. Churches have been discovered in the Apsilian fortresses at Tsibilia and Shapky, and in the anonymous Abazgian fortress at Khashupse. The Misiminian fortress Siderun (the 'Iron Fortress'), which is identified with Tsakhar, has not been archaeologically studied. The most important fortress of the Abazgians is called Trakheia by Procopius; the majority of scholars identify it with the Anakopiya of mediaeval sources (modern Novyi Afon, Abkhazian Psyrtskha),⁹³ though some authors identify it with Gagra.⁹⁴ It is possible that the word *Τραχεῖα* in Procopius simply designates a harsh, stony, inaccessible place; and as for the Abkhazian toponym 'Anakopiya', linguists see it as being semantically equivalent to the Greek.⁹⁵ The details of the architectural decor preserved on the mountaintop where the fortress was constructed indicates the existence of an early Christian church (or churches) here or nearby.

⁹⁰ Braund (1994, 265) cites the evidence of Zosimus (2. 33. 1) on the presence of a garrison in Phasis in the time of Constantine. C. Zuckerman considers this passage of Zosimus 'problematical' (Zuckerman 1991, 538 n. 44). For a similar opinion on the absence of Roman forces in Pityus under Constantine, see Wheeler 1994-96, 74 n. 39.

⁹¹ For a detailed analysis of the information on Lazica in Procopius, see Braund 1994, 268-311; O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994, 81-84. The construction of the Kelasurian ('Great Abkhazian') wall is attributed by D. Aleksidze to the Persians between 553 and 568 (Aleksidze 2000).

⁹² Not located. According to Hewsen, this is Kotais (Hewsen 1992, 127 n. 13).

⁹³ Dubois de Monpéroux 1839, 273-74 (Russian transl. 1937, 129-30); A.L. 1885, 200-01; Anchabadze 1959, 9-11; Inal-Ipa 1976, 281-82; Amichba 1988, 17-21; Kollautz 1969, 48; Martin-Hisard 1981, 152; Braund 1994, 301 n. 149.

⁹⁴ Lekvinadze 1970, 173. In an earlier work, Lekvinadze equated Trakheia with Anakopiya (Lekvinadze 1968b, 94); *TAVO* B VI 14 (Hewsen). A similar opinion is expressed by Butba (2001, 16), who, like Hewsen, relies on the 'Ashkharatsuits': he identifies Trakheia with the Nitika of Arrian; though he places Nitika not at Gagra, as is customary, but in the vicinity of Tsandriphs (Gantiadi).

⁹⁵ K. Bgzhba 1974, 168.

The geography of Romano-Byzantine cities in the region (on the one hand) and the arrangement of early Christian churches (on the other) often coincide, especially along the coast. According to a peace treaty struck in 561/2 in Dara, Lazica remained Byzantine, whereas Iberia fell under Persian control; and Pityus and Sebastopolis were named as fortresses within the province of Pontus Polemoniaca, not Lazica. The new political reality was reflective of the region's administrative-ecclesiastical organisation, which has been outlined in the first *notitia* of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate.

Church tradition speaks of the conversion of the provinces of the Black Sea littoral, of Scythia (Crimea) and of Colchis by the apostles Andrew and Simon the Canaanite. The Byzantine tradition regarding the work of the apostle Andrew emerged at the end of the 8th or in the 9th century;⁹⁶ and in the opinion of I. Dzhavakhishvili [Dzhavakhov], this tradition regarding Andrew 'was brought to Greece from Byzantium by Greek monks' at that time.⁹⁷ The early versions of the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew* were probably created in the second half of the 2nd century; their canonical variant mentions only Scythia. The information in it influenced the work of Origen (*ca.* 185-*ca.* 254), Tertullian (*ca.* 160-*ca.* 225) and Arnobius (3rd-4th century), and Eusebius of Caesarea repeats it in his *Ecclesiastical History*.⁹⁸ Various versions of Andrew's route from Scythia to Asia Minor have been proposed, either by sea to Sebastopolis, or by land from Alania through the Misiminian city of Phusta to Apsilia and then along the River Kodori to Sebastopolis.

The *Acts of Andrew* speaks of the death by torture of Simon the Canaanite in AD 55, in Nikopsis on the Apsarus in the country of the Zikhians. Here we already meet with the muddle of toponyms that would persist for centuries, even into modern works: the author of the *Acts of Andrew* confuses Nikopsis in the country of the Zikhians (modern Nechepsukho or Novo-Mikhailovka in the Sochi district) with Anakopiya (or Anakopsi in some Georgian sources) in Abazgia, surely Psyrtskha, located on the banks of the river with the same name (modern Novyi Afon).⁹⁹ M. Van Esbroeck equivocates about the historical reality of the apostle Andrew's public sermon in Colchis;¹⁰⁰ but one way or another, the tradition of Andrew's conver-

⁹⁶ Dvornik 1958, 173-80, 208-09 n. 79; Chichurov 1990, 7-10; Vinogradov 1999.

⁹⁷ Dzhavakhov 1901, 103-06.

⁹⁸ von Harnack 1924, 539-41.

⁹⁹ I cite one characteristic example: Peeters identifies Nikopsis with Anakopiya and places it at the mouth of the River Chorokhi, where Apsarus is situated, on the border between Zikhia and Abazgia (Peeters 1932, 1-15). It is evident that two places have been conflated that are in fact some hundreds of kilometres apart: the River Chorokhi on the one hand, and the border between Abazgia and Zikhia (Nikopsis/Nechepushko) on the other, which are situated at opposite ends of the eastern shore of the Black Sea. A. Kollautz includes two places called Nikopsis on his map: one at Nechepsukho, and the other at Anakopiya (Kollautz 1969, 24, 29-31, 46, 48, fig. 1).

¹⁰⁰ Van Esbroeck 1996, 216 n. 69. New evidence may come to light in the future.

sion of the country took special hold in Megrelia and Abkhazia, judging by the testimony of Russian emissaries (1640)¹⁰¹ and of the missionary Castelli (before 1650).¹⁰²

As is the case nearly everywhere else, nothing is known about the lives of local Christian communities between the time of the apostles and that of Diocletian. At the start of the 4th century, the northern Black Sea littoral served as a place of exile for Christians. From the time of Strabo down to recent times, this region had been considered particularly savage.

Around 300, seven soldier-brothers led by Orentius were exiled to Pityus; of them, only Longinus reached his destination. The *Life of St Orentius* appeared in the 6th century;¹⁰³ some of the numerous toponyms in the *Life* are also found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, such as Apsarus, Ziganis and Pityus.¹⁰⁴ At that same time, the soldier-Christians Eugenius, Valerianus/Valerius, Candidus/Kanidios and Aquila/Akylos were exiled to Pityus, and were immolated at Trapezus/Trebizond.¹⁰⁵

It is not by chance that a Christian community arose in Pityus during the Constantinian period: its bishop, Stratophilus, took part in the First Council of Nicaea in 325. Pityus became part of the ecclesiastical organisation of the province of Pontus Polemoniaca.¹⁰⁶ Its bishopric then disappears from the sources; but the role of the city in the history of early Christianity in the Caucasus is thoroughly verified by archaeological and architectural data. More than a thousand years later, at the end of the 14th century, the see of the Abkhazian Katholikos (patriarch), who ruled over the bishops of the entire province of Western Georgia, was transferred from Gelati to Bichvinta/Pitsunda.¹⁰⁷ As to the character of the Christianisation of the population, the material from the burial ground at Pityus is less informative than the monumental buildings. Excavation of 300 burials from the 2nd to 4th centuries (perhaps dated too early by G.A. Lordkipanidze) yielded but a single 'stele': a small column with which was deposited a cross, most probably of secondary origin.¹⁰⁸ In the 5th century, Pityus remained a place of exile. According to the writings of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus (5. 34. 8), John Chrysostom (who died in September 407 at Koman in what is now Turkey) was sent in 406 to Pityus, on the frontier with 'the

¹⁰¹ Likhachev 1954, 218.

¹⁰² Giorgadze 1976, 177-78, 395-96, fig. 466.

¹⁰³ Peeters 1938. Sinaksari's Georgian translation differs from the Greek version in a number of details (Tamarati 1910, 150; Kollautz 1961, 81).

¹⁰⁴ Bryer and Winfield 1985, 325-27; Lekvinadze 1969, 81.

¹⁰⁵ Martin-Hisard 1981b.

¹⁰⁶ Honigmann 1939, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Koridze and Abashidze 2000.

¹⁰⁸ G. Lordkipanidze 1991, 2, 4, 155-56, pls. LXXVI-LXXVII.

most savage barbarians'. Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch, was exiled to Pityus in 488, but managed to flee.¹⁰⁹

The spread of Christianity amongst the local population was the result of active Byzantine policy, especially during the period of war with Persia. Information about the period before Justinian I is piecemeal and indefinite. In his *History of the Armenians*, Agathangelos (after 506) speaks of the simultaneous conversion of the Lazi, Iverians, Albanians and Armenians as having already occurred by the time of Constantine, though this information is contained only in the short Greek and Arab versions of the sources and not in the Armenian text.¹¹⁰ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Gelasius of Cyzicus (fl. 475) writes that the Iverians and the Lazi were converted during the time of Constantine—although his source, the earlier *Ecclesiastical History* of Gelasius of Caesarea (d. pre-400), says nothing at all about this.¹¹¹ At the beginning of the 5th century, the Asterius of Amaseia mentions that St Phoca was greatly esteemed by the 'Scythians of the Maeotian Sea, of Tanais and of Phasis', and that they revered his grave in Amaseia.¹¹²

Because of the variable political circumstances, the Laz rulers vacillated between Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Priscus of Panium (472) speaks of St Daniel the Stylite's visit to the Laz king, Gobazes I, at Constantinople in 465/6.¹¹³ Many historians date the official conversion of the Lazi to the baptism of king Ztathius in 522/3 during the reign of Justin I. John Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale* and (later) Theophanes and other sources report that Ztathius was baptised at Constantinople, receiving a crown, a white cloak and a silken *chiton* from the emperor.¹¹⁴ Archaeologists have dated the earliest church at Archaeopolis to the 4th century. On this basis Lomouri concluded that the baptism of the Laz king must have been 'secondary', and that the conversion of the Lazi ought to be placed in the 4th or 5th century at the latest.¹¹⁵ However, the sources offer no information on a 'primary' conversion of the Lazi. Procopius has very little to say about Christianity in Lazica, speaking

¹⁰⁹ Martin-Hisard 1998, 1172 n. 26; Van Esbroeck 1996, 203-04.

¹¹⁰ Translation and commentary by R.W. Thomson (Albany 1976); Garitte 1946, 97-99, 320-21.

¹¹¹ O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994, 41-43, 90-91.

¹¹² Martin-Hisard 1985, 144.

¹¹³ On Gobazes I, see Martindale 1992, 559-60. For a new edition of the *Life of St Daniel*, see Festugière 1961 (conversion of Gobazes, p.126); Martin-Hisard 1998, 1172; Carile 1996b, 20.

¹¹⁴ On Ztathius, see Martindale 1989, 1209; O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994, 92; Braund 1994, 286; Chekalova 1993, 468 n. 60, 493 n. 99; Carile 1996b, 62-63 n. 131. A.A.M. Bryer considers the white garments to be allusions to the fact that the fortresses in the Lazican littoral exported fine white cloth (Bryer 1966, 177 n. 12). In his *Ecclesiastical History* (ed. R. Keydell [Berlin 1967]), Agathias (3. 15) says that the Laz kings did not think it proper to wear a purple *chlamys*, permitting only white clothing embroidered with gold.

¹¹⁵ Lomouri 1981, 279-91.

of the Lazi as zealous Christians (*De Bello Persico* 2. 28. 26) and mentioning their bishops (*De Bello Gothico* 8. 2. 18), but saying nothing at all about the diocesan sees; Justinian repaired a church in Lazica, though it is unclear where (*De Aedificiis Peri Ktismatôn* 3. 7. 6). Information on the ecclesiastical buildings of Lazica in the 6th century is just as rare in other sources. Agathias mentions a church near Phasis, as well as a church dedicated to St Stephen at Onoguris (3. 5. 7). As a result, Lekvinadze identified Onoguris with modern Sepieti, where there is a basilica containing a Greek stone inscription addressed to St Stephen.¹¹⁶

As for the Abazgians, Procopius states that at that time they were still worshipping trees, and that Justinian I built the Church of the Blessed Virgin for them, and sent priests. The emperor sent the Abazgian-born eunuch, Euphratas, to Abazgia with instructions to ban the custom of castrating boys and selling them as slaves (*De Bello Gothico* 8. 3. 14-21);¹¹⁷ this information is confirmed by Evagrius Scholasticus in his *Ecclesiastical History* (4. 22).¹¹⁸ A convenient time for all this activity would have been the period before 540, when the Persian army invaded Lazica, and the Byzantines (in 542) found it necessary to abandon the coastal cities (*De Bello Gothico* 8. 4. 6; *De Aedificiis Peri Ktismatôn* 3. 7. 8). Most probably, the Justinianic 'church for the Abazgians' was the Tsandripsh (Gantiadi) basilica situated 16 km to the north-west of Gagra.¹¹⁹ Van Esbroeck expresses the supposition that the construction or repair of the churches of the Lazi and the Abazgians in the time of Justinian arose out of the necessity to replace Monophysite churches with Orthodox ones,¹²⁰ though it is difficult to support this idea with the sources.

Procopius states that the Apsilians 'became Christians in antiquity' (*De Bello Gothico* 8. 4. 33). In graves at Tsebelda were found some Christian objects, including a golden cross and a medallion with the image of the Gorgoneion, both of which have often been cited. Trapsh, who discovered them, dated the finds to the 4th century, an opinion that was later repeated many times.¹²¹ Voronov, a supporter of the late dating of the Tsebelda necropolis, concluded that the Apsilians remained pagan as late as the second half of the 7th century;¹²² but study of the golden cross and the Medusa medallion enables them to be dated to the first half of the 6th century.¹²³

¹¹⁶ Lekvinadze 1970a, 166-68.

¹¹⁷ Kollautz 1969, 27-31; Adzhindzhal 1987; Letodiani 1989. On Euphratas, see Martindale 1992, 465.

¹¹⁸ Allen 1981, 68, 186 n. 83.

¹¹⁹ Lekvinadze 1970a, 173-74; Khrushkova 1985, 15-60; 2002, 174-77.

¹²⁰ Van Esbroek 1995, 213.

¹²¹ Trapsh 1971, 118-22, 205-07; 1975, 9-15, 62-69; Anchabadze 1964, 221-29; Inal-Ipa 1976, 239; G. Shamba 1970, 13-23, 27, 62-65, 78; Gunba 1989, 78, 85.

¹²² Voronov 1975, 17, 112-13, 133, 145.

¹²³ Khrushkova 2002a, 327-30.

Also, it is well known that burial rites are a conservative part of culture; and so the small number of Christian objects in the graves does not necessarily equate to a small number of Christians amongst the Apsilians. The discovery of early Christian churches in the fortress of Tsibilia confirms the spread of Christianity amongst the Apsilians in the first half of the 6th century.

The ecclesiastical organisation in Lazica and Abazgia was under the control of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate; and as evidence of this, we have not only the well-known bishopric at Pityus, but also the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon of 451¹²⁴ and the construction of the Abazgian church by Justinian. The developed system of dioceses in the region was created after the conclusion of the Byzantine-Persian wars, at the end of the reign of Justinian I or soon thereafter. The Bishop of Phasis is mentioned by Theophilactus Simocatta in 589/90 (3. 6. 17).¹²⁵ The first episcopal *notitia* (before 641) formalised the state of affairs that had developed earlier. The Abazgian archbishopric based at Sebastopolis in fact played the role of metropolis.¹²⁶ The metropolis based at Phasis had four suffragans whose sees were situated at Petra, Rhodopolis, Saisine and Ziganis.¹²⁷

What do archaeologists know about these episcopal sees? The basilica of the time of Justinian I at Petra may have been episcopal; and marble columns and capitals of the 6th century are currently being found at the mediaeval church at Tsaishi (Saisine).¹²⁸ It is possible that they were procured from the Proconnesian workshops at the episcopal church of Saisine, which existed at that same place. A 4th- or 5th-century baptistery has been uncovered at Ziganis, and so it was not by chance that a diocesan see was later founded here. No churches have yet been uncovered at Phasis or Rhodopolis. The cathedral of the Abazgians may have been the large domed church at Dranda (23 km south of Sukhumi).

After Stratophilus, the names of the local hierarchs are known only from the 7th century, beginning with Cyril, Bishop of Phasis, whom the emperor Heraclius appointed as Patriarch of Alexandria in 631.¹²⁹ Theodore, Metropolitan of Phasis, was a participant in the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680/1;¹³⁰ it is possible that a 7th-8th-century seal found at Pitsunda belonged to this same Bishop Theodore.¹³¹

¹²⁴ O. Lordkipanidze and Brakmann 1994, 94.

¹²⁵ Martin-Hisard 1998, 1173.

¹²⁶ *Historiae* (ed. C. de Boor and P. Wirth [Stuttgart 1972]); On the status and role of the archbishopric, see Feissel 1989, 810.

¹²⁷ Darrouzès 1981, 7-8, 205-12; 1989, 209.

¹²⁸ Khrushkova 1980, 22-24.

¹²⁹ Darrouzès 1984, 178 (Greek text), 199 (French translation).

¹³⁰ Le Quien 1740, 1443.

¹³¹ Dundua 1978, 341-42.

A decade later, in 692, metropolitans Theodore of Phasis, Faustinus of Ziganis and John of Petra took part in the Fifth-Sixth (Fourth Constantinopolitan) Council in Trullo.¹³² Lazica and Abazgia are mentioned together for the first time in the second episcopal *notitia* at the beginning of the 8th century.¹³³ The records show Metropolitan Christopher of Phasis and Archbishop Constantine of Sebastopolis at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 786/7 in Nicaea.¹³⁴

The Abazgian archbishopric is mentioned in a series of *notitiae*—namely, in the second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh (beginning of the 10th century), eighth, eleventh (end of the 11th century) and twelfth (12th century); and finally, it is named as a metropolis in one copy of the fifteenth (between the end of the 12th and the end of the 13th century).¹³⁵ The Byzantines strove to retain their position in the western part of the eastern Black Sea littoral, relying on Anakopiya, which they held until the 1080s. Other conditions applied in Phasis: after the seventh *notitia* it disappears from the registers of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. The name Lazica is formally retained, but only to designate the ecclesiastical territory of the metropolis of Trebizond.¹³⁶ In the first quarter of the 10th century, local bishoprics begin to appear.¹³⁷

Meanwhile, after the consolidation of Christianity, Abazgia remained a place of exile; but now the exiles were sent to desolate mountainous locations. In July 662, St Maximus the Confessor arrived in Lazica, together with Anastasius the Monk and Anastasius the Apokrisiarius. In a letter sent to Theodorus of Gangra in Jerusalem, this last Anastasius describes the misfortune of the exiles in the mountain fortresses of Apsilia, Misiminia, Svaneti, Lazica and Alania.¹³⁸ Judging by this document, the mountain fortresses were controlled by the Byzantines, who were sending exiles there as well. It is at this time that the Abazgian ruler Gregory openly extended protection to the exiles; Anastasius calls him 'Christ's friend', and the Abazgians and Lazi repeatedly refer to him as 'beloved of Christ' (*philochristi*).

¹³² Ohme 1990, 148, 169, 182, 220, 304-05.

¹³³ Darrouzès 1981, 217-18, 231, 233.

¹³⁴ Darrouzès 1975, 5-21, 62-68.

¹³⁵ Darrouzès 1981, 82, 84 n. 3, 218, 233, 251, 266, 274, 294, 346, 352 n. 2.

¹³⁶ Darrouzès 1986, 7-8, 25, 39-40; 1989, 210-13. The opinion has been spreading that both the metropolis of Lazica and the archbishopric of Abazgia ceased to exist by the end of the 9th century (Koridze and Abashidze 2000, 68). In the opinion of B. Martin-Hisard, the ecclesiastical provinces of Lazica and Abazgia 'disappeared in the 10th century' (Martin-Hisard 1993, 562). In reality, though, this applies only to Phasis, not to Sebastopolis.

¹³⁷ Anchabadze 1959, 144-54, 171-77; Gunba 1989, 213-34; Martin-Hisard 1981b, 146-56; 2000; Khrushkova 2006.

¹³⁸ Allen and Neil 1999; 2002. On the Georgian sources associated with St Maxim, see Kekelidze 1912. On the destination of Anastasius' letter to Theodorus of Gangra, see Noret 2000. A. Brilliantov (1917) writes that Anastasius' addressee was located in Jerusalem, not Constantinople. His article contains much information on historical geography; on some of the toponyms, see Zuckerman 2000, 553-54.

The region of Tsebelda is connected with the story of still another martyr as early as the Arab invasion; and for the first time, it was not an exile, but a local Apsilian-born martyr to the faith. In 738 the Arabs, having captured Sebastopolis, entered Apsilia and Misiminia. They seized the Iron Fortress and took into captivity Eustaphius, son of the Apsilian ruler, the patrician Marianos. The young man refused to take up Islam, and was killed at Harran.¹³⁹ There is no doubt that at this time, Christianity had taken firm hold throughout the mountainous regions of Abazgia. John Sabanisdze, author of *The Martyrdom of Abo of Tbilisi*, describing events to the 780s, speaks of Abkhazia as a country 'filled with faith in Christ'.¹⁴⁰

Epigraphic evidence also serves as a source for characterising religious life in the region in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. From the 4th to the 10th century, nearly all of these inscriptions are in Greek, with a few isolated ones in Latin; Georgian inscriptions first appear at the very end of the 10th century, with the majority from the 11th-12th centuries.¹⁴¹

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence draws a very broad picture of the spread of Christianity in the region, and outlines the history of the development of the main religious centres. We can distinguish two phases in Christian building activity in the region. The first phase consists of isolated buildings in the 4th century, and then the appearance of churches in the urban centres in the 5th century, predominantly along the coast. In the second phase, the old religious centres expand and extend their influence over the adjoining territories during the 6th century, particularly in the time of Justinian; new churches appear in the hinterland and in the foothills of the mountains. In the second half of the 6th and during the 7th century, churches of considerable dimensions and of more complex architectural types are constructed.

The Beginnings of Christian Building-Works: 4th and 5th Centuries

The oldest Christian centre was Pityus. The city of late antiquity consisted of two parts: the *castellum*, and a *canaba* added later. The earliest church, the centre of the bishopric, was built before the First Council of Nicaea (in 325). The remains of the foundations of its southern part have been preserved. It is a single-nave construction, with a broad apse. Despite its simplicity, its dimensions are quite considerable—more than 26 m in length.¹⁴² The choice of site for the church – outside the

¹³⁹ Mango and Scott 1997, 544. On Marianos, see Lilie *et al.* 200, 168; Anchabadze 1959, 92-94.

¹⁴⁰ BS I, 85-87; Amichba 1986, 8; Gunba 1989, 94-95; Shurgaia 1999.

¹⁴¹ Gamakhariya and Gogiya 1997, 807-15.

¹⁴² Lekvinadze 1968a; 1970b, 174-78; Tsitsishvili 1977, 113-18; Khrushkova 1989.

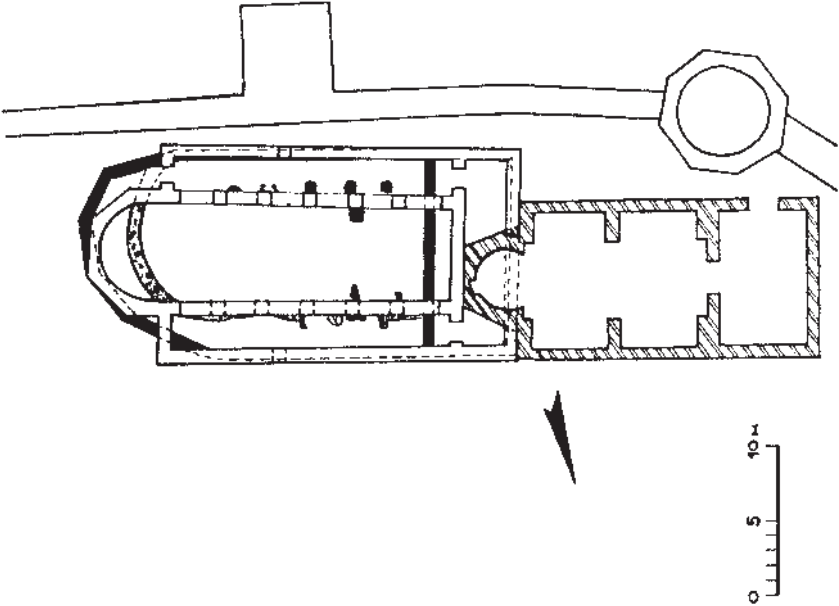


Fig. 2: Pityus: plan of religious complex within the city walls (I.I. Tsitsishvili).

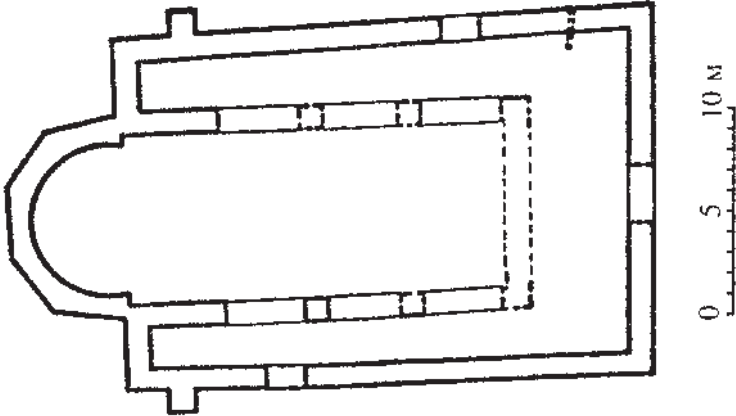


Fig. 3: Archaeopolis: basilica (church no. 2) (T.V. Kapanadze).

walls of the *castellum*—could indicate a memorial function, although no burials have been discovered in the apse of the church (Fig. 2).

In the middle of the 4th century, the first church was destroyed by fire. In its place was built a much more extensive basilica with a narthex (church no. 2) and perhaps an atrium. Its plan includes an unusual feature: a broad, asymmetrical apse, pentagonal both inside and out, which causes the aisles to be of unequal width. This feature appears to have resulted from the accommodation of an asymmetrical, trapezoidal ‘platform’ within the apse:¹⁴³ perhaps this ‘platform’ was the place of a memorial (or funerary) cult around which the first church was built. After the destruction of the first church, the structure was also included within the apse of the subsequent basilica as if it were a sacred place; and so this seems to be an example of the ‘monumentalisation’ of a small funerary or commemorative construction, a typical early Christian custom. A baptistery is also accommodated within the narthex.

The floor of the church is decorated with mosaics; about 30% of the surface area is preserved. The motives are customary ones within the early Christian repertoire: a Christ-monogram in a wreath with apocalyptic letters, A and Ω; two deer beside a fountain; birds beside a chalice; palms; fish; and so on. The most probable date for the mosaic, and indeed for the whole basilica, would be the end of the 4th century or the first half of the 5th.¹⁴⁴ An inscription in the sanctuary contains a standard dedicatory formula: ὙΠΕΡ Ε[ΥΧ]ΗΣ ΩΡΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ[Ν]ΤΟ[Ν] ΤΟ[Υ] Ο[Υ]ΚΟ[Υ]—ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ὁρελίου καὶ παντὸν τοῦ οἴκου (αὐτοῦ) ‘Ex-voto for Orelis and all his house’. T. Kaukhchishvili sees here the name ‘Orel’; for. Lekvinadze, it is ‘Orentios’; and for G. Traina, the name is ‘Oriël/Uriel’. In my opinion, it is Aurelios/Ὁρέλιος (Αὐρήλιος) in the genitive, with Ω in place of Αὐ at the start of the word, and with ε in place of the more usual η; the genitive ending of Αὐρηλίου is rendered as a contraction, and the conjunction καὶ is replaced by an abbreviation mark.¹⁴⁵ The basilica was decorated in marble from Proconnesus. Interestingly, this second church is still located outside the protection of the city walls. It too was destroyed by fire; and in the second half of the 5th century, a standard basilica with aisles more than 28 m long, with a pentagonal apse and a narthex, was built on its remains. By now, the basilica is *within* the city walls.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ The participants in the excavation write of the presence of a martyrium here, they do not cite any data on burials (Matsulevich 1978, 104-05; Tsitsishvili 1977, 118).

¹⁴⁴ Odišeli 1995, 31-60, tabs. 13-24; Shervashidze 1980, 8-41.

¹⁴⁵ On the discussion concerning the reading of the inscription, see Khrushkova 2002a, 79-83.

¹⁴⁶ Khrushkova 2002a, 87-89. Some late burials were discovered in the church, but they are not marked on the published plans: Tsitsishvili 1977, 104 n. 2, 118, figs. 11-12.

As is the case everywhere, the inhabitants of Pityus venerated the relics of martyrs and saints beyond the city walls. A funerary complex was located to the south-east of the city; it consisted of two small buildings: a chapel, and a rectangular martyrion in which two tombs and an anthropoid sarcophagus were discovered. On the site, adjacent to these buildings on the east, were excavated two stone tombs closed over with slabs. This complex can be dated to the second half of the 5th century; it survived until 542. In the second half of the 6th century, a large cruciform church was built on this site (Fig. 9).

A few Christian religious objects originate from Pityus. Amongst them is the 'stele' discovered in one of the ground burials of the late antique necropolis. This 73 cm stone column, in which was deposited an iron cross, was covered over with a fragment of tile; archaeologists date it to the Diocletian period.¹⁴⁷ In my opinion, the column's deposition in the grave was secondary; its primary use was as part of the chancel screen, and so it most probably dates to the second half of the 5th century. The custom of placing votive crosses into detailing within a church was widespread:¹⁴⁸ in the Pityus museum, for example, is preserved a marble column supplied with a cavity for a cross. Another example is the marble column from the church in Tsaishi (Saisine): on it, next to a cavity for a cross, is carved the inscription ΚΟΧΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΧΑΗΚ-Κύριε, σῶσον τοῦ Βασίλλης ('Lord, redeem Basilis'),¹⁴⁹ which clearly testifies to the votive nature of the cross.

One of the graves was associated with a fragment of a brick found in the city, not in the necropolis;¹⁵⁰ on it, an epitaph is preceded by a cross: εν[θάδε] κατ[ακεί-ται] Οσ... 'Here lies Os...'. Still another stone inscription from Pityus can be dated to the 4th century; it contains the clearly preserved letters [Γ]ΠΕΡΝΙΚ[ΗΣ]-υπερ νίκης 'for victory'. Speidel and T.T. Todua reconstruct the inscription as υπερ νίκης και σωτήριας τοῦ κυριοῦ.¹⁵¹ Perhaps we have here a formula that appears in the liturgy of St Jacob, in which the words υπερ νίκης are followed by the name of the emperor and then a list of those being prayed for.¹⁵²

In the Pitsunda museum there is a fragment of a round marble liturgical table, about a metre in diameter; it is decorated with a Christ-monogram.¹⁵³ It can be dated

¹⁴⁷ G. Lordkipanidze *et al.* 1990; G. Lordkipanidze 1991, 155-56.

¹⁴⁸ Teteriatnikov 1998, fig. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Khrushkova 1980, 23; 2002a, 111-12.

¹⁵⁰ The brick is published, but without a reading of the inscription (G. Apakidze 1977, 231, fig. 66, no. 568).

¹⁵¹ A. Apakidze 1977, no. 575 (without a reading). On the reading of the inscription, see Speidel and Todua 1988, 58.

¹⁵² Lassus 1947, 252.

¹⁵³ Khrushkova 2002a, 113-14.

to the 5th century.¹⁵⁴ When the city-site was excavated, imported glass vessels of the 4th-5th centuries with Christian symbols on them were discovered. On one is an image of the Good Shepherd; on another is a peacock, with the inscription ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣΗΣ 'Drink (and) live'.¹⁵⁵ Three cast-bronze crosses of the 5th-6th centuries originated from the city-site as well.¹⁵⁶

What else was built in the eastern Black Sea littoral at this early time? Archaeologists can date to the 4th century the earliest church at Archaeopolis, the only part of which to be preserved is the remains of the broad apse; the church was more than 26 m long. In the middle of the 5th century, this church was destroyed; and in its place was built a basilica, with a baptismal font in the south-western corner. The basilica (Fig. 3) burnt down at the beginning of the 6th century.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the history of the religious complex at Archaeopolis and the basic elements of the plan of its early church are very reminiscent of the first church at Pityus, which influenced the entire surrounding region. It is worth noting that at Archaeopolis, the dates of the churches are assumed: they come from the architectural constructions, of which almost nothing remains.

To the first phase of Christian building-work can be dated the constructions at three coastal cities: Sebastopolis, Gyenos and Ziganis. Of these, the most prominent and complicated is the complex at Sebastopolis, which is located within the urban district. Its plan is octagonal, without an apse; eight pillars support the dome, and the central core was surrounded by a vaulted deambulatory. Four additional rooms are positioned in the form of a cross; and the southern room is joined on the east to still another room that served as a martyrium. In it were discovered four tombs of stone and brick; three of them are elevated above floor-level and served as objects of veneration (Figs. 4-5).

An original element situated in the centre of the octagon is the exedra, which served as a bench for the clergy; it can be compared to the well-known 'Syrian ambo' (*bema*), which was oriented to the west – not to the east, as is our custom today.¹⁵⁸ The Sebastopolis exedra also resembles the 'freestanding bench' found in church apses in the regions of Istria and Noricum.¹⁵⁹ The church at Sebastopolis was destroyed by fire in the time of Justinian, as proven by numismatic finds and the well-confirmed testimony of Procopius regarding the destruction of the city by the Byzantines in AD 542 (*De Aedificiis Peri Ktismatôn* 3. 7. 8-9). As far as we can determine, the church was built at the beginning of the 5th century.

¹⁵⁴ Chalkia 1991, 47-53, 225, figs. 58 and 62, dis. 1-3, 4-5, 10, 11; Duval 1984, fig. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Ugrelidze 1987, pls. XIII-XVII.

¹⁵⁶ Khrushkova 2002a, 115.

¹⁵⁷ Kapanadze 1991, 167-78.

¹⁵⁸ Renhart 1995.

¹⁵⁹ Glaser 1991, 97-100, 182-201.

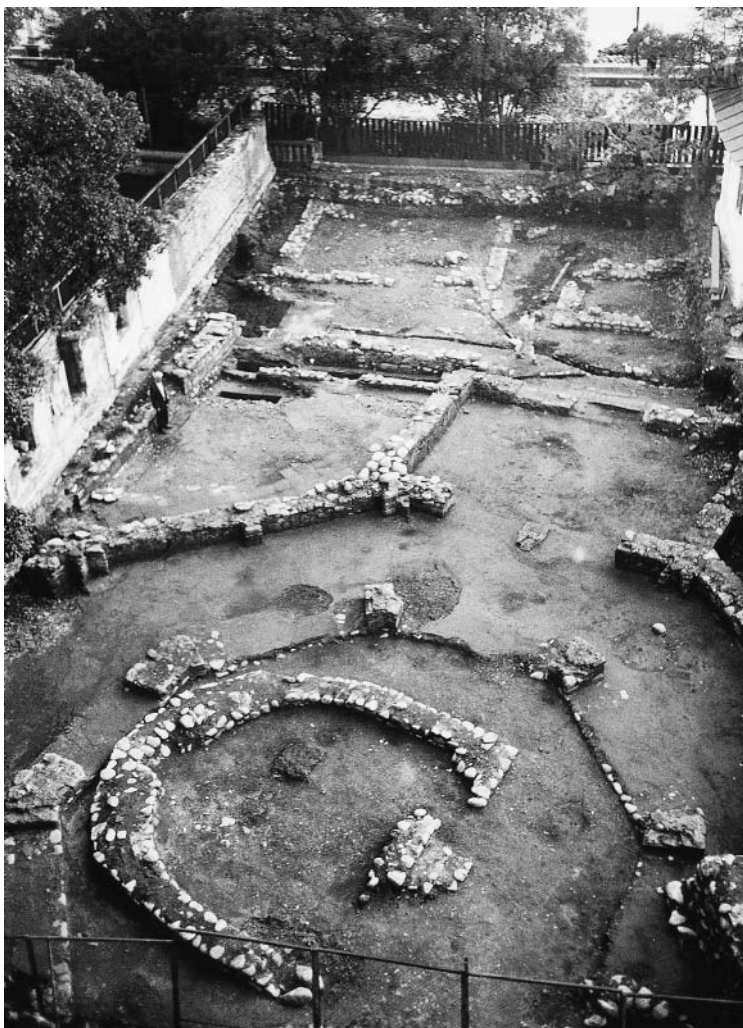


Fig. 4: Sebastopolis: view of octagonal church from the north.

A shaft in the centre of the church revealed that the early materials from the virgin soil date to the 1st century. Also discovered in the strata which predate the church were traces of a destroyed stone building covered in massive tiles. On 20 of the fragments were found the stamp of the legion XV Apollinaris.¹⁶⁰

A grave stele was found in the eastern part of the deambulatory. The inscription is almost entirely preserved: ΟΠΟΛΛΑ / ΜΟΝΕΝΘΑ / ΛΕΚΑΤΑΚΙ / ΤΕΟΡΕΣΤΗ

¹⁶⁰ Khrushkova 2002a, 195-259.

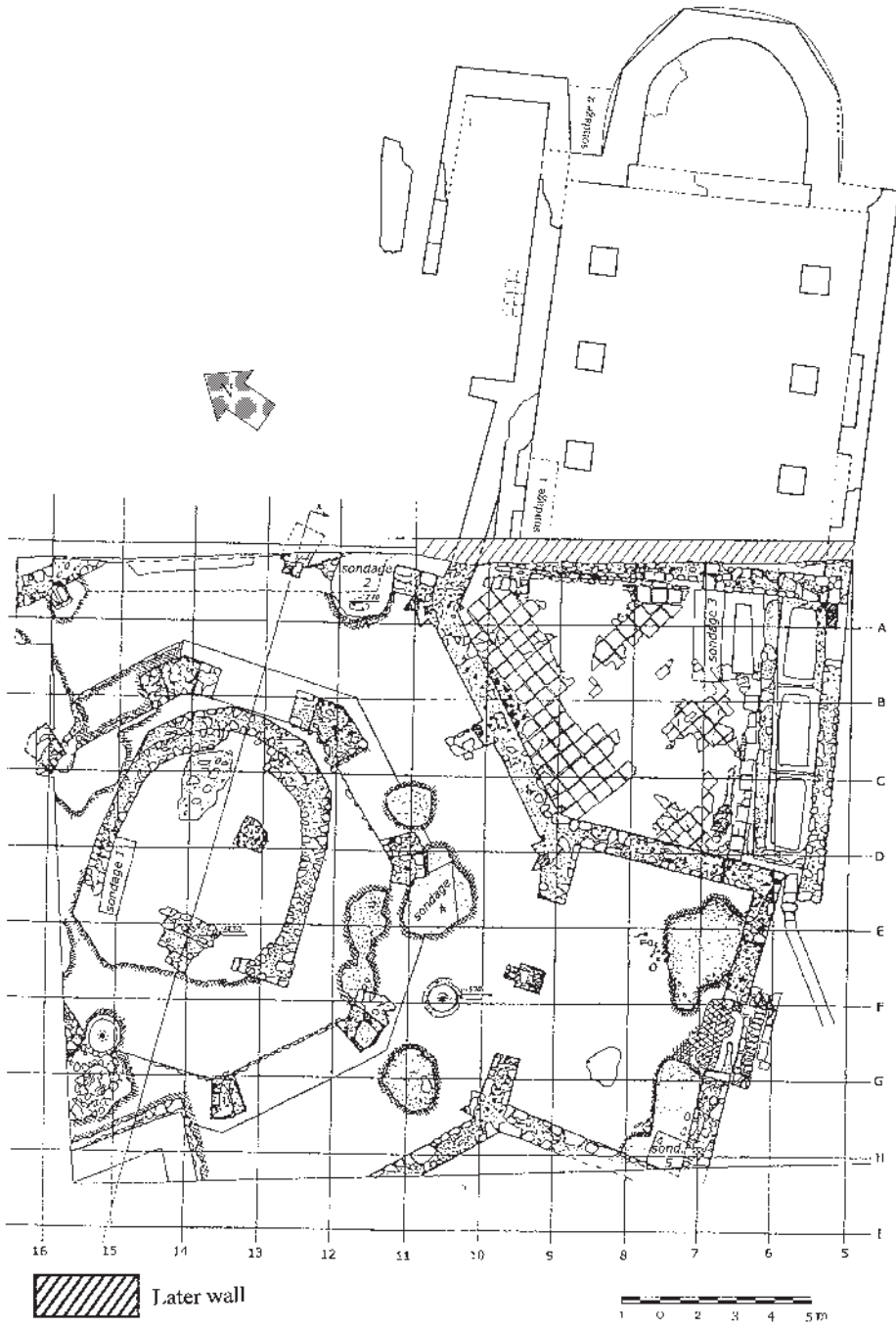


Fig. 5: Sebastopolis: plan of architectural complex (1992, 2005).

/ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤ / ΑΕΓΕΩΝ / ΠΙΣΧΑΡΙΝ / ΜΗΣΑΝΕΓ / ΜΕΝΟΙΚΟ – or, with corrections, ὁ πολλὰ [τλή]μον ἐνθάδε κατακεῖται Ὀρέστη[ς] στρατιώτ[ης] λεγεων[ά]ρι[ος] χάριν [μνή]μης ἀνεγ[είρα]μεν οἶκο[ν]: ‘Here is buried Orestes, soldier-legionary, having endured much suffering; for the sake of his memory, we have built an οἶκος’. This last word could mean either a funerary structure or a church building, although the inscription contains no obvious Christian features. Does the stele contain a pagan epitaph, or is it associated with one of the tombs in the martyrium? The latter seems more probable.

On a neighbouring site next to the eastern side of the octagonal church, Abramzon, Bzhaniya and Gorlov discovered a small basilica about 17 m long, adjacent to the martyrium, and forming part of the church complex. This basilica is a construction with a pentagonal apse and three pairs of pillars, and is joined to a small rectangular room at the north. The pavement of the basilica was executed in the *opus sectile* technique, using figured bricks and small slabs of Proconnesian marble in various shapes; this is the first such example in Abkhazia (Fig. 6). The basilica, like the octagonal church, underwent reconstruction. The level showing fire and destruction (542) is filled with a great number of tiles lying on the floor of the basilica. The first church at Sebastopolis, then, was the most extensive and complex construction in the region; and its original plan, combining an octagon, a cross and a basilica, has no analogies in the Caucasus or in the Pontic region.

Also worth mentioning are some isolated finds from Sebastopolis (Sukhumi) and its environs: architectural fragments with early Christian motifs,¹⁶¹ an anthropoid sarcophagus,¹⁶² and a bronze cross with an image of the Crucifixion.¹⁶³

The remains of the church at Gyenos are deposited within the upper portions of a huge cultural level, the lower parts of which contain material from the first half of the 6th century BC. A single-nave building with a broad semicircular apse and narthex is symmetrically connected to two annexes, creating a cruciform plan (Fig. 7). Graves were found in every part of the building except the apse—tombs of brick and stone, and also simple pit burials. In the southern room, a tomb with a female burial contained golden objects: earrings, two rings, and 60 brooches that had adorned the shroud. Yet another pair of golden earrings was found in a destroyed brick grave in the north-east corner of the nave. A gold-plated cross is associated with the destruction layer. The remains of a sandstone chancel screen were preserved, the decoration of which imitates Proconnesian marble work. The church dates to the end of the 5th century; it existed until the 7th century.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Khrushkova 1980, 31-34.

¹⁶² Khrushkova 1984.

¹⁶³ Khrushkova 1979.

¹⁶⁴ Kobakhiya, Khrushkova and Shamba 1987.



Fig. 6: Sebastopolis: basilica, pavement in *opus sectile* (2003).



Fig. 7: Gyenos: view of church from the west.



Fig. 8: Khobi: capital.

In Ziganis the remains of a Late Roman fortress are preserved. Within it is situated a small rectangular building with a semicircular apse, which served most probably as a baptistery. In the cultural level were found 16 copper coins of Constantine I (306-307) and Licinius (307-328), as well as marble slabs without ornamentation. The coins enable the baptistery to be dated to the 4th-5th centuries. The church associated with the baptistery has not yet been discovered, but judging by the archaeological material, it existed until the 10th century.¹⁶⁵

Architectural details of Byzantine marble gives some indication as to the decor of churches that have not survived. Some of the pieces were discovered during the excavation of the complex inside the walls of Pityus, whereas others are old finds; three columns stand not far from the mediaeval church. In the 1390s, Prince Vamek Dadiani, ruler of Megrelia, removed a large collection of columns, capitals and fragments of the ambo (6th century) to the village of Khobi, where they decorate the walls of the chapel he constructed there; amongst these marbles are some composite capitals from the 5th century (Fig. 8). A Georgian inscription on the facade speaks of the campaign of Vamek in Dzhigeti (the Zikhia of the Byzantine sources), in which he conquered the fortresses of Gagari (modern Gagra) and Ugagi (Anakopiya?).¹⁶⁶

North-eastern Abazgia and neighbouring Zikhia (the Pitsunda-Gagra-Tsandripsh-Adler region) were the chief zones from which Byzantine marble architectural details were exported in the 5th-6th centuries. In the 5th century, there apparently existed in the vicinity of Pityus a significant church decorated with Proconnesian marble. I would also like to mention another Ionic marble capital of the 5th century from the village of Ankhua, near Anakopiya.¹⁶⁷

Thus, in the 4th and 5th centuries, almost all Christian constructions were concentrated in coastal cities; Archaeopolis constitutes an exception.

Religious Buildings of the 6th Century

A large number of surviving church buildings and architectural fragments of marble or local stone date to the 6th century. Let us return to Pityus. The Byzantines abandoned the city in 542, but not for long. In the second half of the 6th century, the city lost its former military importance and was relinquished as the great religious centre. Life resumed in the religious complex within the city walls. The fourth and last church was a single-nave vaulted construction; its modest dimensions characterise the fading of the ancient city. The religious life of the mediaeval city developed outside the walls of the ancient city-site. In the second half of the 6th century, two churches appear.

¹⁶⁵ Zamtaradze 1979; Khrushkova 2002a, 331-32.

¹⁶⁶ Khrushkova 1980, pls. IX-XI.a

¹⁶⁷ Khrushkova 2002a, 362-63, pls. LXXIV.2-3, LXXV.2.

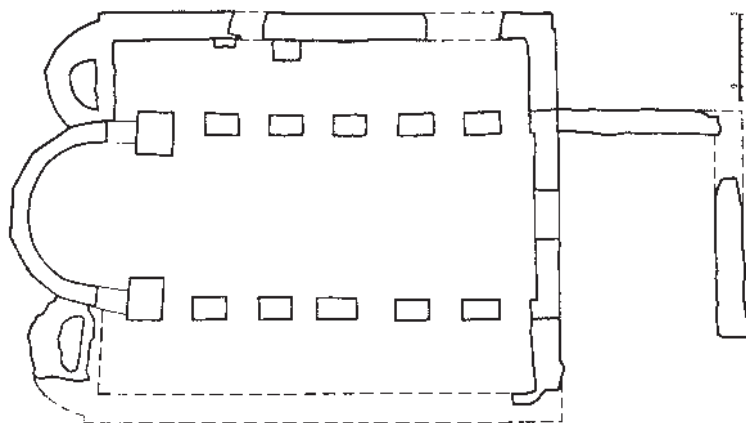


Fig. 10: Alakhadzy: plan of first basilica (church no. 1).

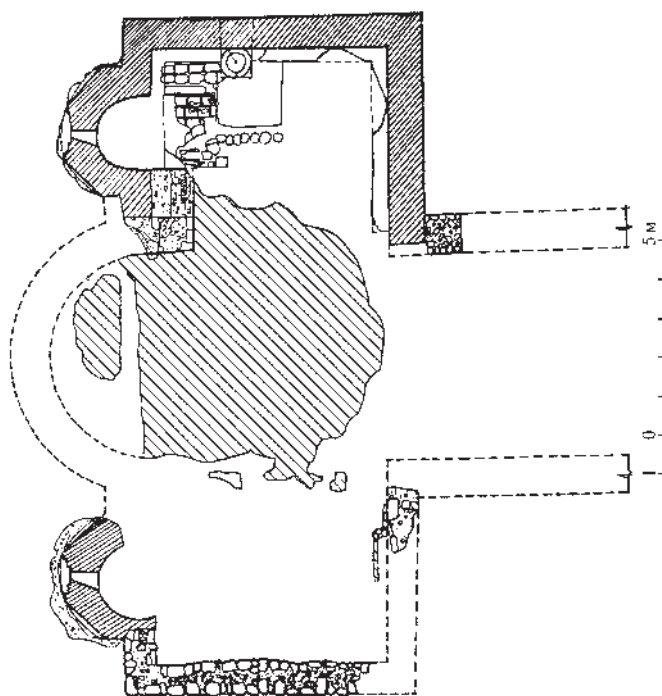


Fig. 9: Pityus: plan of church no. 7 outside the city walls.

In place of the small complex consisting of a martyrium and a chapel, a large cruciform church with three apses was built; it may have been covered with a dome (Fig. 9). It retained its memorial function: the former martyrium became the northern annexe, and three tombs were situated under the floor of the southern annexe. The next important stage in the development of Christian Pityus was the 10th-century construction of a grandiose domed church beside the cross-shaped one. This became the seat of the Abkhazian Katholikos (patriarch), which existed until the second half of the 16th (or, according to other data, the 17th) century.¹⁶⁸

In the second half of the 6th century, a double-apse church was built in the ancient coastal cemetery at Pitsunda; its external dimensions were 28.5 m × 14.5 m. The church belongs to the extensive family of 'double-churches' in which both parts are identical. The vault was supported by a massive pillar in the centre, and by pilasters in the corners and along the side walls. Various parts of the church may have had various functions.¹⁶⁹ It existed until the 10th century.

At Pityus, the archaeological levels from the 7th-8th centuries are still unexplored, but two individual finds are evidence of the importance of the city in the period after late antiquity—namely, two lead seals, one of which belonged to Constantine, an Abazgian prince(?) of the late 7th and early 8th century;¹⁷⁰ the other belonged to Theodorus, a 7th-century bishop.¹⁷¹

Pityus served as a centre for the spread of Christianity into the adjacent district. A prominent architectural complex was found 3 km from Pityus, at the village of Alakhadzy. The initial construction was a triple-apse basilica with a narthex; the building was nearly 50 m long, and is dated to the first half of the 6th century (Fig. 10). The basilica was constructed using the *opus mixtum* technique, which had spread to Pityus. In the 8th or the 9th century, after a fire, the basilica was rebuilt without its aisles and narthex, and with two lines of new pillars supporting the vault. The second basilica was still in existence when, in the 10th century, a domed church of middle-Byzantine type ('quincunx') was built to the north of it.¹⁷² The settlement surrounding the complex has not been explored.

The most important church in Abazgia, built under Justinian I, was the basilica at the village of Tsandripsh on the coast; it is much better preserved than the other monuments of this period (Figs. 11-12). In the first stage, the basilica had three apses, a narthex, and a small portico in front. The plan of the basilica has an unusual feature: its aisles are enlarged in their eastern parts. This peculiarity resulted from

¹⁶⁸ Khrushkova 2002a, 104-10.

¹⁶⁹ Mikeladze 1963. For a discussion of the issue of 'double churches', see Caillet and Duval 1996.

¹⁷⁰ Lekvinadze 1955.

¹⁷¹ Dundua 1977.

¹⁷² Khrushkova 2002a, 119-36.



Fig. 11: Tsandripsh: view of basilica from the north-west.

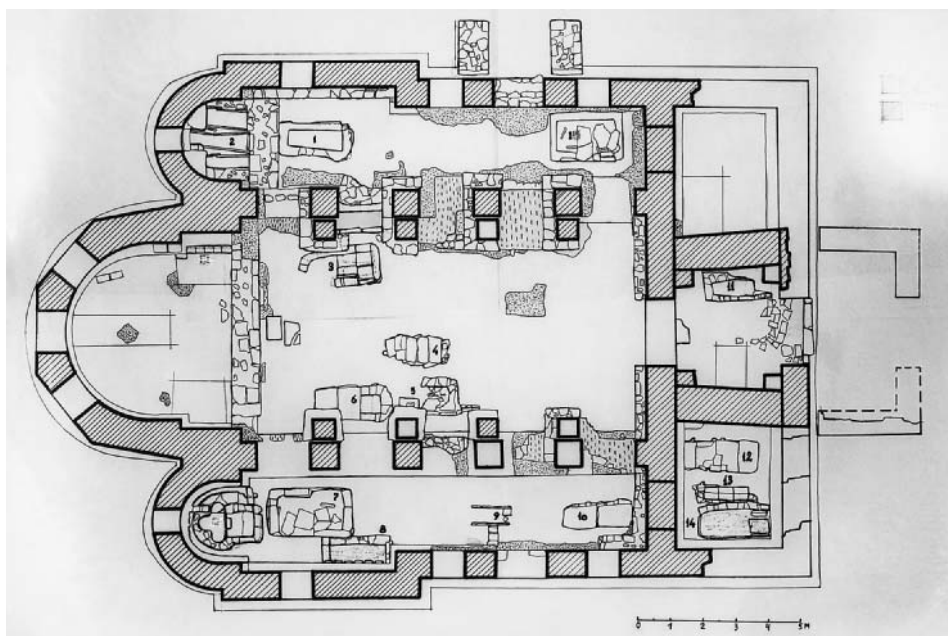


Fig. 12: Tsandripsh: plan of basilica (with rebuildings). 1-15-tombs.

the liturgical uses to which these areas were dedicated. The eastern part of the northern nave served as a baptistery; a baptismal font was located in the apse. The eastern end of the southern nave, on the other hand, contained a chapel; two venerated tombs were elevated above floor-level, and benches ran along the walls of the apse to either side of the altar.

Another 13 tombs were discovered under the floor in all parts of the basilica except the central apse; almost all were made of mortared stone, brick or tile. In tombs 3, 10 and 11 *in situ* glass vessels of the same type were found; fragments of this type of vessel also lay around tomb 6. Almost all the tombs are of the same period, and contemporary with the basilica. Tomb 9 in the northern nave constitutes an apparent exception; its walls consist of marble slabs of secondary use. Some tombs remained intact; others were used repeatedly.

More than 70 marble fragments represent parts of the decoration and liturgical furnishing: columns, slabs, door-side alms-boxes, the ambo, the chancel screen, and so on. On a fragment of an epitaph can be read the word [AB]ΑΣΓΙΑΣ, 'from Abazgia'. The style of the marble detailing is typical of the era of Justinian I, and is in accord with the particulars of the architecture. Lekvinadze's idea that the Tsandripsh basilica is the temple that Justinian built for the Abazgians (according to Procopius) is confirmed by material from the excavation. In the 8th-9th centuries the basilica was rebuilt without its narthex and with vaults; and in the 10th century porticoes were added to both the west and south sides.¹⁷³

The coastal area where the 'church of the Abazgians' was built was protected by a fortress situated on a mountain-top above the gorge of the River Khashupse, 7 km from the coast. The similarity in building techniques between this fortress and the one at Tsibilia in Apsilia suggests that the Khashupse fortress was built by the Byzantines in the first half of the 6th century to protect the road to the mountain pass. On the summit of the mountain were found the ruins of a small single-nave church with a horseshoe-shaped apse and a narthex; the site has not been excavated. Still another single-nave church of the 6th (or 5th) century is situated in the city of Gagra, in the area of the coastal fortress. This construction is rectangular in plan, with asymmetrical annexes; it acquired its current appearance during restorations in the second half of the 19th century.

At Anakopiya, on the summit of a mountain, was found the most important fortress of the Abazgians, which Procopius calls Trakheia; it was explored by Trapsh.¹⁷⁴ In its central part, a church with a rectangular exterior plan was built in the Middle Ages (11th century?). It is possible that its foundations include the remains of

¹⁷³ Lekvinadze 1970a; Khrushkova 2002a, 137-84; 2005.

¹⁷⁴ Trapsh 1969, 121-57; 1975.

an early Christian building, as several pieces of architectural detailing with early Christian symbols were found here.¹⁷⁵ One accidental find on the slope of the mountain was a 7th-century lead seal with cruciform monograms on both sides; on one side is the customary formula 'Blessed Virgin, help', and on the other is the name of the Eparch Peter(?).¹⁷⁶

Thus, in 6th-century Abazgia, Christianity spread to a considerable portion of the local population. The main Abazgian religious centre was at Tsandripsh, though Christian buildings were also found in fortresses.

The most important Apsilian fortress was Tsibilia/Tsibilon; it sits on two cliffs more than 400 m high, overlooking the Kodor gorge. A religious complex was situated on the summit of one of the cliffs (Figs. 13-14). A small late church (no. 1) with a rectangular plan is surrounded by a cemetery containing several dozen burials from the 13th-17th centuries. The church occupies part of the site of an older and larger church (no. 2), a single-nave construction with a broad horseshoe-shaped apse, dating from the first half of the 6th century.

Church no. 3, the oldest and largest, consisted of a single nave, a narthex and annexes on the southern side. Its apse and northern wall, which were built on the slope, are entirely destroyed; but judging by the preserved portion of the apse, its form was semicircular. A small fragment of the altar table constitutes a rare find of Proconnesian marble in the mountainous zone. To the south is situated a baptistery consisting of three small rooms; and in a tiny room on the south side of the baptistery, reliquaries containing bones were found. Church no. 3 can be dated to the first half of the 6th century, and was most probably built before the nearby Church no. 2.¹⁷⁷ The baptism of the Apsilians occurred in the church with the baptistery. In other buildings within the fortress were discovered some tiles and bricks with the stamp of a Bishop Constantine, although this individual is not mentioned in a single written source.¹⁷⁸

The fortress that the Abkhazians called Shapky is located 7 km from Tsibilia; a single-nave church was discovered here. The plan of the church can be reconstructed as a rectangle; its eastern wall, which stood on the slope, has collapsed. A tomb is located in the northern portion of the chancel area. The church dates from the time of Justinian I; its excavation has not been completed. In the region of the Tsebelva valley, in the village of Mramba, yet another single-nave church of the 6th century

¹⁷⁵ Khrushkova 1980, 26-31; 2002a, 192-94.

¹⁷⁶ Khrushkova 1977.

¹⁷⁷ Khrushkova 2002a, 291-322. In the opinion of Y. Voronov and O. Bgazhba (1987), Church no. 2 was built first.

¹⁷⁸ Voronov and O. Bgazhba 1987.

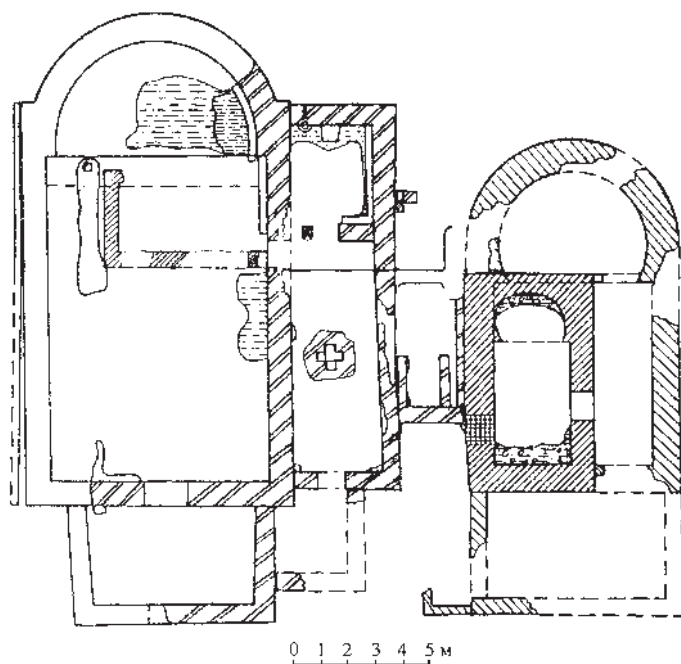


Fig. 13: Tsibilia: plan of religious complex.



Fig. 14: Tsibilia: view of baptistery of church no. 3 from the west.

is known. It was decorated with limestone slabs containing images consistent with the early Christian repertoire: birds, grapevines, crosses and fish.¹⁷⁹

So far, no churches of Justinian's time have been discovered in the considerable territory between the rivers Kodori and Ingur. In Archaeopolis, religious building continued into the 6th century. The 5th-century church with a narthex was destroyed at the beginning of the 6th century; it was not rebuilt, but beside it was constructed a basilica with two asymmetrical pastophoria, the only such case in the region. In the Middle Ages the basilica was rebuilt as the domed Church of the Forty Martyrs, which still stands today.¹⁸⁰

Several small single-nave churches have been discovered both in Archaeopolis and in its environs; presumably, they date to the 5th or 6th century. One of them is located not far from the Church of the Forty Martyrs; it has a broad semicircular apse and a narthex. A ceramic drainpipe that passes through its southern wall may have been associated with baptism. In the *acropolis* of Archaeopolis is a rectangular single-nave church called 'Misaroni', the walls of which are almost entirely preserved. Still another small building with a pentagonal apse was included in the first line of defensive walls at Archaeopolis; Kapanadze has determined that it was a church. A few rectangular single-nave churches, with or without a small narthex, are located at fortresses in the region of Archaeopolis: Abedati, Kotianeti and Shpeti. The only example of a domed church is a tiny tetraconch at Nodzhikhevi; it was built in the 5th-6th centuries.¹⁸¹

At the village of Sepeti (ancient Onoguris), 4 km from Archaeopolis, there is a vaulted basilica without a narthex, considerably reconstructed in its upper parts. A Greek stone inscription contains an invocation to St Stephen in the name of someone called φιλοκτίστης ('he who loves to build'); perhaps this is the anonymous founder of the church. Beside the inscription is an image of a male figure in a long garment; the figure has a halo. The basilica is dated to the turn of the 5th/6th centuries, or to the 6th.¹⁸²

Vashnari was an important religious centre in this part of Lazica. The architectural complex was situated within the fortress walls, and consisted of a basilica and a martyrium (Fig. 15). The basilica had a pentagonal apse, and an annexe the southern side served as a baptistery; baptism is mentioned in a poorly preserved Greek stone inscription. The basilica was surrounded by an ambulatory on all sides but

¹⁷⁹ Voronov *et al.* 1986; Khrushkova 1980, 32-33; 2002a, 322-27.

¹⁸⁰ Kapanadze 1991, 335-39.

¹⁸¹ Kapanadze 1991, 339-40, 343-44.

¹⁸² Lekvinadze 1970a, 166-68; Kapanadze 1991, 198-215. On the inscription, see Kaukhchishvili 1951, 89-91.

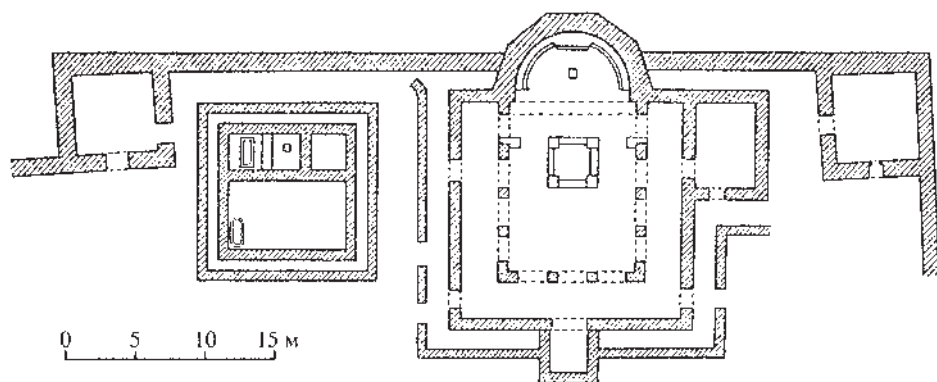


Fig. 15: Vashnari: plan of religious complex (V.A. Lekvinadze).

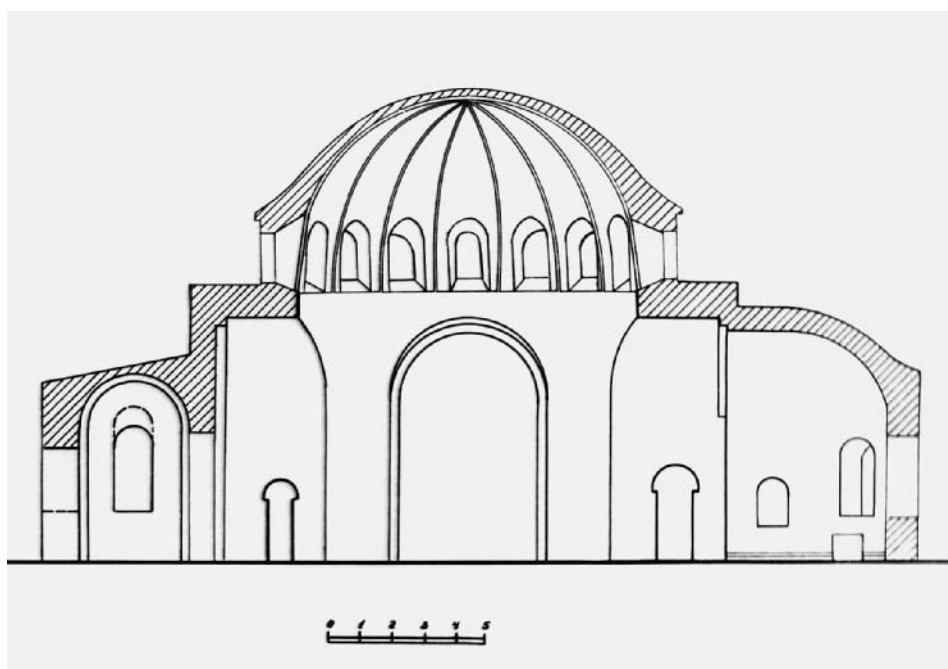


Fig. 16: Dranda: section of church (V. Khashba).

the east. Two metres north of the church is situated a square martyrium in which burials were discovered. The upper storey of the martyrium was decorated along the main facade of the colonnade, of which six capitals of local stone are preserved; these Corinthian capitals, with their schematised volutes, are adorned with four simply carved leaves. The complex dates to the second half of the 6th century.¹⁸³

At Tsikhisdziri (Adzhara), a basilica with a pentagonal apse and a narthex was discovered; it is the only such complex with a bath. At the southern entrance to the basilica there is a portico whose asymmetrical plan conforms to the colonnade of the baths. The basilica dates to the time of Justinian; it is possible that it became the episcopal centre of Petra.¹⁸⁴

After the Justinianic period, a great brick church was built at the village of Dranda, in the Apsilian coastal region (Fig. 16). One could say that this monumental domed structure completes the evolution of early Christian construction in the region, which began with the simplest of single-nave churches, the modest cathedral of Bishop Stratophilus at Pityus. The plan of the Dranda church contains its own combination of rotunda and cross, while the sanctuary includes a prothesis and a diaconicon. The interior is dominated by the broad dome, which rests on the vaults over the arms of the cross, and on parts of the walls. The brickwork is noted for the marked care with which it was constructed, particularly in the interior, in the brickwork of the vaults and the dome. During restoration, amphorae of various types were discovered in the vault over the narthex; in my view, they date to the end of the 6th or the first half of the 7th century.¹⁸⁵ On the basis of the amphorae, archaeologists A.L. Yakobson, Khotelashvili and Lekvinadze date the church to the 6th century,¹⁸⁶ while historians of architecture Chubinashvili and R.S. Mepisashvili date it to the 8th century.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that the church at Dranda was the see of the archbishopric of Abazgia: its dimensions and its architectural excellence closely connect it to the Byzantine architectural tradition, and all the sources affirm that this building was not an ordinary one.

Conclusion

The evolution of Christian constructions in the eastern Black Sea littoral can be summarised as follows. Christian buildings appeared in the 4th century, first at Pityus in the time of Constantine, and perhaps then at Ziganis and Archaeopolis.

¹⁸³ Lekvinadze 1972.

¹⁸⁴ Lekvinadze 1973. For a survey of the early Christian monuments of Lazica, see Khrushkova 2002a, 331-53.

¹⁸⁵ Khrushkova 2002a, 259-73.

¹⁸⁶ Lekvinadze 1982; Khotelashvili and Yakobson 1984.

¹⁸⁷ Chubinashvili 1948, 62, 67, 99; Mepisashvili 1983.

A prominent religious complex was erected at Sebastopolis at the beginning of the 5th century. In the 5th century, the old churches at Pityus and Archaeopolis were reconstructed. Religious buildings appeared outside the walls of Pityus. At the end of the 5th century, the church at Gyenos was built; and at the beginning of the 6th century, the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Archaeopolis and the tetraconch at Nodzhikhevi were constructed. A large basilica arose at Alakhadzy, near Pityus, in the first half of the 6th century, and, under Justinian I, the church for the Abazgians was constructed at Tsandripsh. A number of single-nave churches began to appear at fortresses: at Tsibilia, Shapky and Khashupse, at Gagra, possibly at Anakopiya, and in the vicinity of Archaeopolis.

All the familiar types of early Christian architecture are encountered in the eastern Black Sea littoral: the basilica, the single-nave church and the domed building (though there are few examples of this last type). Single-nave churches are varied, and often include annexes. Sculptural decoration employs slabs with locally made reliefs adorned with symbolic motives, as well as imported marble works from Proconnesus. In the 6th century, architectural types become more complex and advanced, and there is an increase in the import of marble, which is used to decorate prominent churches, especially in the northern part of the region (in Abazgia, and in neighbouring Zikhia to the north-west). Some liturgical furnishings (such as ambos and chancel screens) are of Constantinopolitan type; these, like the marble, were frequently imported. In other cases, the form of the liturgical furnishings bears a similarity to Syrian and Palestinian examples. In the second half of the 6th century, new significant domed buildings appear at Pityus: a double-apse church and a cruciform church, both outwith the walls of the ancient city. A martyrion-complex arises at Vashnari. At the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th, the church at the village of Dranda characterises the passage from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁸

The entire eastern Black Sea littoral served as a zone of multicultural contact. Thus, its early Christian architecture is characterised in particular by a combination of features: Roman (especially in the first phase), Constantinopolitan and Syro-Palestinian, as well as from Asia Minor.

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Abbreviations

BK *Bedi Kartlisa*.

BS *Biblioteca Sanctorum* (Rome 1961-).

Matsne *Vestnik Otdeleniya Obshchestvennykh Nauk Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoi SSR. Seriya istorii, arkhologii, etnografii i istorii iskusstva* (in Georgian, with summaries in Russian).

¹⁸⁸ Khrushkova 1991; 2002a, 418-31; 2002b.

REGC *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes.*

TAVO *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Wiesbaden 1977-93).

VV *Vizantiiskii Vremennik.*

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MENAS FLASKS IN THE WEST: PILGRIMAGE AND TRADE AT THE END OF ANTIQUITY

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Abstract

Menas flasks are small, ceramic vessels that were made at the shrine of St Menas (Abu Mina) in north-west Egypt from the late 5th to the mid-7th century AD, and used to contain sanctified oil and water collected by pilgrims. Most have been found in Egypt and neighbouring regions, but also at far-flung sites beyond the Mediterranean, from Meols on the west coast of Britain to Samarkand in Central Asia. The diffusion of these objects to places outside the Byzantine empire is often assumed to be evidence of long-distance pilgrimage. By comparing their distribution with that of other Eastern commodities, however, the presence of Menas flasks in barbarian kingdoms in the West can be seen to reflect other features of East-West contact, including travel, trade and elite-level gift-exchange.

Recent expansion in archaeological fieldwork, as well as advances in recording, classification and dating of finds, have allowed for increasingly detailed assessments of economic and political contacts between East and West in the late antique period. The flow of commodities from the Eastern empire to barbarian kingdoms in the West shows that ancient lines of inter-regional trade were adopted by non-Roman populations in the furthest reaches of the *oikoumene*, the inhabited world. Maritime trade between East and West seems to have intensified in the 6th century, when a variety of consumable, utilitarian and luxury goods were transported long distances from the Mediterranean. In this article, I will argue that the distribution of Menas flasks (Fig. 1) supports other evidence that barbarian elites in the West participated in international exchange networks, were influenced by products and ideas from the East, and emulated contemporary Byzantine customs.¹

Late antique Egypt was a hub of economic activity and a major source of revenue for the Byzantine empire, exporting agricultural produce, especially grain, and a range of valuable products including textiles, metalwork, papyrus and carved ivory.² Among these luxury goods were pilgrim flasks, objects which had little intrinsic worth,

¹ Material evidence for political and economic contact between Byzantium and the West is examined in Harris 2003.

² For an overview of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean in late antiquity, see Kingsley and Decker 2001. For the diversity of crafts in Roman Egypt, see Alston 1998.



Fig. 1: Menas flask dating from the early 7th century, in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

but high symbolic value, whose association with sacred sites meant they were esteemed as 'contact relics' with potentially miraculous powers.

In archaeological literature, pilgrim flasks tend to be classed separately from other forms of Byzantine pottery, perhaps because their idiosyncratic function as relic containers has caused them to be perceived mostly in terms of their symbolic or religious value. The flasks are normally seen as evidence of the devotional practices and religious mentality of early Christian pilgrims. While it is important to appreciate the conceptual significance of 'sacred commodities', these objects cannot be isolated from the physical circumstances of their manufacture, use and exchange. As prestige goods, they can be considered alongside other high value products exported to the West, including those that were ostensibly secular in nature. Pilgrim flasks can also be interpreted in conjunction with the circulation of fine wares and amphorae, with whose distribution they often conform.

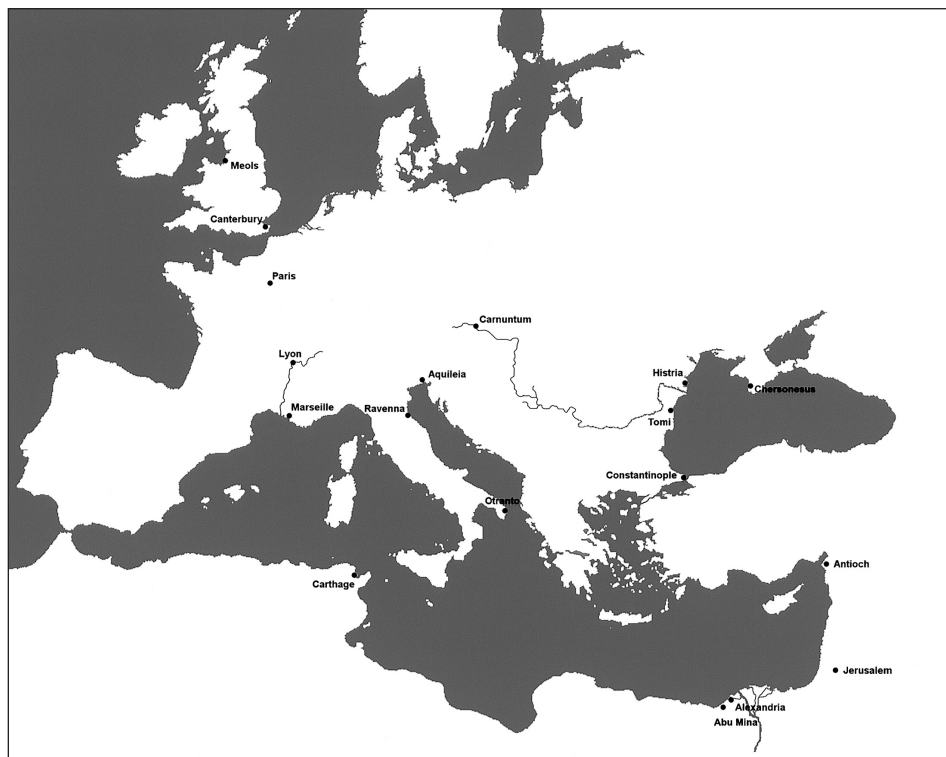


Fig. 2: Map showing sites mentioned in the text.

Menas flasks are found mostly in Egypt and other regions around the Eastern Mediterranean, though some have been discovered at the outer reaches of the Byzantine empire, and indeed far beyond the *limes*. In this article, I attempt to relate the distribution of Menas flasks with the spread of other Eastern products, considering their location as a reflection of regional and inter-regional trade (Fig. 2). The conquest of Roman territory by Germanic tribes in the early 5th century considerably reduced long-distance trade in the West, but there seems to have been a later revival in trans-Mediterranean links between the Byzantine East and the non-Roman West, which the diffusion of pilgrim flasks can be considered part of. The presence of pilgrim flasks in Europe is often believed to signify individual pilgrims returning from religious journeys to the East, however this interpretation is not usually applied to other Eastern commodities which are found in the same regions as the flasks. Clusters of Menas flasks in certain regions of the West shows that their distribution was conditioned to a large degree by pre-existing trade and exchange networks.

Menas Flasks and Abu Mina

Pottery vessels and lamps were used in ritual and religious settings throughout the late Roman period, deposited as votive offerings in shrines and buried as grave-goods. From the 5th century AD, flasks were adapted specifically for the purpose of Christian relic worship; to contain oil, water and earth collected by pilgrims at saint shrines in the East. Flasks (or ampullae), *eulogia* tokens and other portable items were made at sites in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt. The most prolific centre of pilgrim flask production was Abu Mina, the shrine of St Menas, 45 km south-west of Alexandria.

Menas was an Egyptian soldier, executed during the reign of Diocletian (AD 284–305) for evangelising and refusing to renounce his Christian faith.³ According to his *Vita*, the martyr's body was returned to Egypt from where he was stationed in Phrygia, and was then transported by two camels until they reached the place of his eventual shrine where they stopped and refused to move. A church was built in the 4th century, miracles were recorded, and the site developed into a centre of pilgrimage.⁴ The extent of pilgrimage at Abu Mina can be seen in the development of the town's ecclesiastical and commercial architecture: expansion and embellishment of the martyrium, and construction of buildings to accommodate and cater for pilgrims.⁵ The town centred around a main *cardo* running south towards the ecclesiastical complex, opening into a large colonnaded square with the basilica ahead, and a large, semicircular 'incubation' building beyond.

Abu Mina was first excavated in the early 20th century on an expedition led by German archaeologist C.M. Kaufmann. During the dig hundreds of clay flasks were found, whose association with St Menas was already known from examples held in European collections.⁶ Kaufmann wrote a series of books on Abu Mina, including one that addressed the iconography of Menas flasks, but contextual information which could have been used to date the objects was not fully recorded.⁷ It was only from the 1960s that the chronology of Menas flasks was more precisely established, thanks to excavations by Polish archaeologists at the district of Kom-el-Dikka in Alexandria.⁸ By the 1980s, around 150 flasks and flask fragments had been found at Kom-el-Dikka, indicating that they were collected, exchanged, and perhaps even

³ For primary sources relating to St Menas, see Budge 1909.

⁴ The early history of Abu Mina is described in the so-called *Coptic Encomium*, see Drescher 1942.

⁵ Grossman 1998 for a summary of Abu Mina's architectural development in the light of recent excavations.

⁶ Michon 1899.

⁷ Kaufmann 1910. For a full list of Kaufmann's publications, see Kiss 1989, 6. For artefacts recovered by Kaufmann, see Kaminski-Menssen 1988 (thanks to Susanne Bangert for informing me of this catalogue).

⁸ Kiss 1989.

produced in Alexandria as well as Abu Mina. Stratigraphy, iconography and comparison with other ceramics were used to estimate that the flasks were made from the late 5th to the mid-7th century, probably after the Persian raid of AD 619, and up until the Arab conquest in AD 642.⁹

Menas flasks were produced using the same technique as clay lamps of the time, by casting from a mould separate halves which were then joined to create a closed form.¹⁰ A short spout and two handles were added to the circular-shaped body before the object was fired. The flasks have decoration on both sides, with a variety of images and inscriptions stamped on the central disk. Those from the later and most active phase of production (*ca.* 610-650) have a more uniform design showing the saint wearing military attire, standing in an *orans* pose, flanked by two stylised camels, all contained within a double frame surrounded by dots.¹¹ The form and iconography of flasks from the middle phase (*ca.* 560-610) are more varied, and alternative designs include representations of other local saints,¹² images of ships¹³ and inscriptions in Greek, usually reading 'Blessings of Menas'.¹⁴

Other than the hoards from Abu Mina and Alexandria, Menas flasks have usually been found as single examples at sites in Egypt, North Africa, Palestine and other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean including Asia Minor, Greece and Cyprus. In areas beyond, or at the periphery of the Byzantine empire, clusters of Menas flasks can be identified in the Balkans, north-east Italy and Gaul. The diffusion of these objects is often assumed to be physical evidence of pilgrims who followed the course of trade routes, returning with souvenirs acquired at saint shrines, but their presence in the West might alternatively be seen to reflect trade and exchange in goods that were not necessarily procured by pilgrims.

Distribution and Provenance

The distribution of Menas flasks outside Egypt has been addressed in a number of articles that focus on separate regions. Flasks in museums and treasuries around the Veneto and Friuli districts of north-eastern Italy were grouped by P. Lopreato, while those in the Balkans, France and Britain have also been discussed in their regional

⁹ Kiss 1990, 196.

¹⁰ Flasks used as wine containers were made in Egypt using a mould technique during the pre-Christian period (see Seif el-Din 1993).

¹¹ Kiss 1990, 196. This standard representation of St Menas features on earlier flasks, and is thought to derive from monumental art, perhaps a mural or sculpture at the shrine.

¹² Davis 1998.

¹³ Entwistle 1994; Vikan 1991.

¹⁴ For Greek inscriptions on Menas flasks, see Metzger 1981, 14-15. Of 97 Menas flasks in the Louvre there are 15 different types with inscriptions.

context.¹⁵ An article by two Italian researchers, C. Lambert and P. Pedemonte Demeglio, had a wider geographic scope, listing locations where all forms of late antique pilgrim flask have been found and comparing their overall distribution with the itineraries of early Christian pilgrims.¹⁶ Although this catalogue was by no means comprehensive, and the locations of many examples were the result of modern purchases, the research was important for drawing attention to the relationship between the distribution of Eastern pilgrimage ephemera and routes of travel between East and West.

Pilgrim flasks are nowadays held in museums and private collections around the world. Strong demand for early Christian artefacts among collectors has made them popular on the international antiquities market, and some are sold online along with other Coptic and Roman objects.¹⁷ Of hundreds that have been acquired by museums over the years, only a small number have reliable information about their place of acquisition, and even fewer are from documented archaeological excavations. It can therefore be hard to determine whether unprovenanced examples held in museums across Europe were imported in recent or ancient times.

By the end of the 19th century, pilgrim flasks were recorded in several museums in Western Europe.¹⁸ Many were donations from travellers and expatriates who had collected antiquities in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, and their place of purchase, when specified, has somewhat limited value for determining information about late antique pilgrimage. P. Gaudin, a French engineer who acquired numerous antiquities while based in Turkey during the late 19th and the early 20th century, bought Menas flasks in Smyrna and Sinope; but without further details, it is hard to tell when the items came to the region.¹⁹

Determining the provenance of pilgrim flasks is most problematic when considering those found in areas that one would expect had limited contact with Egypt in late antiquity. Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio's catalogue of early Byzantine pilgrim flasks includes few examples that were found in excavations outside Egypt,²⁰

¹⁵ Lopreato 1977; Barnea 1995; Delahaye 1997; Bangert 2006.

¹⁶ Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994.

¹⁷ At the time of writing, I was able to locate several Menas flasks for sale on the internet, including eight at one website, which the vendor informed me were from a collection amassed in Egypt in the early-20th century. Where the flasks were found, when they were found, whether they were found together, whether they were found with other objects, are all unknown.

¹⁸ For Menas flasks in the British Museum, see Dalton 1901, nos. 860-902. For the Louvre, see Metzger 1981.

¹⁹ Metzger 1981, nos. 17, 50, 70. During his time in Turkey, Paul Gaudin acquired large numbers of ampullae that originated from sites in the west of Asia Minor (see Anderson 2005).

²⁰ Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994.

and a recent article on Menas flasks north of the Alps concluded that their current whereabouts was more indicative of modern collecting practices than ancient pilgrimage.²¹

Despite the difficulty of determining the provenance of most pilgrim flasks in Europe, it is still possible to discern ancient imports by considering examples from documented excavations as a guide to overall distribution within and between regions, and by referring to other forms of material culture. In some regions flasks are found in clusters or lineal distributions along known trade routes; moreover, they are often from areas where Egyptian pottery and crafts are present, and where there is other evidence for contact with Mediterranean trade networks.

The following case studies describe Menas flasks from the Balkans, northern Italy and Gaul, summarising factors that could have contributed to their presence in these parts, suggesting routes by which they were imported, and sketching the political context of inter-regional trade at the end of antiquity.

Lower Danube: Moesia and Dacia

At least 16 Menas flasks have been recorded in the Balkan Peninsula, of which six were found in archaeological excavations. Their distribution can be divided between those from the west of the region, in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (Carnuntum, Szombathely, Ljubljana, Makarska and Čitluk), and those found in the east, in Moesia (including one from Capidava, near the port city of Histria), and Dacia (including one excavated at Apulum – modern-day Alba Iulia, some 150 km north of the Danube)²² (Fig. 3). Whereas flasks in the western Balkans were almost certainly imported along the coast of the Adriatic Sea, those in the Lower Danube region – modern-day Romania and Bulgaria – are likely to have arrived from the south, along the coast of the Black Sea.

The interplay between Roman and non-Roman culture in the Balkans, and the spread of Christianity north of the Danube, has excited considerable interest in recent times, not least because various ethnic and cultural influences are seen as crucial to the formation of modern-day national identities.²³ There is plenty of historical and archaeological evidence for the early adoption of Christianity in central and northern parts of the Balkans.²⁴ Objects from Eastern pilgrimage centres include medallions from Palestine dating from the 4th century,²⁵ and ampullae made in the

²¹ Linsheid 1995.

²² For the flask from Apulum, see Madgearu 2004, 45. The example from Capidava was found in 1990, see Barnea 1995, 509.

²³ Niculescu 2002.

²⁴ Madgearu 2004.

²⁵ Markov 2003.

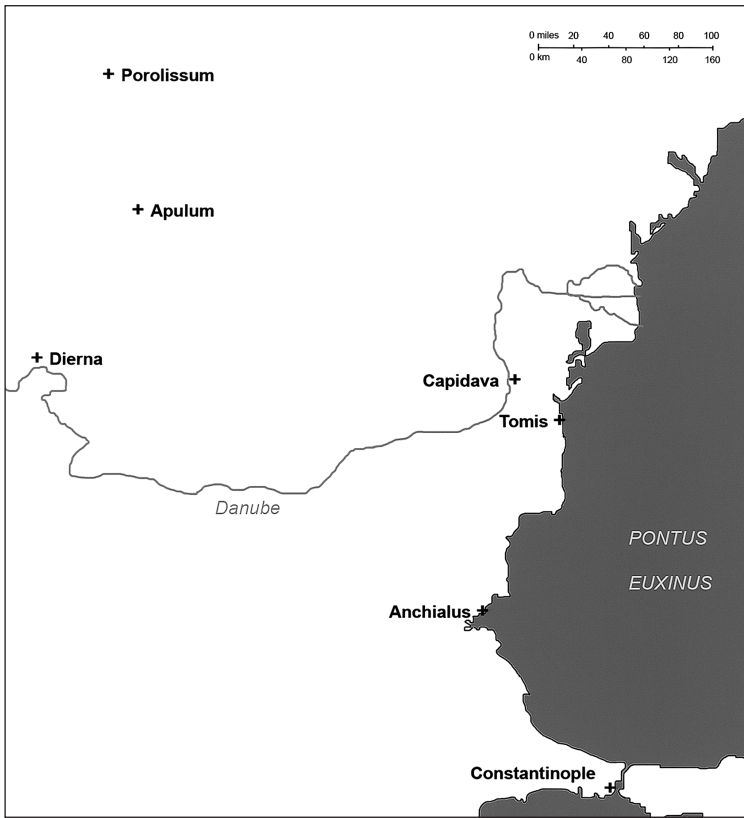


Fig. 3: Map of sites in the eastern Balkans where Menas flasks have been recorded (after J.J. Wilkes, in Hammond 1981, map 24).

west of Asia Minor in the late 6th century, which have been excavated at four sites north of Constantinople.²⁶ Asia Minor ampullae could well have been imported at the same time as Menas flasks, so their presence in Thrace supports the idea that Egyptian pilgrim flasks arrived from the same direction.

Christian pilgrimage was practiced in the Balkans at an early stage, as control of the region frequently alternated between Roman and non-Roman forces. The province of Dacia, north of the Danube, was formed after Trajan's wars against the Goths in the first decade of the 2nd century AD, but abandoned by the emperor

²⁶ For Asia Minor ampullae from Caraşin Grad, see Metzger 1984; from Sliven and Voyvoda in Bulgaria, see Shtereva 1999; from Callatis, see Ionescu and Opreş 1998. These ampullae can be dated *ca.* 550-610 (see Anderson 2004).

Aurelian (AD 270-275). Land south of the Danube remained within the empire, but following the comprehensive defeat of the Roman army by Goths at the battle of Hadrianopolis in AD 378, imperial control was weakened. In the following centuries efforts were made to bring the Balkans under Byzantine rule, especially during the reigns of Anastasius (AD 491-518) and Justinian (AD 527-565), who campaigned to reconquer territory north of the Danube, causing the region to become heavily militarised, with increasingly fortified settlements.²⁷

Trade between Romans and barbarians north of the Danube was happening from the earliest years of colonisation, and continued after the Gothic expansion.²⁸ The treaty of AD 369 between the emperor Valens and the Visigothic ruler Athanaric contained a clause whereby market towns were designated, and an office of *comes commerciorum* for Moesia and Pontos was created to oversee trade with tribes north of the frontier, which is usually seen as a restriction, rather than formalisation of trade.²⁹ In his history of the Goths, written in 551, Jordanes (*Getica* 5. 32) described how coastal towns had been built by the Greeks for the 'wild Scythian tribes' to afford them a means of trade: 'quas indomitae Scytharum nationes Graecis permiserunt condere, sibimet commercia praestatueros'. Trade between Byzantium and the Balkans was especially active along the Black Sea coast and the Danube, where part of the imperial fleet was based, and which had regular maritime links with the Mediterranean and roads linking the Danubian provinces with Constantinople. Epitaphs from the port city of Tomi record merchants from Asia Minor and Egypt who had settled there in the 6th century, and the coin and pottery evidence indicate growth in long-distance trade at this time.³⁰

Menas flasks are most likely to have arrived in the Lower Danube region after Justinian's reconquest, in the late 6th or early 7th century, when trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean intensified. The prevalence of Justinianic coins in the region is associated with the emperor's efforts to re-colonise the Balkans and Crimea, and his ambitious building schemes in the region. There was an increase in the volume of North African goods imported to the Black Sea in the late 6th century: over half of documented LA1 Carthage amphorae from the region date from 575-625,³¹ many

²⁷ Pissarev 1990; Poulter 1992.

²⁸ Opreanu 1997; Madgearu 2004. Archaeological evidence for the Roman presence in the Danubian provinces is summarised in Wilkes 2005.

²⁹ Velkov 1977, 178-92 surveys the historical evidence for Byzantine-Gothic trade in the region. Negotiations between Byzantines and Huns regarding the site of market towns along the Danube were recorded by Priscus, who accompanied a diplomatic mission to the court of Attila in AD 448.

³⁰ Velkov 1977, 107; Opař 2004.

³¹ Sazanov 1999. LA1 Carthage amphorae are classed as types 44 and 54 in Peacock and Williams 1986, 185-86. Sazanov (1999) provides full references for other classifications.



Fig. 4: Location map of western find-spots of Egyptian amphorae (after Tomber and Williams 2000, fig. 3).

examples having been excavated from cisterns in Chersonesus.³² This assemblage suggests that the surge in Mediterranean-Black Sea trade during the later part of late antiquity, only declining towards the end of the 7th century, was associated with Byzantine territorial expansion. It might be that pilgrimage to Egypt was facilitated at this time by improved maritime or overland access to Asia Minor. The presence of Menas flasks can also be seen as the result of long-distance trade motivated by Byzantine hegemony.

In his article on Menas flasks in the Lower Danube region, I. Barnea thought that the objects probably came from the west, imported from the Adriatic Sea, along the so-called Amber Route, and down the Danube.³³ But those from near the Black

³² Sazanov 1999, nos. 45-75, 270-71. The Menas flask said to come from Kerch in the Crimea – colonised by Byzantines in the 530s – is consistent with the idea that their spread is linked to Byzantine expansion (Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994, no. 16; Michon 1899).

³³ Barnea 1995.

Sea – one excavated at Capidava, one said to come from Anchialus, and three documented at Tomi – seem more likely to have arrived from the south.³⁴ This group concurs with the spread of Eastern fine wares and amphorae around the Danube Delta; even some Egyptian amphorae, the great majority of which are found in the Southern Mediterranean, were transported to the Black Sea, presumably onward trade from Constantinople³⁵ (Fig. 4). Menas flasks in the eastern Balkans are therefore likely to have come from the same direction as other imported goods, perhaps brought by maritime pilgrims returning from Abu Mina, perhaps by merchants, or soldiers.

The group of flasks from further inland includes one from Dierna on the Danube and two from across the Carpathian Mountains in the settlements of Apulum and Porolissum on the northernmost border of Trajanic Dacia.³⁶ These examples are less likely to have arrived from the direction of Constantinople, and instead may have come downriver from the west. The three sites are all situated on ancient roads intersecting Dacia, and connected with the Amber Route, which ran south-west towards the Adriatic Sea. Barnea noted other Egyptian products found in the region – including a bird-shaped brass lamp and a clay statuette from Porolissum – which show that both sacred and profane exotica were introduced to the northern Balkans in late antiquity.³⁷

Upper Adriatic: Italy, Dalmatia and Pannonia

Menas flasks in the western Balkans, and north-eastern Italy, were imported along both the Dalmatian and Italian coastlines of the Adriatic.³⁸ At least 12 Menas flasks (including seven variant types) are held in collections around the Veneto and Friuli regions – in Torcello, Padua, Aquileia, Trieste and Este.³⁹ They have also been excavated further south along Italy's eastern seaboard, including at Ugento in Apulia, a site where the quantity of North African imports increased in the 6th century.⁴⁰ Other cases of Eastern pilgrim souvenirs in northern Italy include a clay flask stamped with an image of figures in a boat, found near Aquileia, and probably

³⁴ Barnea 1995, 514; Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994, no. 19. Other Menas flasks around the Black Sea coast include one acquired in Sinope (Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994, n. 19); and one said to come from Kerch in the Crimea (Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994, n. 33).

³⁵ Tomber and Williams 2000.

³⁶ Barnea 1995.

³⁷ Barnea 1995, 512; Madgearu 2004.

³⁸ Kádár 1995

³⁹ Lopreato 1977. Other examples in northern Italy include those in Bologna and La Spezia (see Porta 1980).

⁴⁰ Arthur and Patterson 1998; Mitri 2004.

originating from Palestine or Syria, and the famous metal 'Monza' flasks, given to the Lombard queen Theodelinda by Pope Gregory the Great in the late 6th century.⁴¹

Menas flasks found in the western Balkan provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia include one excavated at ancient Savaria (Szombathely in western Hungary), one said to come from the settlement of Emona (Ljubljana), and one from Carnuntum on the Danube, all sites along the Amber Route that ran through the Julian Alps, linking the Central Danube with the Adriatic Sea.⁴² Along the Dalmatian coast, flasks have been found at Čitluk (the Roman colony of *Aequum*) and Makarska.⁴³ In order to establish when and how Menas flasks were brought to this region it is worth considering their distribution in conjunction with other evidence of international trade, particularly Egyptian and North African imports.

The date and direction by which Menas flasks arrived in the Upper Adriatic may have varied in each case: examples from northern Italy belong to each phase of production that Z. Kiss identified from the assemblage at Kom-el-Dikka.⁴⁴ Early Menas flasks could have arrived at the time of Ostrogothic rule (the example from Savaria is thought to date from the first third of the 6th century) but most date from the later period, so would have arrived after the establishment of a Byzantine exarchy at Ravenna (AD 568), at the time of Lombard expansion. Given that most Menas flasks in this region date from the later phase of production, they would have been imported in the 7th century.

Understanding the routes by which flasks were brought to the Upper Adriatic is important for exploring possible connections between pilgrimage and trade. Pilgrims may have travelled across the Balkans to Thessaloniki or Constantinople and onwards to Palestine and Egypt, but a more likely route was by sea, along the Dalmatian or Italian coast and into the Central Mediterranean. Documentary records of diplomatic envoys commuting between Rome and Constantinople show that overland travel across the Balkans and Greece continued almost without interruption from the early 4th to the late 6th centuries.⁴⁵ Travelling overland may have been one route for pilgrims going east, but if this was the case one would expect a higher concentration of Menas flasks in Illyricum, rather than the cluster around the Upper Adriatic, which indicates these examples were imported by sea. Also, the sites in Pannonia

⁴¹ Guarducci 1974 for the flask from Aquileia. For the latest on metal pilgrim flasks from Palestine, see Engemann 2002.

⁴² Kádár 1995. The flask from Carnuntum is catalogued in Lambert and Pedemonte Demeglio 1994, no.27. For Roman transport routes across the Balkans, see Wilkes 2005. Sites along the Amber Road are listed on pp. 183-87.

⁴³ Lopreato 1977, 424-25.

⁴⁴ Lopreato 1977; Kiss 1990.

⁴⁵ Sotinel 2004.

(Emona, Savaria and Carnuntum) are all along the Amber Route that connected the port of Aquileia with Carnuntum on the Danube, and so show the direction from which they were imported. Combined with other evidence of Egyptian and North African imports, the flasks around the Upper Adriatic can be connected with trans-Mediterranean trade that occurred after the Byzantine capture of Ravenna.

Deposits of amphorae and fine wares along the Adriatic coastline indicate that there was an expansion of north-south trade between Vandal Africa and Gothic Italy from the mid-5th century. The most substantial group of late antique pottery from the east of Italy was found in a cistern at San Giacomo degli Schiavoni, just inland from Termoli in Molise region.⁴⁶ Imported Eastern wares make up 18.5% of the assemblage at San Giacomo. Most were cooking vessels from the Aegean, while the amphorae were mainly from North Africa, as were two-thirds of the terra sigillata. This is taken to indicate an increase in the volume of Adriatic traffic to and from the East, a situation mirrored in regions further south along the Italian coast.

In Otranto, on the east of the Salento Peninsula, a Menas flask was among great quantities of imported ceramics, which increased between the 5th and 6th centuries, after which imported wares declined.⁴⁷ Imports from North Africa seem to have halted at the time of the Gothic Wars, but the presence of Egyptian amphorae in 6th- and 7th-century contexts in the east of Italy suggests overseas trade did continue at some capacity long after Justinian's reconquest. Although Egyptian amphorae are uncommon in the West, vessels made from Nile clays have been found at several sites around the Upper Adriatic including Udine, Aquileia and Classe⁴⁸ (Fig. 4).

The presence of Menas flasks around the upper Adriatic calls into question the impact of the Gothic War on Italy's international trade links, and trans-Mediterranean trade in general. There seems to have been a growth in trade contacts between Ostrogothic Italy and Vandal-controlled North Africa in the 5th century, which has been seen as resulting from the freeing of North African agricultural surpluses from imperial taxation, but this drops off in the later 6th century.⁴⁹ The trade might alternatively have been tied in that it represents the collection of revenue from estates owned by a remnant aristocracy: this practice might just as well have been adopted by emerging ecclesiastical and seigniorial elites.⁵⁰ In order to understand the place

⁴⁶ Albarella *et al.* 1993.

⁴⁷ Mitri 2004.

⁴⁸ Arthur 1998, 162; Tomber and Williams 2000.

⁴⁹ Fulford 1989.

⁵⁰ The impact of barbarian migrations into Roman territory is summarised in Ward-Perkins 2005, 63-72: 'In southern and central Italy, the overwhelming impression is of aristocratic continuity, at least into the sixth century' (p. 67). For the changing pattern of settlement in central Italy from the 7th century, see Francovich and Hodges 2003, 31-60.

of Menas flasks in the broader context of inter-regional trade it is worth further considering when, and from which direction the flasks were imported.

The cluster of Menas flasks around the upper Adriatic coast echoes the import of North African goods during late antiquity, and suggests that flasks were brought to the region along well-established trade routes. The general lull in trade following the Gothic War (the period when most were imported) is difficult to account for. There are however parallels between the distribution of Menas flasks and other Eastern products, particularly the 'Coptic' copper-alloy vessels which date from the late 6th to the early 7th century.⁵¹ These Byzantine objects, not necessarily made in Egypt, arrived in the West from northern Italy, and are mostly found in the Rhineland and Alpine regions, usually in Lombard graves. Some were transported as far as Anglo-Saxon England. Their distribution has been taken to indicate a north-south trading axis distinct from the maritime routes by which most Eastern commodities were transported west.

Eastern imports would have arrived in Byzantine Italy by several routes, but one of the most likely is by sea from the south. Writing in the mid-6th century, the Byzantine historian Jordanes vividly described Ravenna and its relation to the Adriatic Sea, telling how sailors travelled north from Corfu, passing Epirus, Dalmatia, Libernia and Istria before arriving in the Veneto (Jordanes *Getica* 29. 148-151). This route accounts for traffic from the East, however the large quantity of North African pottery along Italian coast suggests a parallel route from the south, a theory supported by the, albeit limited, distribution of 6th-century Egyptian amphorae.⁵² Menas flasks in the Upper Adriatic were therefore imported both along the Dalmatian coast and also the Italian side, and so could have come direct from North Africa.

The question remains of how the import of Menas flasks and long-distance trade in general fit with the turbulent political circumstances of the time, especially the devastating aftermath of war and plague. The examples from this region seem to mostly date from the early 7th century, though this would not preclude some being imported earlier: some may have come during the Gothic War (AD 535-552), although this period is usually associated with a decline in long-distance maritime travel. The flasks are most likely to have arrived after the establishment of a Byzantine exarchate in Ravenna, and at the time of Lombard expansion. Their presence in Pannonia, an area of Lombard settlement in the late 6th century may be related to Pope Gregory's gift of Palestinian flasks to the Lombard queen Theodelinda, and indicate the circulation of relics among ecclesiastical and secular elites. In order to better understand the link between pilgrimage and trade, and the connection

⁵¹ Harris 2003, 64-69.

⁵² Tomber and Williams 2000.

between distribution of Menas flasks and other Eastern goods, it is worth considering examples from Gaul, where trade with the Byzantine East continued throughout the 6th century.

The West: Gaul and Britain

Menas flasks are held in several museums around France, and although most are without provenance details, their pattern of distribution, in an arc across the centre and north-west of the country, strongly suggests that they were imported in late antiquity. A few examples have been found in archaeological excavations, including one in Paris, but most are held in museums and private collections with little or no information about when they arrived in the region. Nevertheless, the concentration of flasks in certain districts, and their distribution along ancient roadways indicates that those in provincial museums are likely to have been discovered in and around the places where they are currently located.

On examining the distribution of Menas flasks in Gaul, G.-R. Delahaye identified several 'regional sets', whose whereabouts correspond with the course of the Via Agrippa and its tributaries⁵³ (Fig. 5). Flasks are found at several points along this route, which runs from Lyons in the south-east to the coast of Normandy in the north-west. Flasks in the vicinity of the Via Agrippa include groups around the Rhône Valley (which Delahaye calls the 'Helvetian group'), Burgundy, Île-de-France, Normandy and Picardy. Groups of Menas flasks are also found in Belgium, including 13 held at the Musée Royal de Mariemont. Two other clusters occur in the south of France, around Provence in the east and Aquitaine in the west.⁵⁴

In addition to the flasks from Gaul, a few have been found in Britain, including two on the west coast: at Meols on the Wirral peninsula, and at nearby Runcorn.⁵⁵ These finds are significant because they can be associated with other evidence of late antique contact between the Atlantic and Mediterranean, namely amphorae and imported fine wares found at Tintagel in Cornwall, and other sites in Ireland, Wales, England and Scotland, which have been taken to indicate direct trading contacts between the Byzantine East and the west of Britain.⁵⁶ The Menas flasks from Merseyside support the notion that the spread of pilgrim flasks was strongly influenced by pre-existing lines of trade.

The distribution of flasks around central Gaul reflects the route by which Eastern imports were transported, and the pattern also suggests how the flasks arrived in the

⁵³ Delahaye 1997.

⁵⁴ Delahaye 1997, 162-63.

⁵⁵ Thompson 1956; David Griffiths, pers. comm. Susanne Bangert has identified nine flasks in Britain that might have been imported in late antiquity (see Bangert 2006).

⁵⁶ Campbell 1996.

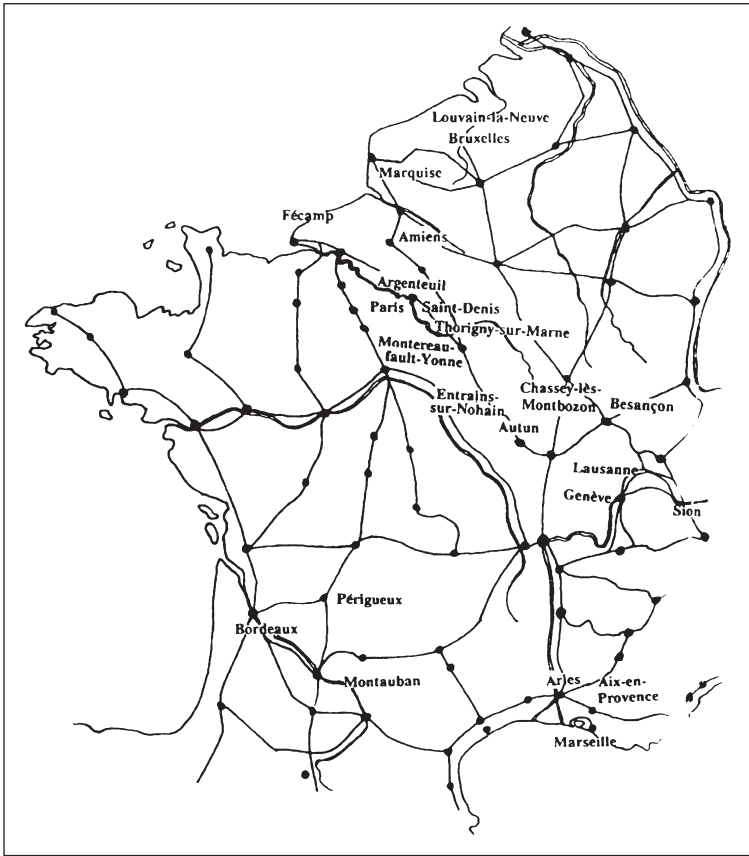


Fig. 5: Map of Gaul showing ancient roads and sites where Menas flasks are located (after Delahaye 1997, fig. 12).

region. Whilst an Alpine-Rhine trade route is one possibility, they are most likely to have come from the south, imported at Marseilles, and then up the Rhône, and from Lyons, overland along the Via Agrippa. This theory is supported by a cluster of flasks in Provence, but more importantly because Marseilles was the main port for eastern products and travellers arriving in Gaul, and for Western products and travellers to the East.

The arrival of Menas flasks in Frankish Gaul corresponds with a general growth in trade in the Western Mediterranean towards the end of late antiquity. This is most apparent at the port city of Marseilles, which prospered as an emporium late into the 7th century, a time when other settlements in Gaul were contracting in size and population. Pottery imported from the Aegean and North Africa, shows that

maritime trade was more active in the late 6th and 7th centuries than it had been in earlier times. Large numbers of Carthage amphorae and fine wares have been found in Marseilles and other places in the south of France, while the cargoes of shipwrecks along the Mediterranean coast include a variety of Eastern goods and manufactures. There are also historical clues about the nature of East-West commerce, in descriptions of 'Syrian' traders by Gregory of Tours and other Western writers, who recorded settled communities of eastern merchants operating from towns in central Gaul.⁵⁷

Pottery is the best source of information on trade between post-Roman Gaul and the Byzantine East. Both amphorae and fine wares are found in considerable quantities along the Mediterranean littoral, and from this it is possible to discern fluctuations in the quantity and origin of late antique imports. At the Bourse site in Marseilles the volume and range of African Red Slip Ware forms were lower in the 4th-5th centuries than they were for the following period, a situation echoed at Arles, Narbonne and Toulon.⁵⁸ Excavations at the Corne, an inner harbour of the late antique port showed that having been abandoned in the 3rd century, the harbour was dredged and redeveloped in the 5th-6th centuries, which is seen as an 'indication of commercial vitality'.⁵⁹ Pottery from the Corne again shows the persistence of trade into the 7th century, and the predominance of North African imports in this later period.

Shipwrecks dotted along the south coast, between Monaco and the mouth of the Rhône, are another measure of Gaul's maritime trade contacts in late antiquity.⁶⁰ A variety of goods was imported from the East including wine and other liquids contained in amphorae, ceramics and metalwork, coins and valuable products. Ships carried mixed cargoes, and the conjunction of Aegean and African amphorae in 6th-century wrecks shows that pottery vessels (and their contents) did not always come directly from where they was made.⁶¹ Shipwrecks dating from the 6th and 7th centuries include the Grazel B wreck containing a variety of metal objects and coins, the wreck at La Palm which was carrying amphorae, tiles and coarse ware, and the Carro A wreck, dated to *ca.* 525-550, holding amphorae and fine wares.⁶² At Cape Favaritx near Minorca, a 6th century shipwreck contained a large cargo of bronze objects and pottery, probably made in Egypt or Syria.⁶³

⁵⁷ Harris 2003, 60-64.

⁵⁸ Hitchner 1992, 123-24.

⁵⁹ Loseby 1998, 212.

⁶⁰ Hitchner 1992, 126. For shipwreck evidence of late antique trade in the West, see Bowman 1996.

⁶¹ Loseby 1998, 215.

⁶² Parker 1992, nos. 483, 782, 268.

⁶³ Parker 1992, no. 397.

Menas flasks found along the Via Agrippa were probably brought through the port of Marseilles, from where they were taken along the Rhône to Lyons and into central Gaul, however the route(s) by which flasks came to Britain are less certain. The two found in Merseyside seem to be connected with trading networks operating in the Irish Sea, but those documented from other parts of the country, including two said to come from Canterbury and two others in Kent suggest they came across the Channel from Gaul.⁶⁴ This dichotomy fits with assessments that show certain types of Byzantine product were imported to the Anglo-Saxon east of England (including cowrie shells, amethyst beads and ivory rings), while different goods, mainly pottery and glass vessels, were shipped to the British west.⁶⁵ Two axes of trade seem to have operated: one overland across northern Gaul; the other across southern Gaul, from Marseilles to Bordeaux, thence to Brittany, Cornwall and the Irish Sea.⁶⁶

Conclusions: Pilgrimage and Trade

This article has addressed the distribution of Menas flasks in areas at the periphery and beyond the recognised borders of the Byzantine empire, considering how and when the objects were imported, and summarising political and economic circumstances in regions where they are found. Menas flasks brought to the West can clearly be associated with an upturn in trade and intensification of East-West contacts during the second half of the 6th century. Their distribution indicates that most were imported by sea, arriving in the Balkans, Italy and north-western Europe along the Black Sea, Adriatic and West Mediterranean coastlines. The locations in which Menas flasks have been found also correspond with the boom in Eastern imports during the later part of late antiquity, especially North African amphorae and fine wares.⁶⁷ The clusters of Menas flasks in Gaul, Italy and the Balkans, together with their absence in other regions, indicate more than casual contact: they prove that long-distance pilgrimage – if that is what the flasks represent – was more likely to occur from regions that already had regular trade links with the Mediterranean East.

Having established the approximate date and route by which pilgrim flasks were imported, it is possible to explore economic, political and cultural reasons for their presence in the West. While flasks were probably transported alongside other goods, it is hard to say whether they were in the possession of pilgrims or merchants. Rather

⁶⁴ Bangert 2006.

⁶⁵ Harris 2003. The Mediterranean and Continental routes to Britain are discussed in Campbell 1996. For overseas exchange in Anglo-Saxon England, see Arnold 1997, 103-25.

⁶⁶ Bowman 1996, 102.

⁶⁷ The distribution of three types of late antique Carthaginian amphorae accords with that of Menas flasks. See classes 43, 44 and 45 in Peacock and Williams 1986, 182-90.

than assuming the flasks to be evidence of individuals returning home from pilgrimage, it is more profitable to consider their distribution in the context of economic and political, as well as religious circumstances. It is almost impossible to confirm whether flasks in the West were collected by pilgrims, imported by merchants, or exchanged as diplomatic gifts – but each of these options is feasible.

Menas flasks were made at a time when saint worship and the cult of relics were widespread in both East and West. Pilgrimage in the East grew rapidly during the 5th and 6th centuries, evident in the development of new, large-scale pilgrimage centres such as Abu Mina and Qal'at Si'man near Antioch, and the emergence of regional pilgrimage circuits. In Merovingian Gaul, local saints were vigorously promoted, while the relics of Eastern saints were exchanged, appropriated, and translated to the West.⁶⁸ Studies of long-distance, early Christian pilgrimage from west to east often rely on the diaries and itineraries of individuals, but in the cases of Egaria and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, these documents are from over a century before the Menas flasks were made. The diaries describe the journeys of 'an elite circle of professional devotees', so cannot be taken to represent everyday pilgrimage.⁶⁹

In recent years, much has been written about late antique pilgrimage, the significance of 'holy men' and belief in the miraculous effects of relics. Although the historical record contains a wealth of information about early Christian customs and beliefs, historians have tended to take these sources at face value, presenting an idealised, even monolithic version of pilgrimage as a consensual, unifying experience, without accounting for the religious, sectarian and doctrinal disputes of late antiquity.⁷⁰ In 6th-century Egypt, control of Abu Mina was itself contested between the local Monophysite population and the imperial, Chalcedonian Church. If Menas flasks in Anglo-Saxon, British, Frankish, Gothic, Lombard and other non-Byzantine areas were collected by pilgrims visiting Egypt, this demonstrates diversity, but not necessarily consensus in devotional practices and participation in saint cults.

What can be deduced from the historical record is that relics were exchanged as gifts among ecclesiastical and secular elites in the West, especially from the 6th century. This practice intensified leading up to the Carolingian period.⁷¹ Menas flasks might therefore have been imported as diplomatic gifts, intended to bring prestige to the recipient, and to secure political allegiance or cement economic partnerships.

⁶⁸ Historical sources for relics and saint promotion in Merovingian Gaul are discussed in Brown 1982. For the exchange of relics in the Carolingian period, see Geary 1986. For the transfer of relics from Egypt to the West, see Youssef 2004.

⁶⁹ Hunt 1992, 266.

⁷⁰ Treadgold 1994; Elsner 2005.

⁷¹ The increasing importance of relic worship can be seen in the development of Frankish church architecture to accommodate shrines and pilgrims, see Jacobsen 1997.

They might alternatively have been the outcome of religious travel, or simply commerce in exotic goods. Whatever the reason for their import, relics, and by extension, contact relics were highly esteemed commodities, used by secular and ecclesiastical elites to command authority and legitimacy.

Pilgrimage and elite-level gift-exchange are two possible reasons for the arrival of pilgrim flasks in the West, but a third is that the objects were imported by merchants, either as commercial goods or as personal possessions. This may seem prosaic, though it is no less significant in terms of East-West contact. The presence of Menas flasks along known trading routes including the Via Agrippa in northern France, the Amber Route in the north-western Balkans, and the Silk Route in Central Asia, shows that their distribution followed well-established arteries of trade, along which staple and luxury goods flowed.⁷² It is likely then that these highly esteemed objects, whose value derived from being both sacred and exotic, were brought to the West within commercial or diplomatic exchange networks.

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⁷² For the flask from Samarkand in Central Asia, see Staviskii 1960.

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HOPLITE OR AMAZON? A NOTE ON A RED-FIGURE HYDRIA IN THE ODESSA ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

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Dedicated to Joan R. Mertens

Abstract

In a publication of 2001 featuring highlights of the Archaeological Museum in Odessa, Ukraine, the unusual iconography and the sex of the single figure that embellishes an important hydria are misrepresented. In this note, both questions are addressed and, we believe, solved by considering the vase within the larger context of related works.

The Archaeological Museum in Odessa has a red-figure hydria (kalpis) of exquisite shape and unusual design. It was found in Olbia and acquired in 1899.¹ J.D. Beazley, who knew the piece only from a publication of 1902,² added it to his list of vases by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs – whom he calls ‘Follower of the Niobid Painter’ – as ‘probably also’ [by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs]. He identified the single figure that decorates the hydria as an ‘Amazon archer’.³

The publication of the piece in 2001 provides a good colour photograph (Fig. 1). However, due to the pronounced curve of the vessel at its shoulder, the head of the Amazon is barely visible. We shall see that it is of utmost importance for the identification of the figure. The entry in the catalogue reflects the puzzlement of the author⁴ *vis-à-vis* the strange iconography of the image. The figure is called a hoplite. The vase is dated to the second half of the 5th century BC and it is not assigned to a specific painter.

Thanks to the administration’s generosity I was able to inspect and have the kalpis photographed in the museum’s reserve collection in June 2002 (Figs. 2-3). What do we see? A short

¹ Karageorghis and Vanchugov 2001, 40, cat. no. 37; inv. no 26613; h. 36 cm. The bibliography lists Farmakovskii 1902, pl. 17; Dzis-Raiko 1983, 37, no. 59; and the catalogue of an exhibition in Zagreb, *Sjaj ukrajinskih* 1989, no. 126. The Odessa catalogue is one of the invaluable series published by the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation and co-ordinated by Vassos Karageorghis. For a review, see *Gnomon* 76.8, 2004, 725-26 (J.M. Webb). For the find-spot of the vase, the Milesian colony Olbia, see Tsetskhladze 1998, 19-22; 2006, lxxi, tabl. 6.

² Farmakovskii 1902, pl. 17.

³ Beazley 1963, vol. 2: 614.1(a), who assumes the vase to belong to the university in Odessa; Carpenter 1989, 269: 614, 1, where references are added to *JHS* 92 (1972), pl. 7a, and Dzis-Raiko 1983, 37, no. 59.

⁴ S.B. Okhotnikov. He refers to the ‘North Pontic region, where archery contests were common. Possibly the vessel was produced in Attica specifically for Olbia. The representation of a hoplite with a shield over his shoulder and a bow is problematic’ (Karageorghis and Vanchugov 2001, 40).



Fig. 1: Detail of kalpis, inv. no. 26613, Archaeological Museum of Odessa (after Karageorghis and Vanchugov 2001, cat. no. 37).



Fig. 2: Back view of the kalpis, inv. no. 26613, in the reserve collection of the Archaeological Museum of Odessa (photograph: Heidi Mair, 2002).



Fig. 3: Amazon on the kalpis, inv. no. 26613, Archaeological Museum of Odessa (photograph: Thomas Morton, 2002).

sequence of meanders and saltires⁵ provides footing for the muscular figure of an Amazon who is outfitted with a plumed Corinthian helmet pushed back from her face. It reveals bits of her black hair that is covered by a flapped furry Phrygian cap, also called a *mitra* or *kyrbasia*. She wears a short doubled-over and belted *chitoniskos* that appears to be secured on her left shoulder.⁶ A black-edged mantle is thrown over her left shoulder and the upper arm; it cascades down her back ending in a drop-shaped weight. She stands with bare feet apart, drawing a Scythian bow and intently watching the proper alignment of the short arrow. Oddly, no bow string is visible. To complete the strange combination of weapons, she has slung the baldric of a hoplite's shield around her right arm and neck; the shield's inside is thus displayed, with *porpax*, the handle, and strings at the rim for better grip.⁷

Now, this outfit which combines the distinctive weapons of an archer with those of a Greek hoplite is indeed rare; the juxtaposition of helmet and Eastern *mitra* is unprecedented for an Amazon. However, when viewed in the context of the oeuvre of the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, a solution may be found. His output is small – just over a dozen of vases are known – but the size and decoration of the extant vessels and fragments are ambitious and they deal exclusively with mythical subjects.

⁵ The sequence is standard in the work of the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs.

⁶ It would leave her right breast exposed.

⁷ I have referred to the Odessa vase in Knauer 1992, 122 n. 18, however, without having seen the kalpis myself.



Fig. 5: Head of Athena from copy of Myron's group Athena and Marsyas (after Knauer 1986, pl. 20.1).

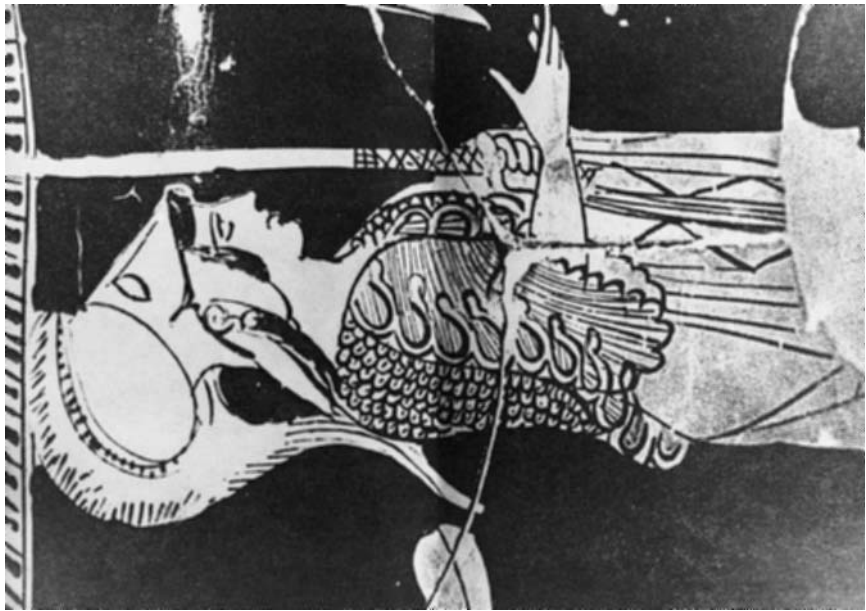


Fig. 4: Head of Athena on side A of volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, San Antonio, Texas (after Knauer 1992, fig. 5).

Our exploration of the iconographical puzzle begins with a large fragmentary volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs acquired by the San Antonio Museum 20 years ago. The unusual subject matter⁸ includes Athena who points to a quadriga driven by winged Nike, the incarnation of victory. Athena herself wears a Corinthian helmet over an Eastern cap (Fig. 4) – a unique instance in vase iconography – and so does a hoplite who stands behind the team and looks back at the goddess. His loosened shoulder flaps may indicate that the fight is over and victory secured⁹

Important precedents exist for the juxtaposition of helmet and mitra in the plastic arts, precisely in images of Athena. First there is the so-called 'Mourning Athena' who, leaning on her spear, looks down pensively at a stele that may record the names of men fallen in the Persian Wars. Under her Corinthian helmet worn up she has an Eastern cap whose flaps barely show because they have been hitched up and tucked under the helmet.¹⁰ More important is the second example: Myron in his famous group of the goddess confronting Marsyas, has her wear a 'Chalcidising' helmet which allows a clearer view of the cap with bound-up flaps (Fig. 5). The statuary group's message was hitherto assumed to express Athenian superiority over boorish Boeotia but the age-old petty rivalry between the two states seems too ordinary a justification for such an ambitious work. The group may have been set up in the 450s BC to commemorate the Persian Wars. It would have played on the well-known story of oriental Marsyas, whose dreadful fate was common knowledge, at the mercy of the tutelary deity of victorious Athens.¹¹

Interpreting the significance of special attributes will always remain a hazardous task.¹² However, there is ample evidence for the assumption that contemporary history was seen in the light of mythic events, especially after the great wars.¹³ The juxtaposition of helmet and cap may symbolise the Greek victory over the Eastern enemy as first prefigured by Theseus' defeat of the Amazons during their attempt on the Athenian Acropolis. It should be remembered that Theseus, in a previous campaign against the Amazons in the east, had won over their queen Antiope and made her his wife. She fought valiantly at his side and was killed when the army of her sisters tried in vain to avenge her abduction.¹⁴

While the combination of helmet and cap worn by Athena on the San Antonio krater and by the Amazon on the Odessa kalpis are – as we have seen – both without parallels in vase painting, they have not only a counterpart in the hoplite wearing them on the San

⁸ I have addressed the possible significance of the unusual combination of helmet and Eastern flapped cap in two articles: Knauer 1986, 121-26, and, more importantly, in Knauer 1992, 373-99. In this brief contribution – for reasons of space – I will not repeat the ample documentation collected there but just refer to the pertinent footnotes where the materials can be found.

⁹ San Antonio, Texas, Museum of Art, Gift of Gilbert Denman, Denman 78; acc. no. 86-134 G (76). See Knauer 1992, 374-78 and figs 1-5.

¹⁰ Knauer 1986, 121 n. 7; 1992, 382 n. 26, for references to the 'Mourning Athena' dated to *ca.* 460-450 BC.

¹¹ Knauer 1992, 379-80 and the references in n. 17.

¹² Knauer 1992, 373 with n. 2.

¹³ Simonides, frs. 10-17 (West), appears to be the first – right after the Greek victory – to have compared the Persian War with the war against Eastern Troy (see Hall 2002, 175).

¹⁴ For Theseus see the references in Knauer 1992, 381 n. 21, and *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 943, X, with reference to *Amazones* nos. 230-247, 295-303 (= *LIMC* I [1981], 601-03) (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras). For Antiope, see *LIMC* I (1981), 857-59 (A. Kauffmann-Samaras).



Fig. 6: Theseus in the amazonomachy on side A of the volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 07. 286, 84 (photograph: courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



Fig. 7: Theseus (inscribed) in the amazonomachy on side A of the dinos by a painter of the Group of Polygnotus, The British Museum, inv. no. 99.7-21.5 (photograph: courtesy of The British Museum).

Antonio piece but also on the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs' volute-krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁵ Although the painter never inscribes the names of his heroes, the Amazonomachy on the New York vase singles out a young Greek warrior who attacks an Amazon with his spear (Fig. 6). Under his Corinthian helmet, pushed-back, he sports the same flapped cap worn by most of his female adversaries.¹⁶ We may confidently call him Theseus, not only because he commands the main side of the vessel but also because of a similar scene on a dinos assigned to the group of Polygnotos in London (Fig. 7). There, the young hero advances on an Amazon, who – though down on her knees – keeps fighting. He wears a Corinthian helmet over a flapped cap; his name – Theseus – appears written behind his head.¹⁷

The final step towards elucidating the meaning of helmet and Eastern cap, draws in the connection between monumental painting and its reflection on vases. It has been suggested that the son of Miltiades, victor at Marathon, the Athenian statesman and general Cimon, who in turn had defeated the Persian naval forces at the River Eurymedon in Pamphylia (Turkey), was instrumental in remodelling the cult and the sanctuary of Theseus in the city. After the fall of the tyrants in 510 BC, Theseus was already championed by representatives of the young Athenian democracy, among them the Alcmeonid Cleisthenes. A reported apparition of the hero on the battlefield of Marathon enhanced his stature and the old tribal cult was elevated to a city cult by Cimon. He had the island of Skyros searched for the bones of the hero to transfer them to Theseus' shrine in Athens. The shrine was refurbished between 478 and 470 BC and decorated with wall-paintings by Mikon. Their subjects are known: the Athenian Amazonomachy, the centauromachy – in which the hero again distinguished himself – and Theseus recovering King Minos' ring from the bottom of the sea, which proved that he was the son of Poseidon.¹⁸

The cult of the hero culminated in the celebration of the Theseia that included banquets held in dining rooms on the Agora. The suggestion that a number of large vases with Amazonomachies produced in the 450s BC, including the vases by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, may have been special commissions for ritual drinking parties given by Cimon or his brother-in-law, the Alcmeonid Peisianax, is entirely convincing.¹⁹ Peisianax' name is associated with the Stoa Poikile, decorated by either Panainos, the brother of Phidias, or Mikon with the Battle of Marathon among other scenes of combat, for example, the sack of Troy. We shall never know whether the apparition of Theseus as protector of the Greeks on the battlefield was shown wearing a mitra and helmet.²⁰ The combination may have distinguished

¹⁵ Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.84 = Beazley 1963, vol. 2: 613.1, Knauer 1992, 378-79 and figs. 6-7.

¹⁶ Two further Greek fighters, both naked and in less prominent positions on side B wear the combination of cap and helmet (embellished with laurel wreath), perhaps to distinguish them from Amazons who wear Attic helmets only and no caps.

¹⁷ London, 99.7-21.5 = Beazley 1963, vol. 2: 1052.29, about 450-425 BC. Another inscribed example with Theseus wearing the combination is the stamnos by the Epimedes Painter, also in London, E 450 = Beazley 1963, vol. 2: 1043.1. For further details see Knauer 1992, 390 n. 51.

¹⁸ See Knauer 1992, 380-82, with references.

¹⁹ It was first suggested by Webster 1972, 82-87.

²⁰ Pausanias reports that he was shown emerging from the earth (1. 15. 3) and Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus* (35) says that many of the Greek soldiers believed they saw Theseus 'rushing on at the head of them against the barbarians'.



Fig. 8: Head of the warrior from the *canopus* of the Villa Adriana near Tivoli (after Berger 1958, pl. 12).

him from other hoplites here and in the Amazonomachy depicted in the *sekos* mentioned earlier. That the inspiration was taken up by vase painters and artists in other media speaks in favour of such an assumption.²¹

The purpose of this note is to dispel concern and indecision about the sex and the outfit of the figure on the *kalpis* expressed by the author of the entry in the Odessa catalogue. If seen in the context of the evidence presented above, we may confidently call her Antiope, wife of Theseus and – together with him – heroic defender of the Athenian acropolis. The *kalpis* may have been part of the specially commissioned sets of vases that were used at ritual symposia during the celebration of the Theseia.²²

²¹ It can be mentioned here in passing only that Cimon has also been connected with the 13-figure group of the Tribal Heroes by Phidias that stood at the entrance of the *temenos* in Delphi to commemorate the battle of Marathon. The victor Miltiades with Athena and Apollo appear to have been shown at one end of the base, his son Cimon with the mythical heroes Kodros and Philaios at the other. Berger was the first to tentatively connect the statue of a warrior with flapped cap and helmet found – together with two Amazons – at the north end of the *canopus* at the Villa Adriana near Tivoli with Phidias' Delphic group (Fig. 8). He did not discuss the feature that is our concern here. However, it seems to me a strong endorsement for calling the hoplite Theseus, and it represents further attestation of the crucial role Cimon and his family played in the fabrication of an 'emblematic' mode, that paralleled current events with the mythical history of Athens. See Knauer 1992, 383-86 and fig. 9.

²² After having served on a single occasion, such sets seem to have been sold and shipped abroad, foremost to Etruria and to the colonies in the Pontic region. Webster 1972, chapter 'Purchasers and Patrons', does not discuss find spots in the colonial cities of the Black Sea area, for example Olbia, but see Tsatskheladze 1998, 19-22. For an excellent discussion of the imports in Etruria, see Reusser 2002.

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LE TUMULUS PRINCIER SARMATE SUR LE DON SUPÉRIEUR (Note Préliminaire)

Alexandre MEDVEDEV et Iliya SAFONOV

Abstract

This note is a preliminary publication of a Sarmatian princely burial of the second half of the 1st century AD, discovered in the suburbs of Lipetsk (between the River Don and the city of Voronezh). Although the grave had been robbed, some objects survived.

Une sépulture privilégiée à été mise au jour au début de septembre 2005 dans un tumulus, dans le faubourg sud de la ville de Lipetsk (Fédération de Russie, province de Lipetsk, dans la région entre les fleuves du Don et de Voronej); les fouilles ont été dirigées par I. Safonov (Université de Voronej). Un tumulus de l'Âge du Bronze a été réutilisé pour cette tombe. La fosse funéraire est de forme rectangulaire, 3 × 5 m. Elle était très probablement couverte de bois. La tombe a été presque entièrement pillée, mais le peu qui en reste (Figs. 1-5) témoigne de la richesse exceptionnelle de cette sépulture.

D'après le mobilier, c'est une inhumation féminine: elle contenait des morceaux de fard rouge et rose. Une figurine en bronze provient du remplissage de la fosse funéraire (Fig. 1). Un pavement en écorce de bois a été mis au jour au fond de la fosse. Des restes de tissu brodé d'or et des milliers de fils d'or se sont conservés sur ce pavement. Plusieurs centaines de petites appliques d'or (Fig. 2) proviennent du costume de la défunte. Deux petites fibules profilées en bronze, du type Ambroz 11-I, typiques de la région pontique¹ indiquent la date de la sépulture: deuxième moitié du Ier s. ap. J.-C. Une cruche sigillée à deux nases et à haut col confirme cette datation.

Dans la terre de la tombe on a mis au jour une grande quantité de fragments de feuille d'or; ils provenaient d'un baldaquin en tissu de couleur pourpre (des restes sont attestés sur le pavement en écorce), installé sur six perches couvertes de feuille d'argent et enfoncées au fond de la tombe. Les morceaux de feuilles viennent d'applications zoomorphes (Fig. 3) qui ornaient ce baldaquin. Elles ont été collées sur le tissu, seulement quelques unes ont des trous pour être cousues. Parmi les animaux représentés sur ces appliques, on peut reconnaître des bouquetins et des cerfs, tous deux inconnus dans la faune du Don supérieur, chaque type représenté par une douzaine des pièces. Les cerfs rappellent bien les découvertes dans le tumulus 10 de Kobjakovo, sur le Don inférieur.² Il s'agit probablement d'une iconographie apparue dans la partie orientale de l'Eurasie et typique des Sarmates.

Une figure d'aigle à ailes dépliées occupait la partie centrale du baldaquin (Fig. 4). Cet aigle n'a pas de parallèles dans l'art figuratif sarmate, en revanche il trouve des parallèles dans

¹ Ambroz 1966, 40-41.

² Prohorova et Guguev 1992, 142-43, fig. 1.



Fig. 1: Figurine en bronze.

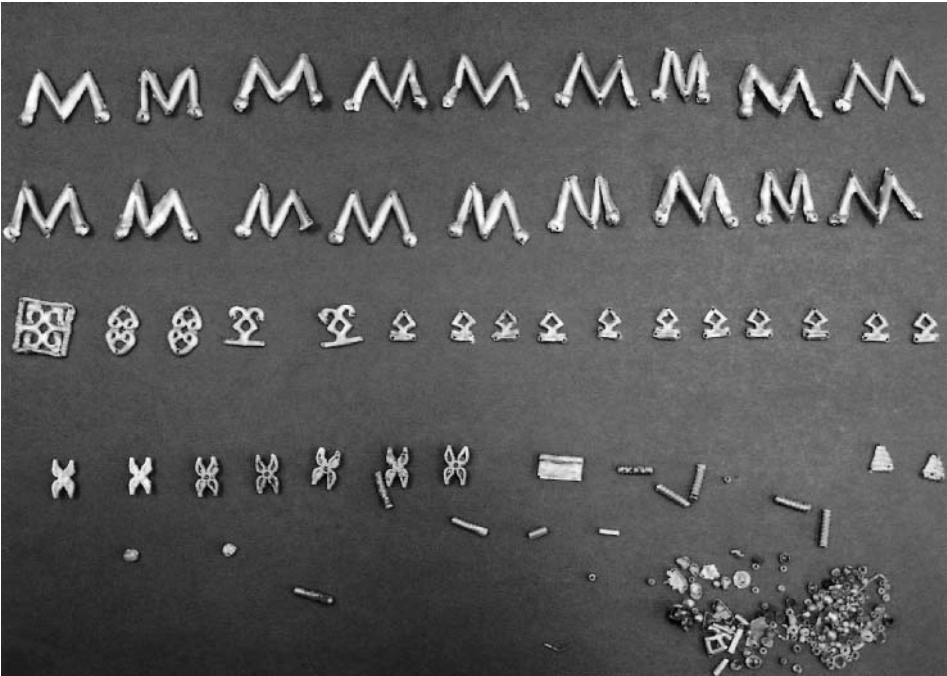


Fig. 2: Appliques en or venant du costume.

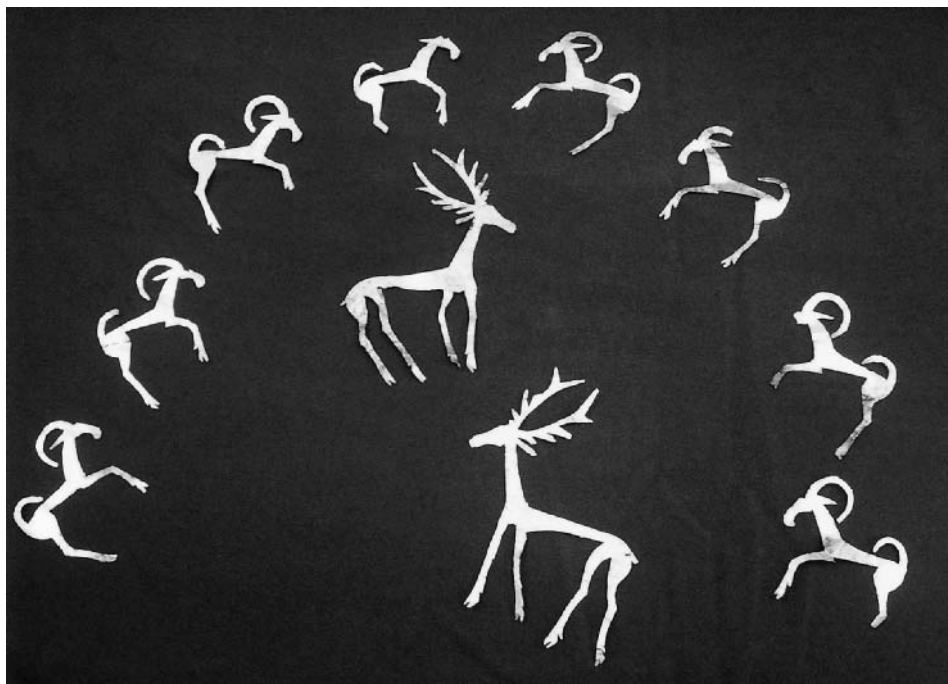


Fig. 3: Appliques en feuille d'or venant du baldaquin.



Fig 4: Aigle en feuille d'or venant du baldaquin

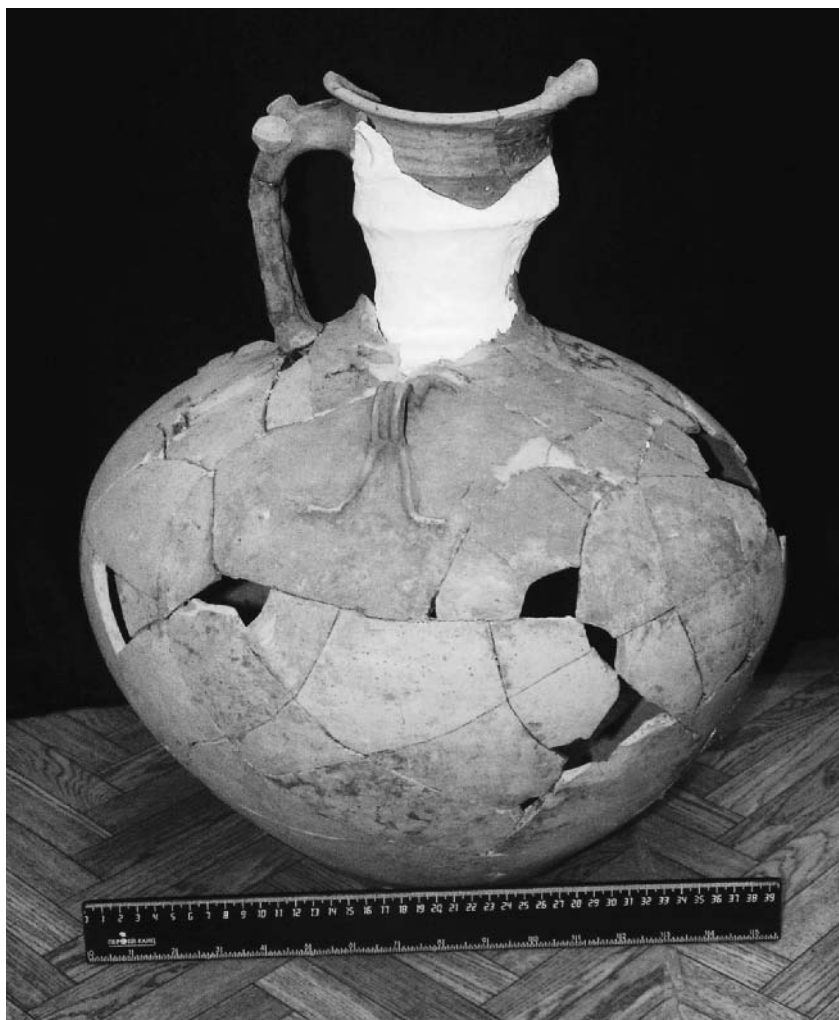


Fig. 5: Récipient en céramique grise portant une tamga sarmate.

l'art oriental. Citons à titre d'exemple un aigle venant du médaillon d'un plat bactrien des IIe-Ier s. av. J.-C.³ L'aigle en question témoigne du statut très élevé de la tombe. Il n'est pas exclu qu'il symbolise le *hvarnah*, *farne*, des peuples iraniens,⁴ qui est l'émanation du succès et du charisme des dynasties royales. Les noms royaux et divins formés sur la base de *-farn* sont bien connus chez les peuples iraniens de la steppe –Saitafarne, Arifarne, Uatafarne, etc.⁵

³ Fraj 1972, fig. 119.

⁴ Litvinskij 1968, 49.

⁵ Abaev 1979, 287.

Selon «l'Avesta», ce farne se manifestait sous l'aspect d'un grand oiseau de proie, *Varagne*. Ainsi l'aigle provenant de la tombe de Lipetsk indique peut être le statut «royal» de cette sépulture.

La tombe contenait plusieurs récipients en céramique sigillée et en verre, ainsi qu'au moins un récipient en argent. Mais une cruche en céramique grise attire spécialement l'attention (Fig. 5), car elle est décorée de signes en forme de χ . C'est sans aucun doute une *tamga*, le signe sarmate d'un clan ou d'une tribu. Le même signe a appartenu plus tard à Ininfimée (ININΘIMAIOΣ), roi du Bosphore Cimmérien en 234-239 ap. J.-C. On le considère comme un usurpateur d'origine alano-sarmate, liée à l'aristocratie des steppes du Don inférieur.⁶ Il est donc possible que le signe sur la cruche témoigne de l'appartenance de la défunte de Lipetsk à un clan aristocratique.

La découverte d'une pareille tombe dans la région du Don supérieur, sur la périphérie lointaine du monde sarmate, est surprenante. Elle est similaire aux tombes privilégiées alaines du Don inférieur, comme celles de Kobjakovo 10 ou Datchi, et appartient, sans doute, aux Alains du milieu du Ier s. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui des tombes sarmates ont été découvertes beaucoup plus au Sud, dans les environs de la ville de Voronej, où elles ont été attribuées aux Sarmates-Hippophagiques de Claude Ptolémée.⁷ Cependant parmi plus de 60 tombes sarmates de Voronej, aucune, du point de vue de la richesse du mobilier, n'est comparable à celle de Lipetsk. Ainsi, la découverte de la tombe «princièrè» de Lipetsk change considérablement notre vision de l'époque sarmate sur le Don.

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⁶ Jacenko 2004, 55.

⁷ Medvedev 1990, 192-94.

KAISERZEITLICHE UND SPÄTANTIKE BAUTECHNIKEN IM OSTPONTOS

Annegret PLONTKE-LÜNING

Abstract

The eastern Pontos came into the Roman sphere of influence in the 60s BC. It was probably in the time of Nero that development began of the Pontic *limes*, the chain of Roman fortresses on the shore which served as anchorages for the Pontic fleet and as Roman outposts for Armenia and Iberia. The first fortresses were constructed of wood and earth, as we learn from Arrian for Phasis and the excavation results from Pityus/Pitiunt. From the 2nd century onwards the fortresses were built in durable materials – for Phasis Arrian describes brick walls. The early Christian churches of the eastern Pontos were mostly constructed of *opus mixtum* or fine ashlar emplecton – i.e. with building techniques characteristic of Constantinople and the western part of Asia Minor and neighbouring Cappadocia. This corresponds with the administrative orientation of the region – the church was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Pontos, the Roman fortresses were under the control of the governor of Cappadocia, who resided in Satala in Armenia Minor, and supply was effected by the Pontic fleet with its headquarters in Trapezus/Trapezunt.

Die Ostküste des Schwarzen Meeres (Abb. 1) gelangte mit den Feldzügen gegen Mithradates VI. von Pontos in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. in die Interessenssphäre der Römer. Siedlungen dieser Zeit sind archäologisch bisher nur in Einzelfällen belegt: So hatte die – allerdings im kolchischen Binnenland, im Stadtgebiet des antiken Vani, gelegene – Siedlung von Griechen in Sakanchia (3.-2. Jh. v. Chr.) Häuser mit Steinfundamenten, doch handelte es sich um Wohnungen für Handwerker, die in dem kolchischen Zentrum tätig waren.¹ Von den 75 Festungen, die Mithridates Strabon zufolge im Gebiet der Kolchis anlegen ließ (Strabo 12. 3. 28), ist bislang nur die Anlage von Eshera beim heutigen Sukhumi, dem griechischen Dioskurias, bekannt. Sie war angelegt nach den Regeln hellenistischer Festungsbaukunst und ist in den sechziger Jahren des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. vollständig niedergebrannt.²

Daß die Kolcher und ihre Nachbarn seit Jahrhunderten Bauten in Blockhaus-Bauweise errichteten, erfahren wir zuerst von Xenophon, der im Gebiet südöstlich des Schwarzen Meeres aus Holzstämmen errichtete Häuser und Befestigungen sah.³ Vitruv beschreibt die Holzbauten der Kolcher im Buch II, das die frühen Bautechniken der Alten Welt behandelt (Vitruvius *De architectura* 2. 34-35). Archäologische Untersuchungen erbrachten an mehreren Orten der Kolchis Reste von solchen befestigten Siedlungen aus Holz.⁴ In Kobuleti-Pichvnari

¹ Tsetskhladze 1998, 38-40.

² Tsetskhladze 1998, 22-23, Abb. 17.3-4.

³ Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 2. 5: Hauptort der Driler mit einer Befestigung von Palisaden und Holztürmen im Hinterland von Trapezunt; 5. 4. 26: Hauptstadt der Mossynoiken mit hölzernen Turmgehöften im Hinterland von Kerasunt.

⁴ Tsetskhladze 1998, 12-13: Simagre, 6.-5. Jh. v. Chr.; 13: Grubenhäuser in Gyenos.

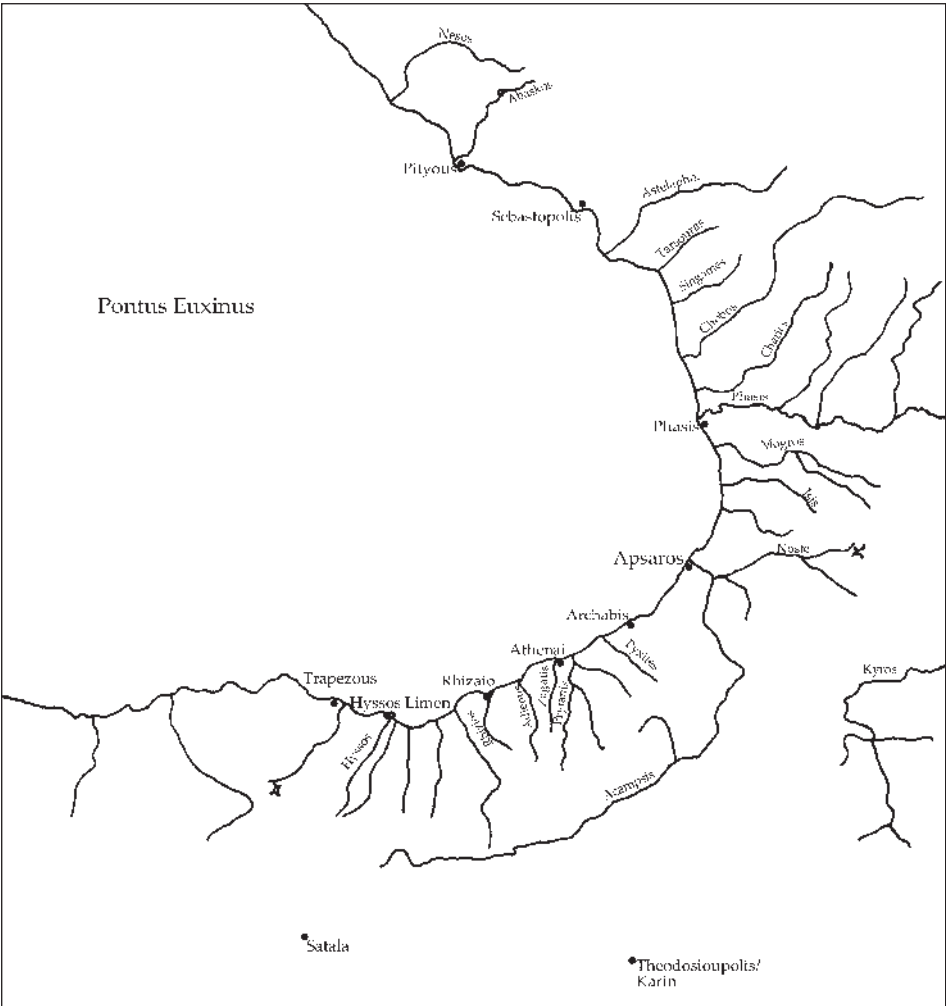


Abb. 1: Skizze des Pontischen Limes (Zeichnung: A. Plontke-Lüning, Y. Seidel).

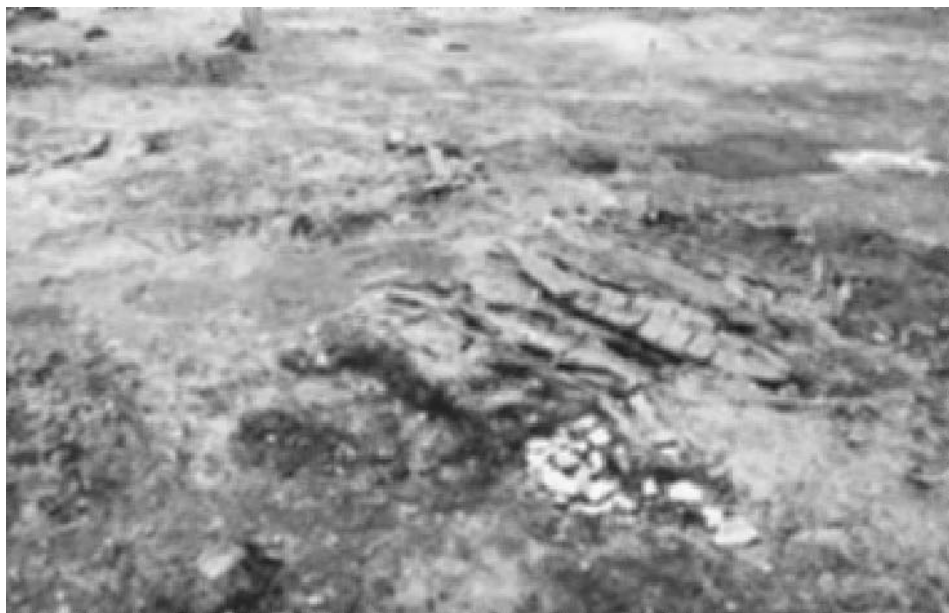


Abb. 2: Reste von Holzbauten des 8./7. Jh. v. Chr. in Pichvnari (Aufnahme A. Plontke-Lüning).

nördlich von Batumi wurden derartige Häuser bereits in Siedlungen der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit freigelegt (Abb. 2).⁵ Die Griechen, die sich seit dem 7.-6. Jh. v. Chr. an der ostpontischen Küste niederließen,⁶ griffen zumindest für öffentliche Bauten auf Vorbilder ihrer alten Heimat zurück. In Phasis existierte ein Tempel des Apollon, wie die zweifellos aus dem Schatz des Tempels stammende Silberschale mit der Widmung an den Apollon Hegemon von Phasis aus dem Kurgan von Zubovo im Nordkaukasus (1. Jh. v. Chr.) zeigt, wohin sie als Beutestück eines Sarmatenfeldzuges gelangt ist.⁷ Der Tempel ist noch nicht lokalisiert.⁸ Ein in einer lokalen Werkstatt gefertigter goldener Siegelring aus einem Grab in Tagiloni in der Nähe von Sukhumi zeigt einen Tempel mit Säulen in antis, bei dem es sich um den Dioskurentempel der Griechen von Dioskurias handeln dürfte.⁹

Wie die frühesten Münzen aus Apsaros,¹⁰ dem größten und bedeutendsten römischen Kastell an der ostpontischen Küste, nahelegen, begann spätestens in neronischer Zeit, im

⁵ Zu den Grabungsergebnissen mit sehr berechtigter Kritik: Tsetskhladze 1998, 26-28.

⁶ Braund 1994, 73-117; Tsetskhladze 1998, 5-44.

⁷ Tsetskhladze 1998, 9-10.

⁸ Zur Problematik der Lokalisierung von Phasis v. a. Tsetskhladze 1998, 7-8.

⁹ M. Lordkipanidze 1975, 104-08, vgl. dazu Tsetskhladze 1998, 17.

¹⁰ Hemidrachme Neros mit auf einen Schild schreibender Victoria auf der Rückseite aus Caesarea Cappadocia, 58-60 n. Chr., aus dem Schnitt nördlich der Festung: Plontke-Lüning *et al.* 2002, 92; 2003, 9. Zu Münzen Neros aus dem Zentralbereich der Festung: Khalvashi 2002, 142.

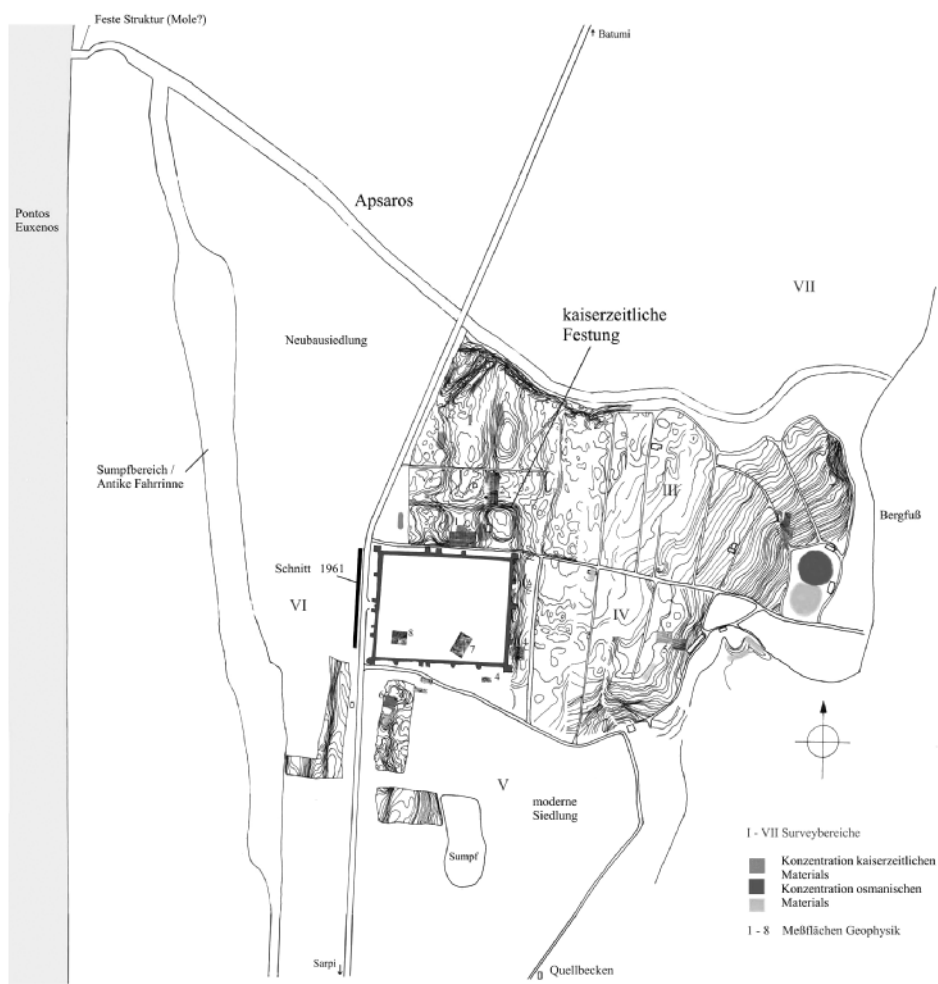


Abb. 3: Gonio. Plan von Festung und Umgebung (Universität Jena, Lehrstuhl Klassische Archäologie).

Zusammenhang mit Neros geplanter Neuordnung des Orients und dem damit verbundenen Armenien-Feldzug unter Corbulo (54-63 n. Chr.), der Ausbau des "Pontischen Limes", einer Kette von Festungen an der Küste (Abb. 1), die als Ankerplätze für die Pontische Flotte und als römische Vorposten für Iberien und Armenien dienen sollten. Die Festungen wurden, wie Arrians Beschreibung des Lagers von Phasis (Arrian *Periplus* 9. 4) und Untersuchungsergebnisse aus Pitiunt-Bichvinta¹¹ deutlich machen, zunächst als Holz-Erde-Kastelle errichtet und später in dauerhaften Materialien ausgebaut.

Die 2000/2001 unternommene geodätische Neuaufnahme der Umgebung des Kastells Apsaros erbrachte die als sensationell einzustufende Entdeckung der Reste einer frühkaiserzeitlichen Festungsanlage im "Spielkartenschema" (Abb. 3)¹² nördlich der heute noch bestehenden, im Laufe der Jahrhunderte immer wieder erneuerten Festung – es ist bislang das älteste bekannte römische Lager im Osten. Innerhalb dieser Festung konnten Reste von Lehmbauten mit dem für Kasernen üblichen Inventar – hier seien besonders die zahlreichen Reste von *mortaria*¹³ erwähnt – untersucht werden.¹⁴ Die Spielkartenanlage war möglicherweise zunächst ebenfalls als Holz-Erde-Kastell errichtet – dies werden sicher künftige Untersuchungen erhellen können.

Die Festung Phasis war kurz vor Arrians Inspektion im Jahre 134 n. Chr. in Ziegeln (Backsteinen, ἐκ πλινθίου) erneuert worden. Damit gehört Phasis zu den Orten mit der frühesten Verwendung von opus testaceum im Osten. Deichmann nennt in seinem grundlegenden Aufsatz zu den westlichen Bautechniken im Osten als ältesten ihm bekannten Beleg für Backsteinverwendung im Osten einen Pfeiler des von Daphne nach Antiochia führenden Aquaeduktes aus trajanischer oder hadrianischer Zeit.¹⁵ Deichmann hat zudem nachdrücklich auf die Verbindung des Technologieexportes mit dem Militär hingewiesen – Arrians Nachricht zum Ziegel-Neubau von Phasis macht deutlich, dass die neue Technik sehr rasch auch bis an die Peripherie des Reiches gelangte. Der Holzreichtum der Kolchis, der genügend Brennmaterial für die Backsteinherstellung zur Verfügung stellte, mag hier eine Rolle gespielt haben.

Doch gab es unterschiedliche Lösungen. Die Festung Pitiunt (Abb. 4, 5) wurde nach der Zerstörung durch die Boraner im Jahre 257 n. Chr. mit kleinen Blöcken (*moellons*) aus dem am Fuße des Kaukasus anstehenden Konglomeratgestein erneuert. Errichtet wurde die Festungsmauer strenggenommen in der Technik des römischen opus caementitium, das verschalt wurde mit den kleinen, an der Außenseite sorgfältig bearbeiteten kleinen Konglomeratblöcken – also ein *Emplekton* (Vitruvius *De architectura* 2. 48. 7)¹⁶ mit einem Füllkern aus Kalkmörtel mit Steinbrocken. Der Form der fächerförmigen Ecktürme zufolge, die charakteristisch sind für die Zeit der Tetrarchie, zog sich die Erneuerung hin bis um die Wende vom 3. zum 4. Jh. Vergleichbar ist diese Mauertechnik des blockverschalteten opus caementitium mit der des römischen Circus von Antiochia¹⁷ und der meisten Mauern in Philippopolis-Shahba

¹¹ G. Lordkipanidze 1991, 81-82, Taf. 20.1-2.

¹² Plontke-Lüning und Geyer 2003, 19, 30.

¹³ Zur Bedeutung der *mortaria* im römischen Lagerleben und als Zeichen römischer Speisegewohnheiten: Baatz 1977, 153-54.

¹⁴ Plontke-Lüning *et al.* 2002, 91-94, Abb. 8-11, 19-21.

¹⁵ Deichmann 1979, 478-86, Aquaedukt Pfeiler: S. 479.

¹⁶ Vgl. dazu auch Adam 1994, 76.

¹⁷ Elderkin 1934, 36-37, Abb. 5-6.

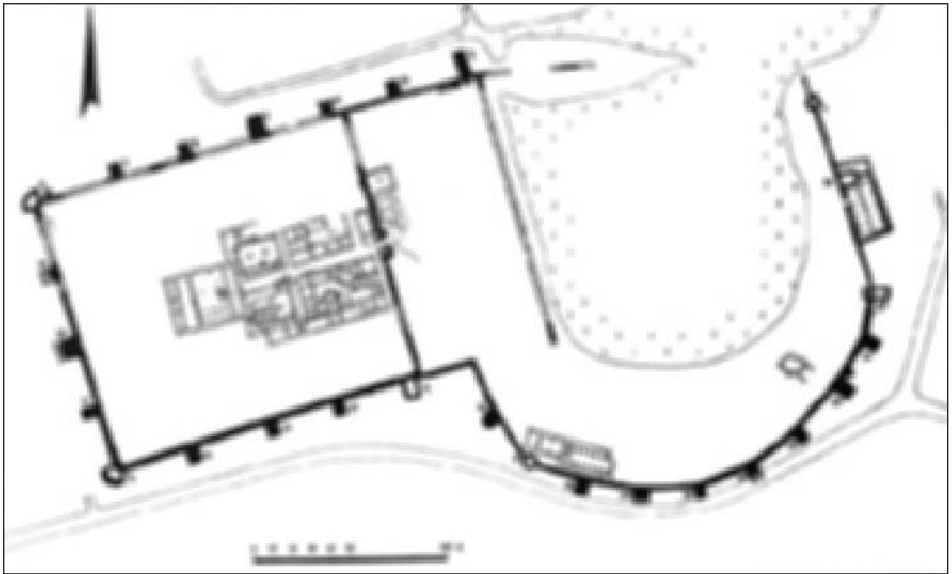


Abb. 4: Plan der Festung Pitiunt (Nach G. Lordkipanidze 1991, Abb. 3).

in Südsyrien, dem Geburtsort des Philippus Arabs, den dieser während seiner Regierungszeit als Hauptstadt der Provinz Arabia zwischen 244 und 249 neu erbauen ließ.¹⁸ Deichmann hat vermutet, dass in Shahba westliche Bauleute tätig gewesen sein müssten,¹⁹ doch wurden neue Techniken, die sich bewährt hatten, wohl sehr rasch verbreitet, gerade auch mit den Militärbautrupps, die weit umherkamen. Ähnliches dürfen wir uns auch für Pitiunt vorstellen, wo mit dem Détachment der 15. Legion aus Satala²⁰ eben auch Ingenieure, die mit der Technik des *opus caementitium* vertraut waren, tätig wurden. Die Mauern des Kastells Pitiunt sind also ebenfalls ein wichtiger Beleg für die Verbreitung römischer Bautechniken auch an der Peripherie des Imperium Romanum.

In der Südwestecke der Festung Apsaros ist im Fundamentbereich der Mauer *opus caementitium* freigelegt worden (Abb. 6), das mit Palisaden oder dünnen Holzstämmchen verschalt war und an die Fundamentierung des Hafentempels in Xanten erinnert, wo ebenfalls eine feste Fundamentierung im feuchten Grund notwendig war.²¹

Die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte immer wieder erneuerten Festungsmauern von Apsaros bestehen im unteren, ungestörten Bereich aus Schalen von an den Außenseiten exakt bearbeiteten Blöcken, die zur Innenseite pyramidal gearbeitet sind und dort in den *opus caementitium*-Kern einbinden. Es handelt sich also ebenfalls um Emplekton, dessen große Blöcke

¹⁸ Butler 1904, 376-96, zum römischen Einfluß in Shahba, der sich gerade in den Bautechniken zeigt, besonders 378. Zur Bautechnik in Shahba vgl. auch Restle 1971, 1011-12, 1015.

¹⁹ Deichmann 1979, 477.

²⁰ Kiguradze *et al.* 1987, 88-92.

²¹ Heimberg und Rieche 1986, Abb. 88.

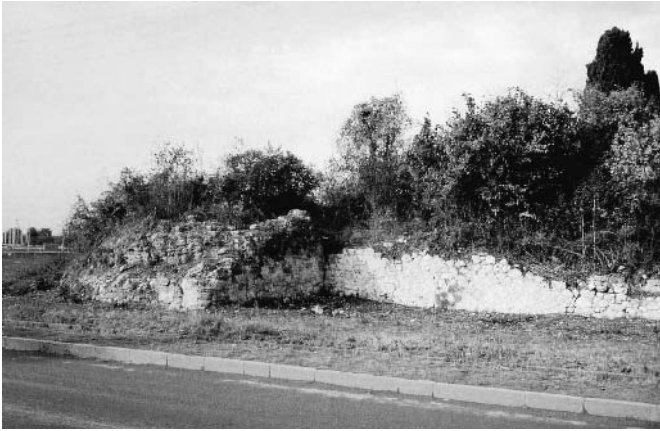


Abb. 5: Pitiunt, Südwest-
ecke der Festung (Aufnahme
A. Plontke-Lüning).



Abb. 6: Apsaros, Südwest-
mauer innen mit opus cae-
mentitium-Fundament und
Basen der Arkadenpfeiler
(Aufnahme A. Plontke-Lü-
ning).



Abb. 7: Apsaros, Südmauer
mit Resten der Arkaden (Auf-
nahme A. Plontke-Lüning).

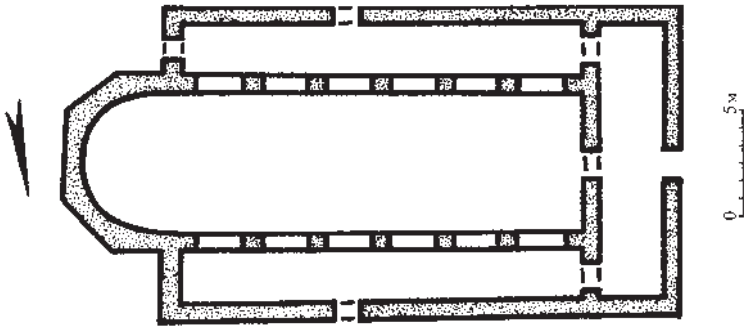


Abb. 8: Pitiunt, Plan der Basilika II.
(Nach Khrushkova 2002, Abb. 10).

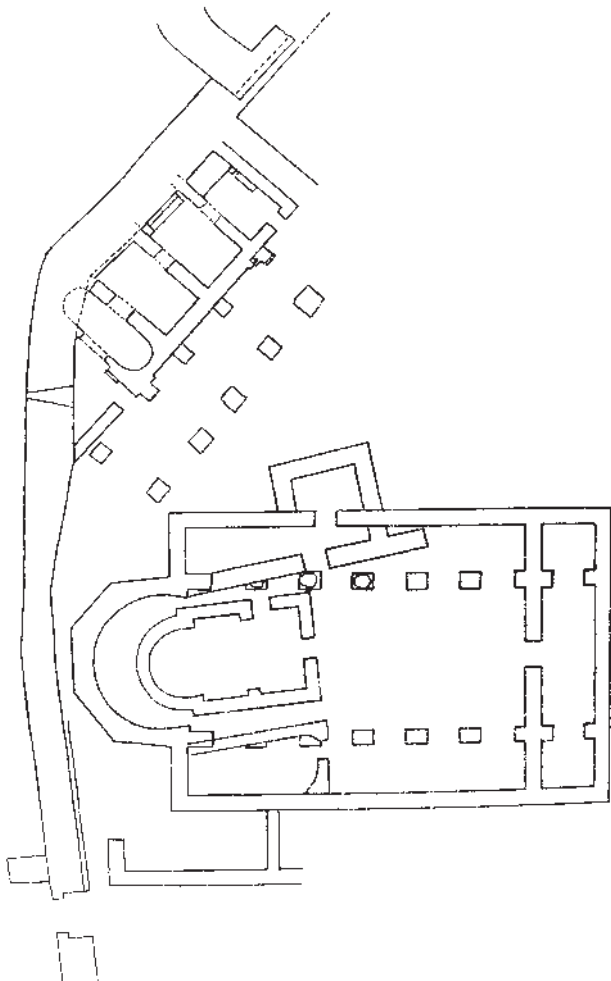


Abb. 9: Petra-Tsikhisdziri, Plan der Basilika und der Thermenanlage
(Nach Inatsvili 1993, Taf. 2),

aus dem im östlich und südlich der Festung gelegenen Bergland anstehenden Konglomerat gewonnen wurden.

Die Struktur der im Südwesten freigelegten Mauer von Apsaros ähnelt mit ihren gemauerten Pfeilerbasen, über denen – an der Südmauer in erneuerter Gestalt noch sichtbar (Abb. 7) – Arkaden ausgespannt waren, welche den Wehrgang gestützt haben, an die Mauern von Resafa in Syrien.²² In Resafa waren die Arkaden allerdings sogar wie eine Portikus angelegt. Doch war die Stadtmauer des frühchristlichen Pilgerzentrum insgesamt viel reicher ausgestattet, wie ein kurzer Blick auf die reich mit Bauplastik versehenen Tore deutlich macht. In jedem Fall gibt der Vergleich der Mauern von Apsaros mit denen von Resafa einen Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung der ältesten Phase der erhaltenen Mauer von Apsaros in justinianische Zeit.²³

Die frühchristlichen Kirchenbauten der Ostpontosregion sind im wesentlichen mit opus mixtum oder sauber gearbeitetem Blockemplekton errichtet, also mit Bautechniken, die charakteristisch für Konstantinopel und Westkleinasien²⁴ sowie Kappadokien²⁵ sind.

Die frühen Kirchen in Pitiunt waren in opus mixtum erbaut. Die jüngere (Abb. 8), wohl im Zusammenhang mit dem Ausbau der Festung in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. entstanden, ist in Plan und Mauertechnik eng verwandt mit den Konstantinopler Basiliken,²⁶ wobei allerdings die in Konstantinopel üblichen Säulen und die dreiseitig ummantelte Apsis durch Pfeiler und die in Kappadokien verbreitete fünfseitig ummantelte Apsis ersetzt waren.

Die Basilika der rhomäischen Festung Petra (Abb. 9, 10), ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit deren Ausbau in justinianischer Zeit zu datieren, verbindet noch stärker Elemente der kappadokischen Architektur mit solchen, die im Küstenbereich des Pontos, in dem der Einfluß Konstantinopels ausgeprägt war, verbreitet waren: Die Anlage der Apsis entspricht ebenso wie die Mauertechnik mit exakten Blöcken der kappadokischen Kirchen des 5.-6. Jhs.,²⁷ während die Proportionen des Naos im Vergleich zu kappadokischen Basiliken wie Eski Andaval²⁸ deutlich gelängter sind und eher den unter Konstantinopler Einfluß errichteten Basiliken des taurischen Chersonesos²⁹ vergleichbar sind. Auch das opus-mixtum-Mauerwerk

²² Karnapp 1976.

²³ Vgl. dazu Plontke-Lüning und Geyer 2003, 32-33.

²⁴ Studios-Basilika, Chalkoprateia-Basilika, Saray-Basilika, Beyazit A-Basilika: Mathews 1980, 19-41, 67-76, Abb. 5, 12, 18.

²⁵ Restle 1979, 137-41.

²⁶ S. Anm. 23.

²⁷ Saalkirche Anatepe: Restle 1979, 23-24, Plan 3. Saalkirche Yedikapulu: Restle 1979, 26-27, Plan 7. Bergkirche Gereme: Restle 1979, 29-30, Plan 11. Andreaskirche Tilköy (E.5./A.6. Jh.): Restle 1979, 30-33, Plan 12. Kirche VIII in Viranşehir: Restle 1979, 33, Plan 13. Konstantinsbasilika Eski Andaval: Restle 1979, 36-41, Plan 16.

²⁸ Restle 1979, 46-48, Plan 24.

²⁹ Westbasilika, 5.-6. Jh.: Jakobson 1959, 160-64, Abb. 67-70; 1992, 385-86, Abb. 1b; Pülz 1998 56-58, Abb. 8; Biernacki *et al.* 2004, 39-44 (E. Klenina), 110-11 (S. Medeksza). Nordbasilika (Nr. 22), 5.-6. Jh.: Jakobson 1959, 168-69, Abb. 75-78; Pülz 1998, 52-53, Abb. 3; Biernacki *et al.* 2004, 145-48 (S. Medeksza, J. Rozpedowski). Basilika in der Uvarovstraße 22 (Ostbasilika), Ende 5. Jh.: Jakobson 1959 165-68, Abb. 72-74; 1992, 385, Abb. 1d; Pülz 1998, 47-49, Abb. 2; Biernacki *et al.* 2004, 161-64 (S. Medeksza, J. Rozpedowski). Basilika von 1935, 6. Jh.: Jakobson 1959 177-82, Abb. 86-90; 1992, 385, Abb. 1c; Pülz 1998, 52-54, Abb. 4-7; Biernacki *et al.* 2004, 137-44 (S. Medeksza).



Abb. 10: Petra-Tsikhisdziri, Basilika, Apsis von Nord. (Aufnahme A. Plontke-Lüning).



Abb. 11: Gantiadi-Tsandripsh. Amphoren auf der Apsiswölbung
(Nach Khrushkova 2002, Taf. 35.1).

des Naos sowie der Narthex verbinden den Bau mit Kirchen dieser Region und mit denen in Pitiunt.

Dies entspricht der allgemeinen Orientierung der Region – kirchenpolitisch gehörte sie zur Diözese Pontos, administrativ unterstanden die Küstengarnisonen dem Gouverneur des zu Kappadokien gehörenden Kleinarmenien in Satala; die Versorgung erfolgte weitgehend per Schiff, wobei sich die Flottenbasis in Trapezunt befand.

Von besonderem Interesse sind die Zeugnisse des Konstantinopler Exports von Baugliedern aus prokonnesischem Marmor, die von V. Djobadze, C. Barsanti und L. Khrushkova ausführlich behandelt worden sind.³⁰ Die Amboteile, Kapitelle und Säulchen einer Altarschranke(?) in Khobi, die Kapitelle in Tsaishi, die von der Bischofskirche von Saisenos stammen dürften, und die in Pitiunt ergrabenen Marmorteile machen deutlich, dass mit der Wiederrichtung der politischen Macht Konstantinopels auch ein weitreichender Kulturexport einherging.

Zur Verringerung der Dachlast auf den Wölbungen wurden in Gantiadi-Tsandripsh (Abb. 11) und Dranda Amphoren verwendet, eine Technik, die sich zuerst am Baptisterium der Arianer (Ende 5. Jh.) in Ravenna³¹ findet, wo seit dem 5. Jh. zunehmend Konstantinopler Techniken verwendet wurden. Früheste Kirche in Konstantinopel, an der diese Methode dokumentiert wurde, ist die ins spätere 7. Jh. datierte Bema-Kirche bei der Kalenderhane Çamii, wo der Raum zwischen der Ziegelwölbung des Ostteils der Südepore und der Decke mit Amphoren gefüllt war.³² Auch die in dieser Weise behandelten Wölbungen mittelbyzantinischer Kirchen in Konstantinopel sind aus Ziegeln errichtet.³³

In Gantiadi verwendete man die Entlastung durch Amphoren über einer Keilsteinwölbung. Über die Gründe lassen sich nur Vermutungen anstellen: Vielleicht war in der Region, wo vor allem in der "Konstantinopler" Opus-mixtum-Technik gebaut wurde,³⁴ die Keilsteinwölbung eher ungewöhnlich und wurde behandelt wie eine Ziegelwölbung.

Hier ist auch hinzuweisen auf den sensationellen Fund von noch ineinander steckenden tubi fittili in einem Brennofen, den Dominique Kassab Tezgör 1999 bei Sinope ausgegraben hat.³⁵ Sie belegen, dass diese Technik, die ihren Ausgangspunkt in Nordafrika nahm und bislang nur aus dem Westen – u. a. in S. Stefano Rotondo in Rom³⁶ und S. Vitale in Ravenna³⁷ – bekannt war, im 5./6. Jh. auch im Ostpontos – und wohl auch anderswo im

³⁰ Khrushkova 1979; Djobadze 1984; Barsanti 1989. Demnächst auch Plontke-Lüning im Druck, Bd. 2 s.v. Ostpontosregion, Marmorbauglieder ohne sichere Herkunft.

³¹ Ricci 1914, 58-59, Abb. 38; Deichmann 1974, 67 (Galla Placidia).

³² Striker und Doğan Kuban 1998, 56.

³³ In den Dachzwischenräumen der Kirche des Lipsklosters in Konstantinopel (gegr. 907), Macridy 1964, 260, und in den Zwickeln zwischen äußerer Kuppelkalotte und Außenmauer der Zisterne in den Substruktionen des Manganpalastes in Konstantinopel, Demangel und Mamboury 1939, 46, 148-50, fig. 49, 197-99, die auf die Vorliebe der Konstantinopler Architekten makedonischer Zeit für diese Methode zur Erleichterung der Dachkonstruktion hinwiesen. Vgl. auch Choisy 1883, 20.

³⁴ *Opus mixtum* an den Kirchenbauten in Pitiunt und Noklakevi-Archaeopolis/Innerlazika; die Basilika von Petra hat eine aus exakten Blöcken erbaute Apsis, während der Naos in *opus mixtum* errichtet war. Vgl. dazu Plontke-Lüning im Druck.

³⁵ Kassab Tezgör und Dereli 2001, besonders 216-17, Abb. 7-8.

³⁶ Brandenburg 1998, 59-61; 2000, 43-44, Abb. 45, 48; 2004, 205.

³⁷ Deichmann 1974, 18-19; 1976, 64-66, 68-69; Storz 1994, 85-86; Russo 1996.



Abb. 12: Dranda, Kirche von Südost (Aufnahme A. Plontke-Lüning).

Osten – verbreitet war. S. Storz vermutet, dass auch die Verbreitung der Tonröhrenwölbungen verbunden war mit dem Militärbauwesen und der Dislozierung von Militäreinheiten.³⁸ Was die Entdeckung der *tubi fictili* in Sinope für die Entwicklung der Kuppelarchitektur in Kaukasien zu bedeuten hat, lässt sich vorerst noch nur ahnen.

Mit der Kirche in Dranda (Abb. 12) steht am Ende unserer Betrachtungen wieder ein aus *opus testaceum* errichteter Bau, der in der ostpontischen wie in der gesamten südkaukasischen Architektur singulär ist. Die Proportionen der Kirche und v. a. die Struktur ihrer Kuppel mit den in die Kuppelschale einschneidenden Fenstern erinnern an frühbyzantinische Kirchen in Konstantinopel. Auf die erneute Expansion der Ziegelbauweise im Osten in justinianischer Zeit hat Deichmann hingewiesen.³⁹ Die Ziegelmaße in Dranda entsprechen etwa denen des 6. Jhs. in Konstantinopel⁴⁰ und denen von Halebiye-Zenobia nach 540;⁴¹ für das 7. Jh. stehen keine Maße zur Verfügung. Das wichtigste Datierungskriterium geben jedoch die Gefäße von der Narthexwölbung, die ins 6./7. Jh. zu datieren sind.⁴² Selbst wenn eine längere Verwendungsdauer angenommen wird, erscheint es unwahrscheinlich, daß die Gefäße ein Jahrhundert in Gebrauch gewesen sein sollten bzw. aus einem Lager heraus erst

³⁸ Storz 1994, 18-19 m. Anm. 124.

³⁹ Storz 1994, 487-80.

⁴⁰ Tabelle bei Deichmann 1979, 525.

⁴¹ Deichmann 1979, 527.

⁴² Khrushkova 2002, 268-69.

im 8. Jh. wiederverwendet worden sein sollten. Hinzu kommt, daß die Ziegelmaße denen der justinianischen Zeit nahe sind. Eine Errichtung des Baus in justinianischer Zeit, wie von Jakobson und früher auch von Khrushkova vorgeschlagen, ist mit den zur Verfügung stehenden Kriterien durchaus denkbar. Daß eine "Kirche bei den Apsilen" bei Prokop, der eine große Zahl von Kirchbauten in allen Teilen des Reiches und seiner Peripherien aufzählt, nicht erwähnt ist, kann nicht a priori als Gegenargument verwendet werden.

Doch erscheint eine Bauzeit im Zusammenhang mit den herakleianischen Feldzügen in den zwanziger Jahren des 7. Jhs. ebenso gut möglich. Von 626 bis zur Offensive gegen die Perser im Herbst 627 stand Herakleios mit dem Gros des Heeres in Lazika.⁴³ Details dieses Aufenthaltes sind nicht bekannt, doch darf wohl ein ähnliches Engagement, wie es der Kaiser der georgischen Überlieferung zufolge für die Befestigung des Christentums besonders in Iberien entfaltete,⁴⁴ auch für die christlichen Stämme am Ostpontos vorausgesetzt werden. In diesen Zusammenhang ließe sich der Bau einer Kirche für die Apsilen nach Konstantinopler Bauplan und in Ziegelbauweise gut einordnen, zumal der am Zugang zum Kodorit, das mit dem Klukhorpaß zu den wichtigen Übergängen nach Nordkaskasien gehörte, gelegene Ort von großer strategischer Bedeutung war.

Diese kurze Betrachtung der römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bautechniken im Ostpontos führt zu dem Schluß, dass neue Bautechniken, importiert mit dem römischen Heer, auch hier an der Peripherie des Imperium Romanum sehr rasch Anwendung fanden.

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⁴³ Ostrogorsky 1952, 83.

⁴⁴ Kartlis Tskhovreba Q. 224 Bbcp; Übersetzungen: Thomson 1996, 369-70; Patsch 1986, 296-97.

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THE INVESTITURE SCENE ON THE AVCHALISKARI SEAL (EASTERN GEORGIA)

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Abstract

The note publishes a very rare seal made of amber. It was found in Caucasian Iberia (eastern Georgia) but was made probably in eastern Asia Minor in the 5th-6th centuries AD.

A number of Sasanian glyptic objects have been found in Caucasian Iberia (eastern Georgia), in particular in the late antique burial grounds of its ancient capital, Mtskheta.¹ One of the most interesting from the Avchaliskari cemetery is an amber seal. It is ellipsoid (18 × 11 mm; ht 17 mm), made of brownish-red amber, with flattened sides, a small string hole, and a flat and oval surface (Fig. 1).

The seal depicts two riders standing face to face. Their heads cannot be seen clearly, but their elongated chins point to the presence of beards. Both men have diadems on their heads, the ribbons knotted on the crowns of the head and flowing down their backs. Neither their bodies nor their garments can be seen in detail, although the motion of their hands is clearly visible. The rider on the right holds a diadem in his upraised hand; one hand of the rider on the left holds a similar diadem. Above it an object can be detected, possibly indicating a barsom branch. The horses stand very close to each other, their heads almost touching, their forelegs bent in a pose of worship before a small fire-altar placed between them.

The scene shown is one of investiture – that is to say, it depicts a scene of the bestowal of power. The theme, which is widespread on Sasanian rock reliefs, is not common for glyptics, doubtless conditioned by the difficulties of representing such a composition on so small a surface. A few examples are to be found in various collections. The principal design must have been copied from rock reliefs where the heraldic style characteristic of ancient Near Eastern art was maintained. An image of two riders – the god Ahura Mazda and the king – facing each other on horseback is a well-established motif, one appearing on early rock reliefs. Both riders hold a diadem, a symbol of power, which is being handed over by the god to the king. In these scenes we often see the prostrate body of a defeated enemy. Maintaining proper proportions must have been a secondary consideration. The bodies of the riders are much bigger than those of their horses; their right arms, outstretched, are slightly lengthened. This can be seen clearly on the investiture relief of Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rostam, which is considered to be one of the most perfect examples.² In other cases, for example on the investiture relief of Bahram I at Bishapur³ and Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam,⁴ these difficulties

¹ See Ramishvili 1979, which studies and publishes 118 Sasanian gems of the 4th-7th centuries AD found throughout Caucasian Iberia.

² Ghirshman 1962, fig. 168.

³ Ghirshman 1962, fig. 211.

⁴ Lukonin 1969, 67, fig. 10.

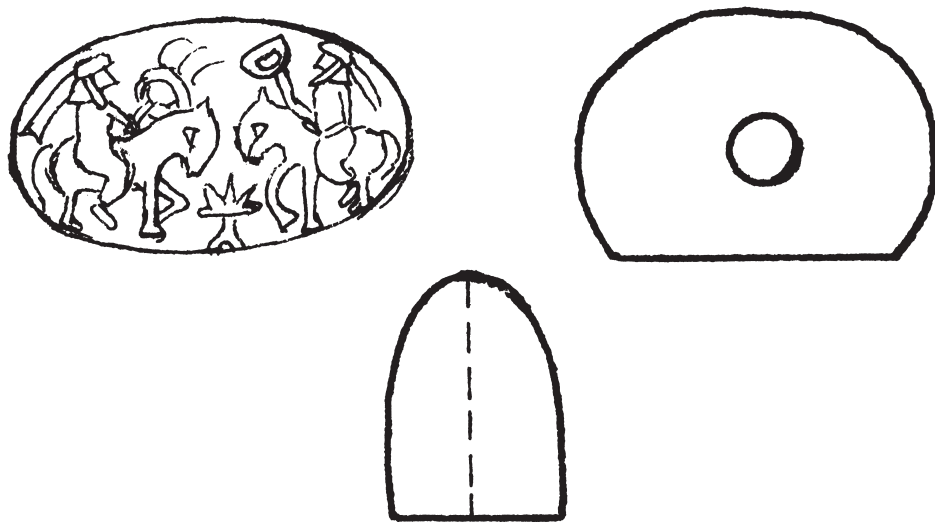


Fig. 1: Investiture scene on the Avchaliskari ellipsoid (twice actual size).

were overcome by the god holding the diadem whilst the king held the ribbon flowing from it.

The principal design represented on the surface of the seals is also kept unchanged, although the presentation of details varies: the riders on the seal in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg are standing in traditional poses, but we do not see a diadem in their hands. Moreover, in one case we can see a crescent under the horses' legs,⁵ while in another there is not only a crescent but a star and the prostrate figure of an enemy as well.⁶ On the chalcedony seal in the British Museum, the goddess Anahita (whose image is to be found on rock reliefs) stands between the riders and holds out a diadem to the king.⁷ Of some interest is a seal in the Ashmolean Museum, where the riders stand face to face but, instead of a diadem, they hold the ends of a flowing ribbon – in this case a symbol of power just as the diadem is in the others.⁸ Thus were technical difficulties overcome. The same explanation may be given for the presence of the two diadems on the Avchaliskari seal.

So far, no analogies to the small altar observed between the bent legs of the horses have been found on glyptic investiture scenes – in contrast to Sasanian coins, where a fire-altar is the most important element of the composition. The investiture scenes were transformed later into a dull scene with an image of a fire-altar and its guards.⁹ The image of an altar in

⁵ Lukonin 1963, fig. 126.

⁶ Ghirshman 1962, fig. 295c.

⁷ Bivar 1969, fig. BL.

⁸ Gignoux and Gyeselen 1987, pl. V, 11.1.

⁹ Trever and Lukonin 1987, 65, figs. 29-34.

such scenes was not typical of rock reliefs: only one is known from an earlier period – at Furizabad, where a small altar (*Atashdan*), shown in an upright position, is located between Ahura Mazda and the king in the investiture scene of Ardashir I.¹⁰ Small altars are quite usual on Sasanian glyptics, including material found in Georgian burials. Altars of this type can be observed on their own as well as with other images, rendered realistically or schematically, showing flames expressed by straight lines or small holes.¹¹

The Avchaliskari seal has something in common with various intaglios of an earlier period found in Georgia, where a god on horseback stands before an altar closely resembling that on the Avchaliskari seal. The pose of the horse is similar and the rider wears a hat with rays. This group of gems is usually associated with the god Mithras. Some believe them to originate from eastern Asia Minor;¹² others that the subject is from this region but that the objects were produced in Caucasian Iberia.¹³ An analogous image is seen on coins of the 3rd century AD minted in Trapezus, although the altar stem is lengthened.¹⁴ All these intaglios with similar images (from Mtskheta-Samtavro, Urnisi and Kutaisi) are convex, made of dark-red cornelian. In addition, there are also four glass intaglios from Urnisi, probably local imitations of the gems described.¹⁵ It may be supposed that the Avchaliskari seal was also the product of eastern Asia Minor, and that therefore the altar was included in the theme of Sasanian investitures.

It becomes easier to date the seal if we define the type of burial complex and shape of stone. A bronze ellipsoid with flattened profile must be a later variation of this form.¹⁶ A bronze pin decorated with rosettes as well as white glass beads and a bronze ring found in the settlement can be attributed to the 5th-6th centuries AD.¹⁷ We suppose that the seal described above can also be dated to that period.¹⁸

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¹⁰ Ghirshman 1962, fig. 167.

¹¹ Maximova 1950, figs. 21, 83; Ramishvili 1979, figs. 23, 91.

¹² Javakhishvili 1972, 81-82, fig. 135.

¹³ Lordkipanidze 1969, 144-46, figs. 136-138; Gagoshidze 1964, 41-43, figs. B-D.

¹⁴ Gagoshidze 1964, 41-43, figs. B-D.

¹⁵ Javakhishvili 1972, figs. 191-194.

¹⁶ Brunner 1971, 30-31, figs. 23-24.

¹⁷ Apkhazava 1979, pls. XV-XVI.

¹⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. David Bivar and Prof. Sir John Boardman for their comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this note.

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (6)

Several volumes of the selected writings of prominent academics have appeared in the last few years. Heinz Heinen has been a leading scholar of Hellenistic, Roman and Black Sea history for many years, inaugurating many projects and a pioneer of East-West collaboration in Germany (assisted by his knowledge of several modern languages, not least Russian). To mark his 65th birthday and his retirement from the Professorship of Ancient History in the University of Trier, the collection *Vom hellenistischen Osten zum römischen Westen* has been published, appropriately, in view of his many years of service to *Historia*, as one of the editors, as a *Historia Einzelschriften* (vol. 191).¹ The volume opens with a list of his publications (6 monographs, 143 articles, 139 book reviews, etc.; pp. xiv-xxvii). There follow 29 papers, divided into four sections – Graeco-Roman Egypt (11 papers), the Bosporan kingdom and the Black Sea littoral (7 papers), Christianity and Late Antiquity (7 papers), and Slavery (4 papers) – plus an Addenda (updating the bibliography of some papers) and a Corrigenda. It is very valuable to have his major articles (published between 1968 and 2002) gathered together between one set of covers. At almost the same time, a short collection of Heinen's essays appeared, devoted to his particular interests in the northern Black Sea littoral.² These provide a general outline of different aspects of the region's history, including the Scythian world of Herodotus, the cult of Achilles, slavery, etc.

Fergus Millar, for long Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, has been recognised deservedly as one of the most influential Roman historians of the last century. The University of North Carolina Press has published three volumes of his collected papers under the general title of 'Rome, the Greek World, and the East': *The Roman Republic and the Augustan Revolution*;³ *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*;⁴ and

¹ H. Heinen, edited by A. Binsfeld and S. Pfeiffer with assistance from A. Coskun *et al.*, *Vom hellenistischen Osten zum römischen Westen. Ausgewählte Schriften zur Alten Geschichte*, *Historia-Einzelschrift* 191, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006, xxviii+534 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 3-515-08740-0/13: 978-3-515-08740-7.

² H. Heinen, *Antike am Rande der Steppe. Der nördliche Schwarzmeerraum als Forschungsaufgabe*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 2006, no. 5, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006, 92 pp., 23 figs. Paperback. ISBN 10: 3-515-08921-7/13: 978-3-515-08921-0.

³ F. Millar, *The Roman Republic and the Augustan Revolution*, edited by H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, Rome, The Greek World, and the East Vol. 1, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC 2002, xxx+383 pp., maps. Paperback. ISBN 0-8078-4990-1.

⁴ F. Millar, *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*, edited by H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, Rome, The Greek World, and the East Vol. 2, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC 2004, xxxiv+470 pp., 1 map. Paperback. ISBN 0-8078-5520-0.

*The Greek World, The Jews, and The East*⁵ – altogether more than 1400 pages, in which 54 articles and chapters, many of them long out of print or difficult to find. The final volume contains an Epilogue by the author, 'Re-drawing the Map?' (pp. 487-509), a memorable piece in which he provides us with a brief survey of his latest thoughts and impressions on the state of ancient history – this should be made compulsory reading for all ancient history students; Millar also thanks his editors (H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, both his former students) for the great amount of work they have put in. It is not just Millar who is in their debt; so are we all. The publishers are to be congratulated not just for undertaking this enormous project but for their painstaking attention to detail.

Another collection is that of the writings of Anthony Snodgrass, who occupied with distinction the Lawrence Professorship of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge for many years. His research revolutionised understanding of Dark Age and Archaic Greece. *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece* presents 25 papers and chapters published between 1965 and 2002, arranged in six sections: 'A Credo' (5 papers), 'The Early Iron Age in Greece' (5 papers), 'The Early *Polis* at Home and Abroad' (6 papers), 'The Early *Polis* at War' (3 papers), 'Early Greek Art' (4 papers), and 'Archaeological Survey' (2 papers).⁶ 'A Credo' is methodological in content; it represents essential reading for those entering upon classical archaeology as their chosen career. To each section Snodgrass has added some introductory remarks and the most recent core bibliography. Even the earliest papers included here have not lost their importance, and the publishers have done scholars a service by bringing these pieces together in one fine volume.

To celebrate Jim Coulton's 40 years in the world of classical archaeology and architecture, and mark his retirement from the Readership in Classical Archaeology at Oxford, a colloquium was held in April 2004 at Lincoln College. The papers have been published by BAR in a handsome volume, *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades*.⁷ This opens with two papers on Coulton's contribution to classical archaeology overall and to the discipline in Oxford in particular. The nine papers, written by his pupils and colleagues, discuss Cycladic settlement and landscape, cult places, Emborio and Kambos, a newly discovered Archaic building on Naxos, a Greek temple on Kythnos, the sanctuary of Apollo at Despotiko Mandra, Naxian and Parian architecture, buildings for votive ships on Delos and Samothrace, and the tower of Agia Triada on Amorgos. A list of the honorand's publications is given on pp. xiii-xxii. This volume is a fine tribute to a fine scholar and teacher.

A two-volume Festschrift, *Synergia*, commemorates the 65th birthday of Friedrich Krinzing, Director of the Austrian Institute of Archaeology of the Austrian Academy of

⁵ F. Millar, *The Greek World, The Jews, and The East*, edited by H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, Rome, The Greek World, and the East Vol. 3, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC 2006, xxvii+516 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-8078-5693-2/13: 978-0-8078-5693-2

⁶ A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece. Collected Papers on Early Greece and Related Topics (1965-2002)*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2006, x+486 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-7486-2333-7.

⁷ M. Yeroulanou and M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in Honour of J.J. Coulton*, BAR International Series 1455, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, xii+198, illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-893-9.

Sciences, Professor of Classical Archaeology and Director of the Institute of Classical Archaeology of the University of Vienna, and Director of the Austrian excavation at Ephesus.⁸ One hundred and twenty-three authors from many countries contribute 101 papers; and 206 names feature on the *Tabula Gratulatoria*. The papers reflect the impressive range of the academic interests of the dedicatee. They are arranged in sections, but that on Krinzing's prime interest, Ephesus, comprises the whole of the first volume. The sections in the other volume cover Velia, Mediterranean archaeology, Roman archaeology in Austria, and Art History. Many of the contributions are substantial pieces in themselves, and the whole work is a very substantial monument to its dedicatee. The project had but three editors; they should be congratulated for the tremendous effort they have put in to these fine volumes, as should the publisher for the quality of production.

Urbanisation and Emporia

In November 2001 the British Academy held a two-day conference dedicated to Mediterranean urbanisation between 800 and 600 BC. Its aim was to outline the patterns of major settlement change throughout the Mediterranean, based on new evidence accumulated since the 1980s. The papers from the conference were published in 2005 in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 126.⁹ The volume opens with the text of R. Osborne's Mortimer Wheeler Lecture: 'Urban Sprawl: What is Urbanization and Why does it Matter?'. Several papers examine various aspects of urbanisation across the whole region: F. de Polignac, 'Forms and Processes: Some Thoughts on the Meaning of Urbanization in Early Archaic Greece'; C. Riva, 'The Culture of Urbanization in the Mediterranean c.800-600 BC'; L. Foxhall, 'Village to City: Staples and Luxuries? Exchange Networks and Urbanization'; and N. Purcell, 'Statics and Dynamics: Ancient Mediterranean Urbanism'. The rest have a geographical focus: M. Iacovou, 'The Early Iron Age Urban Forms of Cyprus'; T. Rasmussen, 'Urbanization in Etruria'; C. Smith, 'The Beginnings of Urbanization in Rome'; P. Attema, 'Early Urbanization between 800 and 600 BC in the Pontine Region (South Lazio), the Salento Isthmus (Apulia), and the Sibaritide (Northern Calabria)'; P. van Dommelen, 'Urban Foundation? Colonial Settlement and Urbanization in the Western Mediterranean'; D. Garcia, 'Urbanization and Spatial Organization in Southern France and North-Eastern Spain during the Iron Age'; and M.E. Aubet, 'Mainake: the Legend and the New Archaeological Evidence'. Thus, the conference achieved much of its purpose. We are furnished with new ideas and new material. Unfortunately, some parts of the Mediterranean are absent: the Levant, North Africa and western Turkey. Their inclusion would have given a more complete and more comprehensive picture.

The 10th International Aegean Conference, held at the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens in April 2004, was dedicated to the *emporion* and how it could be defined in the 2nd-millennium BC Mediterranean. Two lavish volumes publish the proceedings – 83 papers,

⁸ B. Brandt, V. Gassner and S. Ladstätter (eds.), *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzing*, 2 vols., Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2005. Vol. 1: 392 pp., illustrations; Vol. 2: 326 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-901232-61-3; 3-901232-62-1.

⁹ R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe (eds.), *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC*, Proceedings of the British Academy 126, The British Academy/Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, xvi+279 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-19-726325-9.

104 authors.¹⁰ The contents are divided into sections: 'Methodology of Emporia', 'Crete', 'Mycenae and the North', 'Asia Minor', 'Cyprus', 'The Levant', 'Egypt', 'Central Mediterranean', 'Arts and Crafts', 'Seals', and 'Written Sources'. I found these volumes amongst the most informative and fascinating conference proceedings I have ever read. No paper fails to provide new material, ideas or discussion; sometimes all three. It is very interesting to see how different is the approach of those studying Mycenaeans and Minoans to the concept of the *emporion* from that of Classicists.¹¹ The approach of Classicists is dominated by Greek written sources from the 5th century BC and later, with archaeology used quite often just to put a gloss on the written evidence. For the 2nd millennium BC there is no Herodotus; thus, the approach is from the material evidence combined with theory. Most contributions consider the *emporion* principally as a trading settlement, but several also emphasise the role of itinerant and resident craftsmen.¹² This publication is a call to enhanced dialogue between Classicists and Bronze Age Aegean specialists.¹³ Each can learn something from the methodology and insights of the other.

The Western Mediterranean

The proceedings of the 6th Conference of Italian Archaeology, held in April 2003 at Groningen, are published in two hefty *BAR* volumes (nearly 1100 pages in total). The conference was in honour of Prof. M. Kleibrink, one of the leading Dutch specialists in Italian archaeology, who retired in 2004. There were 123 papers and posters by more than 220 scholars.¹⁴ They are arranged in sections: 'Opening Papers', 'Theory and Aims in Italian Archaeology,

¹⁰ R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), *Emporia. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference/10^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14-18 April 2004*, 2 vols., Aegaeum 25, Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique/University of Texas at Austin, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, Liège 2005, 843 pp., illustrations. Cased. No ISBN/ISSN.

¹¹ See, for example, A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'Emporion* (Paris 1993); M.H. Hansen, 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In G.R. Tsatsikis (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* vol. 1 (Leiden/Boston 2006), 1-39.

¹² For a similar approach, see, for example, G.R. Tsatsikis, 'Pistiros in the System of Pontic Emporia (Greek Trading and Craft Settlements in the Hinterland of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea and Elsewhere)'. In L. Domaradzka et al. (eds.), *Structures économiques dans la péninsule balkanique VI^e-II^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Opole 2000), 235-46.

¹³ See also J.F. Cherry, D. Margomenou and L.E. Talalay (eds.), *Prehistorians Round the Pond. Reflections on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline* (Ann Arbor 2005).

¹⁴ P. Attema, A. Nijboer and A. Zifferero, with O. Satijn, L. Alessandri, M. Bierma and E. Bolhuis (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI: Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period. Proceedings of the 6th Conference of Italian Archaeology Held at the University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology, The Netherlands, April 15-17, 2003*. Vol. 1: *Opening Papers and Themes: Theory and Aims in Italian Archaeology; Archaeology of Communities and Landscape; Burials and Urbanism; Urbanism; Chronology; Domestic Pottery and Food Systems; Technology and Preservation*. Vol. 2: *New Developments in Fieldwork; The Neolithic Period; Bronze and Iron Age; The Orientalizing and Archaic Period; The Roman and Medieval Periods; Landscape Archaeology and Surveys; List of Participants*, *BAR International Series* 1452 (I-II), Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, xii+1080 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-888-2.

Archaeologies of Communities and Landscape', 'Burials and their Interpretations', 'Urbanism', 'Domestic Pottery and Food Systems', 'Chronology', and 'Technology and Preservation'. The second volume is given over entirely to new developments in fieldwork, divided by period: Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages, the Orientalising and Archaic periods, Roman and mediaeval, and landscape archaeology and surveys. The opening papers (vol. 1) give an overview of Italian archaeology and new developments such as a diachronic study of settlement and society from prehistory to the Middle Ages, historical processes in the Bronze and Early Iron Age, reconstructing the Orientalising and Archaic period, the urbanism of Etruscans, Italics and Latins, recent debates in Italian classical archaeology, and mediaeval archaeology in Italy. The section on chronology is of particular interest in view of the continuing debate in the academic literature about this subject. More and more is being written about the new chronology of the Mediterranean, but we still await definite answers for the whole Mediterranean basin, not just for Italy.¹⁵ Overall, these two huge volumes make a valuable contribution to the study of the whole Mediterranean.

The fortifications of Magna Graecia in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods form the subject of the book by R. Sconfienza, which forms the first volume in a new series on military archaeology and architecture.¹⁶ The author gives a detailed description and classification of military fortifications described by ancient Greek authors. The second part of the work is devoted to an architectural study of the fortifications of such cities and sites as Taranto, Metaponto, the castle of Paludi, Crotone, Caulonia, Locri, Velia and Paestum. Attention is paid also to the defence of their agricultural territories. The book is lavishly illustrated by plans and reconstructions.

Archaic Sicily is the subject of M.F. Vysokii's book.¹⁷ The first two chapters discuss tyranny on the island, from the end of the 7th to the 6th century BC and in the first half

¹⁵ See particularly A. Gilboa and I. Sharon, 'An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and Their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus, and Greece'. *BASOR* 322 (2000), 1-75; A. Gilboa, 'Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast – A Reconciliation: An Interpretation of Sikila (SKL) Material Culture'. *BASOR* 337 (2005), 1-32; A.J. Nijboer, 'The Iron Age in the Mediterranean: A Chronological Mess or 'Trade before the Flag', Part II'. *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 255-77; G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino (eds.), *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi e Discipline a Confronto. Riflessioni sulla Cronologia dell'Età del Ferro Italiana* (Pisa/Rome 2005); E. Boaretto, A.J.T. Jull, A. Gilboa and H. Sharon, 'Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition in Israel: First Intercomparison Results'. *Radiocarbon* 47.1 (2005), 39-55; J. Boardman, 'Early Euboean Settlements in the Carthage Area'. *OJA* 25.2 (2006), 195-200; F. González de Canales, L. Serrano and J. Llompart, 'The Pre-colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva ca. 900-770 BC'. *BABesch* 81 (2006), 25-40; A.J. Nijboer and J. van der Plicht, 'An interpretation of the radiocarbon determinations of the oldest indigenous-Phoenician stratum thus far, excavated at Huelva, Tartessos (south-west Spain)'. *BABesch* 81 (2006), 41-46; G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation'. In Tsetskhladze 2006 (as in n. 11), xxxi-xxxviii, xlviii-xlix.

¹⁶ R. Sconfienza, *Fortificazioni tardo classiche e ellenistiche in Magna Grecia. I casi esemplari nell'Italia del Sud*, Notebooks on Military Archaeology and Architecture 1, BAR International Series 1341, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2005, x+108 pp., 74 tabs. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-395-3.

¹⁷ M.F. Vysokii, *Istoriya Sitsilii v arkhaiskuyu epokhu: rannayay grecheskaya tiraniya kontsa VII-srediny V v. do n.e.* (History of Sicily in the Archaic Period: Early Greek Tyranny of the 7th-Middle of the 5th Century BC), Studia Classica, Publishing Centre 'Gumanitarnaya Akademiya', St Petersburg 2004, 446 pp., 46 figs. Cased. ISBN 5-93762-039-9.

of the 5th century respectively; the third examines lesser-known tyrants in Syracuse, Selinus, Himera, Zancle and Rhegion. There are three appendices: the first on problems of foundation dates and the chronology of ruling tyrants; the second on Sicilian history pre-tyranny; and the last on legendary and real tyrannic dynasties in Sicily. There is a full bibliography.

The long-awaited book by M. Gras, H. Tréziny and H. Broise is an extremely welcome addition to our knowledge of Archaic Megara Hyblaea.¹⁸ It provides a comprehensive account of the development of the colony and its territory, beginning with the history of the discovery and investigation of the site, giving details of the excavations and surveys undertaken in 1949 and subsequent years, and placing special emphasis on the extensive excavations of the French project here from 1977 to 1983. Chapters 4-8 present detailed descriptions of the Archaic remains, including the fortifications, the temples and *temenos*, the *agora*, and the residential and craftsmen's quarters. Chapters 9 and 10 provide an interpretation of the archaeological material, discussing town planning and urbanisation, culture and cults, demography and social structure, etc. for the city and its surrounding area. The book is lavishly illustrated with maps, plans and reconstructions, and photographs of excavated monuments and objects (480 illustrations overall, many in colour). There is an exhaustive bibliography on pp. 591-616. The French School in Rome and authors are to be congratulated on this well-produced and indispensable volume.¹⁹

B. Tang's book is a comparative study of the housing of Delos, Carthage and Ampurias from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD, with a particular focus on the 2nd-1st centuries BC.²⁰ It is an expanded version of the author's PhD dissertation, submitted to the University of Copenhagen in 2001. The Introduction outlines Tang's aims, themes and theoretical framework. Chapters 2-4 examine the three named cities, for each giving a history of research, details of topography, describing the houses and their architecture, their interior decoration and the finds made within them, and concluding with a discussion of the urban and regional context. Chapter 5 places the three centres in a wider Mediterranean context, underlining their common and comparative features and demonstrating how different cultural influences are reflected in house architecture. There is an appendix on the typology and terminology of pavements, a detailed Catalogue of the houses studied (pp. 221-338), and 28 tables containing comparative data on the houses (pp. 341-93).

Europe, the Black Sea Area and the Steppes

The Rise of Bronze Age Society seeks to bring together two fields of research – European and classical (Mediterranean) archaeology.²¹ It goes farther, exploring the Near East as well, to

¹⁸ M. Gras, H. Tréziny and H. Broise, *La Ville Archaique. L'espace urbain d'une cité grecque de Sicile orientale*, Mégara Hyblaea I/V, École française de Rome, Collection de l'École française de Rome 2004, viii+649 pp., 480 figs. Paperback. ISBN 2-7283-0722-9/ISSN 0223-5099.

¹⁹ See also F. De Angelis, *Megara Hyblaia and Selinus. The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily* (Oxford 2003).

²⁰ B. Tang, *Delos, Carthage, Ampurias. The Housing of Three Mediterranean Trading Centres*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* suppl. XXXVI, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rome 2005, 398 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 88-8265-305-6.

²¹ K. Kristainsen and T. Larsson, *The Rise of Bronze Age Society. Travels, Transmissions and Transformations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, xiv+450 pp., 170 figs. Paperback. ISBN 0-521-60466-4.

demonstrate how ideas are transmitted across time and territory from *ca.* 3000 to 500 BC. The main emphasis of the book is on social change. Chapter 1 is 'A Theoretical Strategy for Studying Interaction'. Chapter 2 treats 'Odysseus: a Bronze Age Archetype'. Subsequent chapters are 'Rulership in the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age', 'Europe in the Early Bronze Age: an Archaeological Background', 'Symbolic Transmission and Social Transformation in Bronze Age Europe', 'The Cosmological Structure of Bronze Age Society', 'Among Gods and Mortals, Animals and Humans', and 'Cosmos and Culture in the Bronze Age'. The book is richly illustrated. It is a stimulating work, of interest to specialists and students, but the reader needs a thorough background in theoretical and conceptual archaeology to make the most of it.

BAR has published the 17 papers and posters from the section of the 14th UISPP Congress (Liège, September 2001) dedicated to the European Iron Age.²² Material presented includes a bronze mount from Drouzkovice in Bohemia, Celtic art in western Gaul, Hallstatt necropoleis in Belgium, Late Iron Age-Early Roman amphorae from the Low Countries, Greek elements in Late Hallstatt religious practice, apsidal constructions in Roman Dacia, a fortified site of the Late Bronze-Late Iron Age at Lake Balaton, a survey of the Potenza valley in Italy, Marnian culture, representations of horses in Geto-Dacian toreutics, Bronze and Iron Age pits in Belgium, storage pits for cereals in north-eastern Iberia, Getic princely treasures of the 4th-3rd centuries BC, the Abashevo culture, a fortified settlement in central Portugal, Early Iron Age sites in western Germany, and Cilicia in the Iron Age.

Hyperboreans is mainly about Greek mythology, its interpretation and the invention of a mythical Greek history.²³ T.P. Bridgman uses the Hyperboreans as a case study, underlining the uncertain and fluctuating location of these people. Sometimes they were identified with the Celts, who, like them, were a feasting-and-drinking people with great quantities of gold. The book examines in detail the information provided by Antimachus of Colophon, Heraclides Ponticus, Hecataeus of Abdera, Apollonius of Rhodes and Posidonius of Apamea, to test the accuracy of this identification. Traditionally, the Hyperboreans were seen as peaceful, but when Heraclides upset this image, writing that they had descended from the North to sack Rome, he was really manufacturing a new myth. Throughout the book, Bridgman tries to separate myth from reality in the context of Graeco-Celtic contacts. An appendix contains the Greek texts mentioning the Hyperboreans (in original and translation).

Celts on the Margin is a collection of 22 studies in European cultural interaction dedicated to Prof. Zenon Woźniak, a bibliography of whose works provides an appropriate opening to the volume.²⁴ The first papers examine '...Material culture as a marker of regional

²² *Section 12: Age du Fer en Europe/The Iron Age in Europe: Sessions générales et posters/General Sessions and Posters*, Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès UISPP, Université de Liège, Belgique, 2-8 septembre 2001/Acts of the XIVth UISPP Congress, University of Liège, Belgium, 2-8 September 2001, Édité par/Edited by Le Secrétariat du Congrès, Président de la Section 12: Anne Cahen-Delhay, BAR International Series 1378, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, ii+134 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-818-1.

²³ T.P. Bridgman, *Hyperboreans: Myth and History in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts*, Routledge, New York/London 2005, xx+249 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-96978-6.

²⁴ H. Dobrzańska, V. Megaw and P. Poleska (eds.), *Celts on the Margin. Studies in European Cultural Interaction 7th Century BC – 1st Century AD Dedicated to Zenon Woźniak*, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow 2005, 212 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 83-908823-8-8.

and supra-regional interaction in Iron Age Europe' and 'The human figure in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène art', and review 'Early Celtic art without Scythians?'. The remaining contributions are more geographically or object-focused: Celts in the northern Adriatic; Late La Tène culture in central Slavonia; a history of investigation of the La Tène period in northern Croatia; finds in south-eastern Serbia; Celtic settlements, raids and campaigns in regions of Thrace; a brooch from the western Ukraine; tombs in south-western Transylvania; contacts between Moravia and the Scordisci; finds of La Tène weaponry in central Slovakia; Transcarpathian culture and settlement; La Tène settlement in Upper Silesia and a Celtic settlement near Cracow; Celtic grey pottery from Poland; a Late La Tène inhumation in Little Poland; 'Horn-handled' bowls; the earliest Eastern Celtic glass ornaments; and La Tène elements in north Pontic metalwork. This wide-ranging book, packed with new ideas and information, fulfils its aim of demonstrating cultural interaction in Europe between the 7th century BC and the 1st century AD. It is well illustrated and well produced.

The Institute of Thracology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has published a volume to mark the 10th Thracological Congress, held in Athens in 2005.²⁵ This is a wide-ranging collection containing new material and ideas, with articles on such topics as Thracian dynasties, Salmidessos, Thracians and their neighbours, tomb-sanctuaries, Phrygian and Thracian script and literacy, the beginning of the Iron Age in Macedonia, Thracian riders, Nicopolis ad Istrum, the Thracian contribution to ancient architecture, amongst others. No attempt has been made to edit the language, notes, citations or bibliographies in order to achieve any uniformity, as the editors state explicitly (p. 4).

The Department of Archaeology at St Kliment Ohridski University in Sofia continues to be one of Bulgaria's most prominent centres for archaeological research. The third volume of its *Annual* has recently appeared.²⁶ It publishes contributions on Neolithic and Chalcolithic pottery, the Bronze Age in Upper Thrace, Orpheus among Thracian warriors, the Lysimachus treasure, the urban development of Philippopolis in the 1st-2nd centuries AD, etc. The section chronicling archaeological excavation includes reports on investigations in Sboryanovo, Durostorum-Drastar-Silistra, the Maritsa valley, etc.

The same department also publishes the series *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Serdicensis*. Supplement 3 is D. Vasileva's monograph, *The Thracian Tombs*, which undertakes an architectural-metrical study of Thracian tombs.²⁷ The first chapter discusses dimensions and the territorial distribution and origins of the units of measurement used by ancient Thracians; the second examines the technology and methods deployed in designing and constructing the tombs, using tombs at Kurt Kale, Mal Tepe, Zhaba mound, Ravnogor and elsewhere as case studies. The final chapter provides a detailed investigation of the Kazanlak tomb. The substantial Supplement 4, *Stephanos Archaeologicos*, is dedicated to

²⁵ *Thracia 16*, In Honour of 10th Congress of Thracology, Greece 2005, Institute of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia 2005, 314 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 0204-9872.

²⁶ *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia "St Kliment Ohridski" Faculté d'Histoire Studia Archaeologica 3*, University Press "St Kliment Ohridski", Sofia 2006, 300 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 1310-6090.

²⁷ D. Vasileva, with a contribution by D. Stoyanova, *The Thracian Tombs: Architectural-Metrical Study*, *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Serdicensis* suppl. III, University Press "St Kliment Ohridski", Sofia 2005, 184 pp., 79 figs. in text, 20 tabs., 12 colour plates in appendix. Paperback. ISSN 1312-7284. In Bulgarian, summary in English.

Prof. L. Getov.²⁸ It opens with a short biography and the bibliography of the dedicatee. There are 70 contributions, with topics such as Magic Axes, pottery kilns from Drustur, finds of the 1st-6th centuries AD from the Vratsa district, amphorae and amphora-stamps from Thrace, relief pottery from south-western Bulgaria, Phrygian tombs and Greek sanctuaries, Thracian riders, Classical and Hellenistic graffiti from Thrace, the Greek colonisation of Samothrace, to name but a few. The volume is richly illustrated, but the poor quality of photographs (in particular) mars their overall effectiveness. L. Ognenova-Marinova is honoured by the volume *Heros Hephaistos*, published by the same department in conjunction with the Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.²⁹ This also starts with a tribute to the dedicatee, one of the pioneers of underwater archaeology in Bulgaria, followed by a list of her publications (about a hundred). There are 55 contributions; these range across Orphic magic, the cult of Demeter in Macedonia, the Letnitsa treasure, the image of Orpheus in Thrace, Thracian amphorae and amphora-stamps from the Burgas area, Greek necropoleis in northern Dobrudja, funerary monuments, terracottas and clay cult-objects from the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica, the Panagyurishte treasure, and many other matters.

The Department of Archaeology of the St Kliment Ohridski University at Sofia is deeply involved in fieldwork. One of their most important excavations is of the Getic capital in Sbo-ryanovo. To celebrate 20 years of investigation, a very well put together, richly illustrated book has been produced, with parallel text in Bulgarian and English.³⁰ Individual sections examine the geographical location, fortifications and town planning, stratigraphy and chronology, architectural remains, economy and culture, everyday life, arms and warfare, and religious life. The site has been identified with Helis, mentioned by Diodorus (21. 12. 2-5) and Strabo (7. 3. 14) as the capital of a Getic dynasty from the Early Hellenistic period.

Even this short mention of selected publications from Bulgaria demonstrates the quantity, range and quality of research being undertaken there. A most welcome recent development is the opening of the American Research Center in Sofia (ARCS), the first such in the former Eastern Bloc, which aims to facilitate academic research in Bulgaria by scholars from North America, as well as fostering collaboration between them and scholars from south-eastern Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia). Already in 2006, the Center organised a rich programme of activities – lectures, tours, etc. Cornell University acts as host institution in the United States.³¹

²⁸ T. Stoyanov *et al.* (eds.), *Stephanos Archaeologicos in honorem Ludmili Getov*, Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Serdicensis suppl. IV, University Press “St Kliment Ohridski”, Sofia 2005, xviii+740 pp., illustrations. Paperback. No ISBN/ISSN.

²⁹ T. Stoyanov *et al.* (eds.), *Heros Hephaistos. Studia in honorem Liubae Ognenova-Marinova*, Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of History, St Kliment Ohridski University, Faber, Veliko Tarnovo 2005, 491 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 954-775-531-5.

³⁰ T. Stoyanov, Z. Mihaylova, K. Nikov, M. Nikolaeva and D. Stoyanova, *The Getic Capital in Sbo-ryanovo: 20 Years of Investigations*, Sofia 2006, 58 pp., 73 figs. Paperback. No ISBN/ISSN. Parallel text in Bulgarian and English.

³¹ The Director is Prof. K. Clinton (Department of Classics, Cornell University); the Assistant Director is Dr N. Theodosiev (Department of Archaeology, St Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia). The first *ARCS Newsletter* appeared in November 2006. Information on the ARCS and its activities can be found at <www.einaudi.cornell.edu/arcs/>.

Part II of S.Y. Vnukov's book³² concludes his many years of painstaking study of amphorae of the Black Sea littoral of the 1st century BC-2nd century AD.³³ The first chapter is dedicated to a petrographical study of the amphorae, the next to their chronology. Chapter 3 looks at the distribution of amphora finds and the dynamics and volume of Pontic trade. Chapter 4 gives an account of the political economy of the Black Sea region from the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 3rd century AD, and the shape of trade. The final chapter outlines the trade relationships of the western and the north-western Black Sea, the Lower Bug and Dnieper area, Chersonesus and the western Crimea, and both parts of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; the development of the Pontic economy in the time of and by the Romans; and the importance of trade for the states and peoples of the Black Sea littoral.

The book by O.L. Gabelko is dedicated to the Hellenistic Bithynian kingdom and is the first comprehensive study of this area.³⁴ In five chapters the geographical position and natural resources of north-western Asia Minor, the ethnic history of Bithynia, the region as part of the Achaemenid empire, the establishment of kingdom, the relationship between the kingdom and Rome, and state institutions are described and examined. There are two appendices: one lists Bithynian personal names, the other is a chronological table of the main events in Bithynian history.³⁵ The very impressive bibliography lists over 700 items.

Scythian protective armour of the 7th-3rd centuries BC is the subject of E.V. Č[er]nenko's fine study,³⁶ an enlarged and updated version of his 1968 Russian book, *Skifskii dospek* (Kiev). There is a Preface by R. Rolle, who has done so much herself for Scythian studies in the West. The author gives very detailed descriptions of scale armour, shields, several types of helmet, greaves, etc., as well as providing catalogues of finds of each type arranged by site, a survey of depictions of the armour in Scythian toreutics, and an analysis of which types and shapes of armour were Scythian and which Greek or Near Eastern. The volume contains numerous illustrations and maps.

The Ancient Near East, and the World of Herodotus

The papers dedicated to ethnicity in ancient Mesopotamia read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden, July 2002) make fascinating reading and form a significant

³² S.Y. Vnukov, *Prichernomorskie amfory I v. do n.e. – II v. n.e., chast' II: petrografiya, khronologiya, problemy trgovli* (Amphorae of the Black Sea Littoral, 1st Century BC-2nd Century AD, Part II: Petrography, Chronology and Problems of Trade), Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Aleteiya, St Petersburg 2006, 318 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 5-89329-819-5. Summary in English.

³³ The first part was published in 2003: S.Y. Vnukov, *Prichernomorskie amfory I v. do n.e. – II v. n.e. (morfologiya)* (Amphorae of the Black Sea Littoral, 1st Century BC-2nd Century AD [Morphology]) (Moscow 2003). See AWE 3.2 (2004), 449-50.

³⁴ O.L. Gabelko, *Istoriya Vifinskogo tsarstva* (History of the Kingdom of Bithynia), Studia Classica, Publishing Centre 'Gumanitarnaya Akademiya', St Petersburg 2005, 574 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 5-93762-022-4.

³⁵ For the neighbouring Pontic kingdom, see now D.B. Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda under the Hellenistic Kingdom of the Mithradatids in the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey* (Leiden/Boston 2006). The book appeared as vol. 12 of *Colloquia Pontica*.

³⁶ E.V. Č[er]nenko, *Die Schutzaffen der Skythen*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde III.2, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006, xiv+158 pp., 45 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-515-08659-5.

contribution to the study of ethnicity, not just in Mesopotamia but throughout the ancient world.³⁷ The papers and topics include: the god Amurru as an emblem of ethnic and cultural identity; 'Akkadian-Greek double names in Hellenistic Babylonia'; ethnicity in Alexander's Orient; 'Examples of ethnic diversity on Assyrian reliefs'; 'Methodological problems in the approach to ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia'; 'Ethnicity in the Assyrian and Achaemenid empires'; ethnic difference and integration in Pharaonic Egypt; 'Some indices of Israelite ethnicity'; 'Arameans and Luwians – processes of an acculturation'; foreign professionals in Babylon; the linguistic landscape of early Mesopotamia; 'Ethnic segregation in Hellenistic Babylon'; and many others. Two papers should be singled out. The first, by the late G. van Driel, 'Ethnicity, how to cope with the subject' (pp. 1-10), is a programmatic piece about how to understand ethnicity and how to identify it in different sources. He makes a telling observation:

The term ethnicity is relatively untainted: it hardly occurs even in fairly recent dictionaries. It does not have the overtones of race, which, even though that word does not have exactly the same meaning in English as the related word has in other European languages, I would assign to the realm of physical anthropology. We have no reason to assume that race in a narrow sense had a special meaning for Ancient Mesopotamian ethnicity, though we probably cannot deny that it had a role in the constructs of ethnic groups by later students (p. 1).

M. Roaf addresses the same questions in his piece 'Ethnicity and Near Eastern archaeology: the limits of inference' (pp. 306-15):

...what is ethnicity? What constitutes an ethnic group? Even without a definition we are aware of the many different 'ethnic groups' present in the modern Near East as well as their significance in the interpretation of the historical records of the ancient Near East. The definition of ethnicity or ethnic group proposed by sociologists or anthropologists have two main drawbacks – first, different groups are described as ethnic by different scholars, and, second, the features by which these groups are defined can only seldom be recognised in the archaeological record (pp. 306-07).

After discussing ethnicity in art and material culture, Roaf concludes:

Ethnicity is an important concept for our modern understanding of ancient Mesopotamia. It was an equally important concept for the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia. In archaeology there are so many plausible reasons for variations in material culture apart from ethnicity – such as trade, economic contacts, political control, social position, way of life, function, etc. – that without the assistance of written texts, it is difficult to distinguish those variations that reflect ethnicity rather than those that reflect other aspects of society. But in art the stereotypes representing different groups of foreigners are often

³⁷ W.H. van Soldt (ed.), with R. Kalvelagen and D. Katz, *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, Uitgaven van Het Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten Te Leiden/Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul CII, Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2005, viii+455 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 90-6258-313-X/ISSN 0926-9568.

recognisable, even if they are not to be trusted as ethnographically accurate depictions (p. 314).

The volume *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* in many ways continues the theme of the previous work.³⁸ The papers concentrate on such matters as writing and the state in India and China; alloglottography in the ancient Near East; the languages and inscriptions of Sumer; Cilicia and Lydia; Urartu; Aramaic and Hebrew in the Persian period; the shifting sands of imperial and cultural identities in 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia; institutions, vernaculars and publics in 2nd-millennium Anatolia; and so forth. This extremely welcome volume explores a variety of relationship among language, writing and society in the ancient Near East.

The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt, C. Booth's book, is an investigation of ethnicity and foreigners in Egypt based on the study of such art objects as statues, stelae, depictions on tombs, etc.³⁹ It opens with a chronological table and a brief account of ethnicity in modern literature, before presenting evidence of the presence in Egypt of Asiatics, Syrians, Libyans, Nubians, Minoans and Indians. Booth then discusses how these groups and identities arrived in Egypt and the attitude of the Egyptians towards them. She concludes that Egypt was made up of a number of different ethnic groups, and that from the 2nd millennium BC there is evidence of the truly multicultural nature of Egyptian society. These conclusions present a quite different picture from that given, for example, by Herodotus (2. 41), who tells us that the Egyptians resented the Greeks.

Thus, ethnicity is a subject as hotly debated in Near Eastern as in Classical studies.⁴⁰ It is obvious that the time has come for broad and intensive dialogue between the two disciplines, to share approaches and methodologies, in order to formulate a more comprehensive and objective idea of what is meant by ethnicity in the ancient world as a whole.

The proceedings of the international conference 'The Iron Age in the Iranian World', held at the University of Ghent in November 2003, have been published in *Iranica Antiqua*.⁴¹ The 27 papers by 33 scholars address subjects such as the chronology of the Iron Age in Luristan, analytical evidence from copper-bronze artefacts in Luristan, southern Urmia in the

³⁸ S.L. Sanders (ed.), *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 2, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2006, xii+300 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-885923-39-2.

³⁹ C. Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Non-Stereotypical Artistic Representation*, BAR International Series 1426, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, 71 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-865-3.

⁴⁰ For the latest, see the 'Discussion' in *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 409-59, with a leading piece by L.G. Mitchell ('Ethnic Identity and the Community of the Hellenes'), and contributions by C.J. Tuplin ('Hellenicities: Marginal Notes to a Book and Review'), R. Osborne ('The Good of Ethnicity'), A.M. Snodgrass ('Sanctuary, Shared Cult and Hellenicity: an Archaeological Angle'), G. Shepherd ('Hellenicity: More Views from the Margins'), A.J. Domínguez ('Hellenic Identity and Greek Colonisation'), and J. Boardman ('Ethnicity-Shmicity?'); E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity* (Stuttgart 2005); G.R. Tsatskheladze, 'Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation' (as in n. 15), li-lxii. See also the review by V. Gassner below, pp. 411-15.

⁴¹ *Iranica Antiqua* XL: A. Daems, E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference 'The Iron Age in the Iranian World' at Ghent (17-20 November 2003)*, Ghent University and Peeters, Leuven 2005, 532 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 0021-0870.

Early Iron Age, the Early Iron Age in Iran, Tappeh Shizar, seals and seal-use in western Iran, Elamite wall-painting, the Arjan Tomb, neo-Elamite problems, dynastic continuity in Urartu, features of Iranian architecture in Urartu, Iron Age settlement in south-eastern Iran, material culture in western Iran, the archaeology and art of ancient Medes, Mithraism, Achaemenid palace architecture, the Caucasus and the Iranian world, the chronology of pre-Scythian and Scythian cultures, southern Central Asia, and the archaeology of al Madam (Sharjah). This fine volume substantially enriches our knowledge of Iron Age Iran and surrounding regions.

A very welcome first volume of the Amuq Valley Regional Project appeared in 2005, the result of the investigatory work of many specialists.⁴² Chapter 1 is a general outline of the history of the project and its aims. The second chapter describes settlement and landscape from the Palaeolithic down to the Islamic period. Chapter 3 presents the results of a survey in the Orontes delta, Chapter 4 the spatial organisation of Alalakh, Chapter 5 the Tell Atchana mapping and GIS project, and Chapter 6 is a study of the surface ceramics and floodplain development at Tell Atchana, with an off-site survey. The next chapter contains a survey of Ta 'Yinat undertaken between 1999 and 2002. The Conclusions summarise the results of the project and its future plans, as well as providing an account of the development of the Amuq valley, from the Palaeolithic to modern times, in its wider context. Appendix A is a gazetteer of sites; Appendix B is a description of a New Kingdom scarab. The volume is lavishly illustrated and produced to a very high standard. The future volumes of this project are keenly awaited. They are certain to expand our understanding of this part of the Near East.

Book 6 of Herodotus is placed under scrutiny by L. Scott in his substantial volume.⁴³ The first 77 pages form an Introduction which explores the life of Herodotus, his education and the influences to which he was exposed, the sources he used and how he handled them, foreigners and political power, and causation and the divine. A section on the Ionian revolt includes essays on the Ionians and their cities, economic and political developments, dealings with Croesus and the Persians, tyrants, and Herodotus' account of the revolt. The final part of the Introduction discusses other events in Book 6. There follows a detailed commentary (pp. 79-454). There are 23 appendices addressing a wide range of details: the chronology of Book 6, naval matters, the Persian navy and army, Darius' family, the implications of keeping racehorses, the political changes in Ionia after the revolt, the chronology for Athens and Aegina and related events, Cleomenes in Arcadia, Marathon, Miltiades' expedition to Paros, etc.

Yet another volume on Herodotus has appeared. This one, in the Cambridge Companion series, takes a largely literary approach.⁴⁴ Twenty chapters examine Herodotus and the

⁴² K. Aslihan Yener (ed.), *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects*, Vol. 1: *Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Publications 131, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2005, xlii+293 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-885923-32-5/ISSN 0069-3367.

⁴³ L. Scott, *A Historical Commentary on Herodotus Book 6*, Mnemosyne suppl. 268, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2005, xiv+716 pp. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14506-0/ISSN 0169-8958.

⁴⁴ C. Dewald and J. Marincola (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, xxii+378 pp., 5 maps. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-521-53683-9/13: 978-0-521-53683-7.

poetry of the past, Herodotus and his prose predecessors, Herodotus and tragedy, his intellectual milieu, method and genre, the way he wrote, speech and narrative in his work, stories and storytelling, humour and danger, location and dislocation, Herodotus and the natural world, Herodotus and Greek religion, warfare in Herodotus, political history and political thought, Herodotus and the cities of mainland Greece and Italy, Herodotus and Persia, Herodotus and foreign lands, and his influence in antiquity. This volume indeed confirms A. Momigliano's observation, cited in the Preface (p. xiii), that 'the secrets of his [Herodotus'] workshop are not yet all out'.

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THE COPENHAGEN POLIS CENTRE: A REVIEW ARTICLE OF ITS PUBLICATIONS

Part 3

This piece continues my review of the publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre which began in *AWE* 5 (2006), 252-307. Consult Part 1 of this review article for background details on the Polis Centre and its programme of research, as well as for an outline of this study. The present discussion covers the remaining three volumes of the series *Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* ('Acts'); the volumes in *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* ('Papers') will be addressed in Parts 4 and 5.

M.H. Hansen, *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent. Symposium, January 9, 1998*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 76, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 1998, 217 pp. Cased. ISBN 87-7304-293-5/ISSN 0106-0481

T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia. Symposium, April, 1-4 1998*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 78, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 1999, 491 pp. Cased. ISBN 87-7876-160-3/ISSN 0023-2307

M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Imaginary Polis. Symposium, January 7-10, 2004*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 91, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 2005, 444 pp. Cased. ISBN 87-7304-310-9/ISSN 0023-2307

Polis and City-State

The underlying symposium which evolved into this volume differed in its nature from the occasions that initiated the first four volumes of the Polis Centre *Acts*. M.H. Hansen was joined by his collaborators at the Centre, Pernille Flensted-Jensen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, in discussing the *polis* with nine colleagues at Copenhagen University who were drawn from other disciplines. This volume, however, is offered under the authorship of Hansen alone.

This volume summarises Hansen's views on the nature of the *polis*, and, hence, recapitulates his earlier contributions. These of course include his discussions in the volumes of the *Acts* that I have treated above, noting particularly his previous synthesis in *Acts* 3, the demonstrative descriptions of the Boeotian *poleis* (*Acts* 2; *Acts* 3), and *Acts* 4 on the *polis* as urban centre, but also build and augment the various pieces in the *CPC Papers* that I have yet to examine. At the risk of some violation to chronology, it remains prudent to cover this work in order. I should start by saying that this volume provides an excellent and lucid presentation of Hansen's views. Notwithstanding the comments below, it is also a fine point from which to acquaint students with the evidence on the nature of the *polis*, for example in a colloquium for advanced undergraduates or entering graduate students.

Hansen starts with confronting those scholars who emphasise the 'otherness' of the Greeks: their *dēmokratia* is not our democracy, their *eleutheria* not our freedom, and their *polis* unlike our polities. This is illustrated by a rather overwrought passage of Jean-Pierre Vernant. It is unsurprising that such commentary tends to appear in general works, such as Vernant here¹ or Paul Cartledge a little below, who noted with regard to Thucydides 7. 77. 7 that the *polis* was not an abstraction for the Greeks.²

I reject the notion that Greek 'otherness' is the prevailing or consensus view. I for one was not taught, do not believe in, and do not teach such a doctrine of the radical otherness of *polis* culture and society. That I am not an exception would be borne out by an examination of the English-language textbooks in common use. Nevertheless, this process of de-familiarisation plays an essential role in teaching Greek history in North America and the British Isles, because our students are so pervaded initially with images, clichés and factoids garnered from popular culture and childish secondary level instruction and instructional material. It is necessary to incise the contours of the institutional distinctions before retrieving the analogues, homologies and inheritances from *polis* life. Adopting a vantage point at a distance also brings into focus significant points of correlation with non-Western cultures that *polis* culture possesses. Moreover, de-familiarisation helps mount a guard against cultural and ethnic cheer-leading, in which the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks are vaunted as the unique legacy of some self-proclaimed body of inheritors. De-familiarisation may also be a sound tactic to complicate that legacy, while insisting it belongs to all who understand and appreciate Greek civilisation, and internalise its positive qualities. One ought to note as well a rather more sinister de-familiarisation practised by ideologues, which serves to discard any vestige of the classical heritage as the product of 'dead white males', imperialists, chauvinists, colonialists and racists. In the more common, milder pattern of this syndrome, de-familiarising is confined to rhetorical gestures meant to appeal to pseudo-multi-culturalist and present-minded colleagues in more powerful academic departments.

Hansen is not indeed tilting at windmills – and, even if he were, his marshalling of the basic evidence and bibliography on the *polis* would be invaluable – but has embarked on a crusade against a rather sparse body of infidels. He goes on to consider several corollaries: 1) that the classical concept of state and citizenship was closer to modern conceptions than a Dark Age awareness of community; 2) that our perception of the closeness of Greek

¹ J.-P. Vernant, *The Greeks* (Chicago/London 1995) = *L'Uomo Greco* (Rome 1991).

² P. Cartledge (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge/New York 1998).

civilisation is changing (noting changing attitudes toward homosexuality or toward Iskhomakhos' 'paternalism' in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*); 3) perspectives vary among differently situated modern observers; 4) ancient political perceptions varied (as in Spartan and Athenian views on citizenship); and 5) moderns have a considerable range of visions on basic political structure and values. I would footnote (1) by fixing the dividing line in the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods; (2) by stressing both that our goal is ever greater analytic precision leading to greater empathy with the historical actors, and that sophisticated expertise can be lost in perspective changes; (3) and (5) by appending that non-Western, non-European political consciousness will in time create a more challenging differentiation of viewpoint on the *polis* (than between the cited Briton and Swiss); and (4) by underlining that we must always conduct our research mindfully of diachronic factors so that, for example, Spartan preservation of an Archaic institutional assemblage, compared with the Athenians, is not confused with contemporaneously occurring differentiation. After giving a few exemplary similarities of political understanding, Hansen states his intention to progress to an exploration of whether the Greeks had a notion of the state and whether a dividing line was set between state and society. He closes his first chapter by briefly surveying the term 'city-state', which is traced back to the Danish word 'bystat' as used by J.N. Madvig in 1840 and then translated into the German term 'Stadtstaat' in 1842.

The second chapter applies 'lexical contrastive analysis' to Hansen's roster of meanings for *polis*: stronghold/citadel; nucleated settlement; country/territory; and political community. A number of passages lay the groundwork: Aristotle *Politics* 1276a17-27; Plato *Def.* 415C; Cleanthes in Stobaeus *Flor.* 2. 7, p. 103 W; and *Etymologicum Magnum* 680. 1-4. In the pseudo-Platonic *Definitiones*, however, the phrase *koina dogmata* might not mean 'common decisions' but rather specifies that a *polis* is a *plēthos* of men living under 'common beliefs' (cf. *Laws* 644D), a vital appreciation of the psychological dimension of *polis* integration. In Cleanthes fr. 588 (*SVF* 1), *asteios* may mean something more than 'refined', probably being a term of art in Stoic political analysis. Does it perhaps refer to an aesthetic criterion of elegance or orderliness? The remainder of the chapter outlines the synonyms of *polis* with exemplary quotations. As stronghold, an equivalent would be *acropolis*; as nucleated settlement, *emporion*, *teikhos* and, occasionally, *komē*; as territory, *gē* or *chora*; as polity, *anthrōpoil andres*, *politai* and *dēmos* 'people'; as community, some authoritative body, like the *boulē*, *ekklēsia*, or *dēmos* 'assembly'; as political community, *koinōnia* or *patris*; and, exceptionally, as equated with *ethnos*. On the basis of the fundamental definitions just cited by Hansen, I suppose that we could add *plēthos* and *laos* to the roster of synonyms. The term *plēthos* commonly stands for *dēmos* or *ekklēsia*. Some of these synonyms naturally shade into other semantic phenomena such as propagandistic substitution, symbolic replacement and synecdoche. The semantic fields of these terms do not coincide in their totality with the range for *polis*, so that Hansen next turns to an assessment of instances where these words are distinguished from *polis*.

Acropolis is normally distinguished. The terms *asty* and *polisma* are not differentiated from *polis* 'nucleated settlement', but *asty* and *polis* 'political community' are differentiated. The author would equate *polis* and *emporion* in most passages. I have my doubts, believing that *emporion* can sometimes denote a commercial community that differed from the conventional *polis*, but I leave my discussion to Hansen's larger piece in *Papers* 4. As for *teikhos*, settlements were denoted *poleis* and *teikhoi* variously, for *teikhos* could be distinguished from *polis*, as in

Thucydides 4. 57. 1, where a coastal *teikhos* is juxtaposed with an inland, unfortified town. Moreover, the appearance of the name element *-teikhos* on the Attic tribute lists connotes mixed communities of Greeks and persons in various stages of Hellenisation within a predominantly non-Greek cultural milieu. Hansen rightly stresses that *komē* can imply a *polis* subdivision – a sub-political unit in my terminology – and speaks of an overlap of *komē* and *polis*. Contrast my comments on his piece in *Acts* 3. Rather, if we view political status diachronically, the mutability of large *komai* and small *poleis* into each other is a function of the elaboration or atrophy of local institutions.

We are on firmer ground with a good exposition of the pattern whereby alternatively *polis* ‘town’ and *chora* ‘hinterland’ can comprise *polis* ‘political community’ or *polis* ‘town’ and *chora* ‘hinterland’ can comprise *chora* ‘territory’. The terms *polis* and *politai* are distinguished both when *polis* has a physical sense and when *polis* has an abstract sense, with the *politai* as its physical manifestation. Unsurprisingly, *polis* need not be equivalent to *ekklēsia* and other organs of state. The *polis* can be juxtaposed as one member out of the genus *koinōnia*. The discussion then turns to what I would term potential higher category differentiators, of which *patris* ‘fatherland’ could be associated with Hellas. The *ethnos* could be contrasted with *polis*, but was also used for a non-*polis* political community. Where *poleis* can head a list including *ethnē*, I would emphasise that all the polities listed had analogous political structures, especially concerning the governmental organs that related to foreign powers. Hansen rates the commonness of the meanings for *polis* as follows: equalling *acropolis*, rare and as ‘country’ or ‘territory’ <2%, but therefore predominantly as nucleated settlement or political community.

In order to determine whether the *polis* was a state, a dual track approach is necessary, exploring on the one hand our own conceptualisation (Chapter III), and on the other the Greek (Chapter IV). Coupled to a useful bibliography in the notes is the determination that for status as state six characteristics must be exhibited: territory, people, government, continuous de-personified public power, sovereignty and differentiation of state from society. I am in general agreement with Hansen’s cautious affirmation that the *polis* satisfied these criteria, and deem this discussion an excellent way for students to approach the issues. Yet, I would signal strongly how the *polis* differed in its relation to these criteria. I shall blend my discussion of his criteria, interweaving his ancient and modern chapters, in order to expedite my examination. Before starting, it may be noted that Hansen reminds us at the beginning of Chapter IV of his range of connotations for the term *polis* and its relatives.

I find the first characteristic more problematic than does Hansen. Hansen recognises the primacy of people over territory in Greek thinking, and uses the case of Athens under Persian occupation as an example of the persistence of a *polis* through its people. However, it should be remembered that the Corinthian admiral Adeimantos disputed the right of Themistocles to participate in the Hellenic League council because he was an *apolis* and lacked a *patris* (Herodotus 8. 61). Moreover, while *poleis* do possess demarcated territories, they differ from modern states in the first place in the degree to which sacralisation fixed boundaries and established their character. Moreover, the *polis* can exist outside of its boundaries in ways not quite paralleled in modern states. The Greeks lacked the concept of the government in exile, envisaging rather a people in exile. This conceptual phenomenon was probably tied to polity size. During the Peloponnesian War, there was a state of the Aeginetans in Thyrea as a discrete and to all appearances functioning community, while the Athenians occupied the island

of Aegina; during the 5th century, the Messenioi, living at Naupactus, for example, constituted a *polis* in every essential sense, without ever having operated as such in Messenia; and after the Samian revolt the Samians in Anaia comported themselves as the authentic *polis* of Samos. These manifestations would be hard to parallel for modern nation-states. Regarding *polis* territory, Hansen is doubtless correct to reject the '*polis* ohne territorium' theory of F. Hampl, wherein the territories of colonies were owned by their mother city (pp. 55-56).

As to the people of the state, one understands why Hansen notes the modern debate whether they are to be all the inhabitants or only the citizens. Naturalisation was as much an issue for community identity in the *polis* as it is for modern states (note our debates over amnesty for illegal aliens; provisions for asylum seekers, the situation of *gastarbeiter*, or the status of the unassimilated). Nonetheless, modern states are not biological communities (however fictive) like the ancient Corinthioi or Lacedaemonioi. Modern citizens cannot claim a link to their territory by virtue of autochthony, divine allocation, or heroic occupation; any attempt to do so is normally discounted in diplomacy. In Archaic *poleis*, one cannot be sure whether permanent (or even aboriginal) residence and total acculturation necessarily established citizenship. Modern citizen bodies are integrated by common language and nationhood, by common adherence to a ruling dynasty, or by shared espousal of certain cultural and/or ideological values. *Polis* and modern state each have their 'peoples' but, that said, the nature of belonging differs fundamentally. I think that this topic needed more investigation here. The examination of the *polis* and its people is otherwise unobjectionable. Starting from the *communis opinio* that the *polis* is more truly a community than a place, Hansen then adduces passages where the word *polis* means either 'the citizens' or 'the inhabitants', with the latter category much harder to document. We ought not, however, interpret in Thucydides 3. 36. 4 on the proposed andrapodism of the Mytileneans 'the whole *polis*' to mean that the Athenians envisaged killing all the inhabitants (including non-citizens). In these and subsequent demonstrations, Greek passages are quoted exhaustively and helpfully translated in the notes footing the pages. A fine balance is struck between Attic and non-Athenian, and literary and epigraphical sources. Cynthia Patterson on conceptualising and naming Attic women might have been consulted.³

Furthermore, I would affirm with Hansen that the *polis* should be thought to possess a 'government'. The issue, however, of monopoly of the use of force must be treated with care. The ability to make war and maintaining the forces to do so has been a key concept for modern students of the state. The standing military forces of the *polis* and its procedures for war-making qualify under this criterion. Internal use of force is treated, however, with considerable naivety and ethnocentrism by some modern observers. The *polis* (and arguably even the modern state) was not a monopolistic wielder of force internally, but an authoritative legitimiser of force, as various individuals and groups have always exercised the right to use retributive and reparative violence in defence of certain community norms. Hansen returns to the issue of the users of force at the end of his Chapter V on the separation of state and society in the *polis*.

The existence of a government in the *polis* and the conventional modern state shades into the understanding of the state as a super-personal power (explored next; cf. my comments

³ C. Patterson, 'Hai Attikai: the Other Athenians'. *Helios* 13 (1986), 49-67.

on W. Schuller in *Acts* 1). Hansen points to the emergence of this idea through 'de-personification' and permanentisation of the state as an entity set over rulers and ruled. In point of fact, the evolution of modern statehood is rather distinctive. One footing lay in Germanic kingship, which had a quality of personal commitment and reflected a recognition of the leader's charisma. Feudal loyalty and legitimisation and authorisation through Christian theology also vied with Roman law in the development of modern state. Nation-states incorporated more subjects than those who belonged to the dominant cultural or linguistic community. For the *polis*, there was clearly a greater tendency to visualise its people as forming the government, although from place to place and situation to situation, modern Americans and Europeans oscillate between seeing the government as 'they' or 'we'.

Setting up the definition of sovereignty of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes as a departure point, Hansen notes its characteristics: it is unlimited and indivisible, inalienable, supreme legislatively, above the law, and definitively authoritative. This has been altered by later theorists who introduce separation of powers, federalism, international law and subordination to the law, especially as enshrined in a constitution. To this, I add the recognition of individual rights that are to be preserved from state power. The examination of sovereignty within the *polis* suffers from its synchronic perspective, because the thesis deserves attention *prima facie* that even a quasi-sovereignty might not have been an initial quality of the *polis*, but might have evolved in the course of Greek constitutional history. For the early *polis*, sovereignty was not a factor: there is little evidence to suggest that a secular mechanism was identified as the ultimate source for policy or legislation. Rather, legitimacy and overarching authority resided in the traditions of the community and in authoritative pronouncements from various sources regarding values such as *dikē*. It appears that sovereignty in *polis* terms emerged with the concept of *dēmokratia*, which not only establishes the *dēmos* as authoritative, but also reworked the nature of such authority itself.

Hansen distinguishes between the Greek concept of being *kyrios*, which may be qualified by *πάντων* 'of everything', and the supra-legal status of sovereignty in the early modern period, and stresses the Greek adherence to the formulation *nomos basileus* 'law is king'. However, while we may comprehend the tendency to uphold sovereign absolutism as a means to ensure integration of the early nation-state – Hobbes, for example, was confronting the daunting challenge to the English monarch of leading the culturally diverse populations of Britain and Ireland – Greek attitudes do not seem that much at variance with much current opinion, particularly among those leery of over-dramatising or even fetishising political processes. Hansen ends up close to this position by refusing to accept the conclusion of Bodin on the absence of *polis* sovereignty.

For matters of external affairs, there is a temptation to equate *autonomia* with sovereignty. Here I would fault Hansen for his reluctance to concede that the *polis* tended toward *autonomia*. To be sure, many *poleis* were constrained in their relations with larger neighbours, some of whom had seemingly claims to hegemony or, at least, influence. The absence of substantial independence for *poleis* was a product of their range of sizes and the degree of their interdependence, itself conditioned by economic factors. In any case, to raise *stasis* as a cause of the willingness of factions to betray their home *polis* (as here) is especially maladroit, since such *stasis* is a function of the ideological interstate conflicts of the late 5th century and following. Accordingly, we are given the straw men of counter-examples of polities that would lose *polis* status if *autonomia* was a criterion: tyrannies (but tyrants are never

attested to have dismantled *polis* institutions); members of the Delian League (but the Athenians needed to invent an appropriate terminology for them); early 4th-century Spartan allies (but *polis* institutions remained to be manipulated); subjects of Persia in Asia Minor (but this is surely a case of mere superior force, at least in the short term), and Attic *cleruchies* (but colonies were often governed by special relationships with their mother cities). None of this really gets to the kernel of the question, namely the manner in which acquiescence to superior force affected the institutional order within a dependency. We sensibly suspect that constraint of sufficient duration, intensity and invasiveness would indeed erode the essential processes of *polis* life, so that identification as a *polis* (by internal as well as external observers) may be rightly queried. Such significant constraint also changed the calculation of costs and benefits for participation in the political processes that sustained *polis* life, and, thereby, served to attenuate political activity in the state that was not autonomous. I shall return to *autonomia* in subsequent parts of this study.

The concluding sections of Chapter III do not have clear cut analogues in *polis* conceptualisation. We need not trouble ourselves over the status as states of members of modern confederations, although there are enigmas here worth pondering. In the present situation of American federalism, few would care to denominate California a state (except in the American constitutional sense). Yet, California possesses a larger economy than all but a few nations, and its inhabitants arguably constitute the population with the largest cultural impact for its size. Hansen also sets out the nature of civil society, which is customarily in modern Western democracies demarcated into the public sphere and a private sphere. Hansen properly notes the intrusiveness of the modern state in private behaviour. What he fails to convey satisfactorily is that, despite the incursions of the public sphere, there remains (almost everywhere) a collective counter-pressure on behalf of the private sphere *per se* on the basis of individual rights and individualism. In passing, we must also raise the anxieties of many commentators about the eventual psychological impact of the 'nanny state' on civic culture. Hansen closes out by indicating that the liberal-democratic state tends to normalise its paradigm.

The next chapter explores whether the Greeks distinguished state and society. Please compare my remarks on Hansen's earlier treatment in *Acts* 1 and also on the piece of Josiah Ober in *Acts* 1. Hansen is at pains to condition the image of a state that so thoroughly pervades society as to absorb it. He traces this tendency back to Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges in his *La cité antique* (Paris 1864). One problem which is not fully drawn out here is that one tends now to look back at formulations such as that of Fustel de Coulanges and his successors from the perspective of the ideologised, totalitarian state of the middle and later 20th century. Such repressive regimes harnessed the immense productivity of a modern or modernising economy to a massive bureaucratic apparatus, a regimentation of individual life that was patterned upon the administration of vast conscript national armies and upon the factory organisation of mass manufacturing, and a pervasive regimen of policing that was facilitated by the first stages of modern information processing. In light of the Nazi and Stalinist societies, the lack of definite limits for governmental authority of ancient *poleis* was no longer received with the same sensibility, respectful of its intense communal feeling and the degree of participation in *polis* life. Plato's *politeia* in the *Republic*, that magnificent attempt at re-imagining the tightly integrated Archaic *polis*, came to seem somewhat sinister, for example, to a Karl Popper in *The Open Society and its Enemies* (London 1945). In our

investigation of the interrelations of various social processes and policy or legislation, the modern scholar must avoid applying the standards of modern societies and their rationales or ideologies.

Hansen would bid us consider Sparta as conforming to the *polis* type that 'regulated all aspects of a citizen's life'. Athens differed and Hansen cites Plato on the fractionation inherent in democratic *eleutheria* (*Republic* 557B-558C). He then provides a short, but well evidenced, sketch about the distinction of the private sphere at Athens, while stressing that its border did not coincide with our juxtaposition of state and individual (the corresponding Greek polarity positing the *politēs* and the *idiotēs*, both modalities of personal experience). Note that he does concede that the democratic assembly did possess the power to interfere where it would, but mitigates his concession by comparing that authority to that of the British Parliament. But let us observe the absence of a written constitution in both cases and, accordingly, a definite mechanism of determining constitutionality.

The issue of the demarcation of state authority segues smoothly into an appraisal of Greek views on individual rights. There were no natural or human rights. Rights were juxtaposed with participation, which I would suggest is a little like the coupling of duties and rights by 20th-century conservative thinkers who work from Roman law and political philosophy. Yet, according to Hansen, person, home and property were protected by statute and procedure (like the *euthynai*), and the proper frame of comparison is the practical interpenetration of government and other aspects of life in modern society. However, this exposition draws heavily on Attic political conditions.

This chapter closes with an examination of whether Athens or Sparta was the more typical *polis*. Both were atypically large. The peculiarity of Sparta is a major theme of commentators on Spartan life. I would class myself among those noted by Hansen who see a facet of the idiosyncrasy of Sparta explained by its preservation of an Archaic societal order. Sparta was an extraordinary realisation of an early hoplite polity. I would differ, however, in seeing Sparta incrementally rigidifying its hard *and* brittle social structure against the pull of pan-hellenic cultural forces in a finely balanced equilibrium. As I have stated elsewhere,

Sparta thrived on the reduction of social interrelations to highly articulated and simplified formulations, on the retardation in the evolution of group and individual identity, on a reduction of anxieties over social mobility, and on the predominance of formulae in mediating material circulation. The rigidity of this social structure promoted political stability, produced motivated and superb soldiers, and, ultimately, created a disproportionately powerful state for a *polis*. Naturally, social evolution was made difficult. Sparta had to a large degree forfeited its ability to exploit autonomous incremental adjustment emerging from the constituent institutions of society. Elsewhere, in contrast, some behavioural adjustments, indigenous innovations and imitation of general Greek trends could be assimilated marginally without (at least, initially) requiring overt political sanction and reconciliation with a reticulated ideological system.⁴

Nevertheless, it is wrong-headed to see the Spartan governmental/societal order as the absorption of society by the state, although official prescription of behavior was a powerful force

⁴ T.J. Figueira, 'Iron Money and the Ideology of Consumption in Laconia'. In A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta: Beyond the Mirage* (Swansea/London 2002), 137-70, especially 159.

there. Rather consider this dispensation a mutual interpenetration of governmental and other social processes. For example, agonistic mechanisms were admittedly supervised by officials, as in the *agōgē*, but the personal outcomes of their operation imposed themselves on the governmental arena, a phenomenon illustrated in the way that adolescent competition conditioned the choice of the Hippeis, which conditioned the selection of the Agathoergoi, Hippagretai and other military offices, which conditioned the choice of the magistrates. Or observe how the jurisdiction of the ephors was not limited to the implementation of explicit law, but enforced social norms. From one perspective this jurisdiction exemplifies state intrusiveness, but from another illustrates the sensitivity of the Archaic *polis* regime to communal consensus. The influence of Spartan women – that gynocracy criticised by Aristotle – on male comportment is entirely owed to the permeability of government to societal forces with a footing in the private sphere. Juxtapose my discussion of Stephen Hodkinson's views in *Acts* 7, with which I have considerable sympathy.

Finally, Hansen closes this section by arguing for Athens as a more typical *polis* by virtue of the spread of democracy and its conformity to the picture of the *polis* in the *Politics* of Aristotle, a work which, however, is not Athenocentric. This argument, although not without various attractive features, does not grapple with the unusual scale of Attic population and economic output, its hegemonism and its cultural vitality.

The penultimate chapter is titled 'How Old is the State?' and gives a thumbnail outline of the evolution of the terminology of the modern state, but is too abbreviated to do more than offer some conclusions. I suppose that the Roman *civitas* and *res publica* deserved more attention, as Roman political phenomena occupied the awareness of early modern political theorists. The final chapter summarises earlier conclusions to a large extent, although there are some observations on important issues that are introduced rather casually. The list of the differences marking state from *polis* are size; absence of face-to-face interaction; no longer exclusively male; more appropriately identified with all inhabitants; more externalisation (not the 'we' of Greek idiom); state no longer so closely identified with its urban centre; necessarily autonomous/independent; sovereign as supreme legislator; equality of states; modern distinction of state and society; and monopoly of legitimate use of violence. *Polis* and modern state possess these similarities: territory, people, government as essential elements; citizens are primary element; not linked to particular form of government; democracy normative; citizens identifying themselves with political community; political systems personified; common identity; synthesis of rulers and ruled; internal and external concepts of sovereignty; depersonification of sovereignty; public and private spheres distinguished; slaves aside, sole right to punish; and states ordered hierarchically.

Four appendices conclude this volume's exposition. The first deals with the use of the term *polis* to denote large political entities, and reflects an excellent collection of such attestations by Hansen. He unconvincingly traces this usage to the common employment of ethnics in names that led to positing of a *polis* for each ethnic (one supposes). To my mind, *ethnē* present less of a problem, because they often shared the institutional structure and outward presentation of the conventional *polis*. Note my comments on W. Schuller in *Acts* 1. For the case of non-Greek peoples, this phenomenon is rather owed to the status of the *polis* among the Greeks as the apex polity. That made the usage of the term for other apex polities a natural development; consider my remarks on Hansen's treatment of Herodotus in *Acts* 3. Appendix II treats Aristotle *Politics* 1276b1-2, where Hansen upholds his retention of

the manuscript readings for the phrase [ἡ πόλις] ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας, which is interpreted as a combination of a subjective and objective genitive, in the face of Oswyn Murray's desire in *Acts* 1 (see my comments above) to emend to ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία (which is *prima facie* a more transparent formulation). In Appendix III, there is a consideration of the nature of the *oikos* as regards the public and private spheres that recognises its dual character. It could be an object of legislation, regulation and supervision. In some cities, *oikoi* were civic units. Yet, in these cases, there is no guarantee that such *oikoi* were individual households rather than notional *oikoi* that might be termed lineages (sometimes fictive). Appendix IV outlines current thought on the emergence of the idea of the state, with specific reference to Machiavelli, Bodin and Hobbes.

Defining Ancient Arkadia

Volume 6 of *Acts – Defining Ancient Arkadia* – differs from the earlier volumes in this series by its devotion to a single region. It builds on a symposium held at the Polis Centre in April 1998. With its active processes of *polis* formation and its multi-layered civic and ethnic identities both for communities and individuals, Arcadia is prime raw material for an exploration of Greek institutional evolution (as the Introduction by the editors, Thomas Heine Nielsen and James Roy, endeavours to bring out). The Polis Centre was hoping to analyse one genuine Greek region from its perspectives. There are nine studies contained herein. The remarks below indicate, I think, that the particular volume shares many of the strengths and weaknesses of the whole project.

Many selections in Polis Centre publications deal with Arcadian issues. Nielsen offered two weighty studies in *Papers* 3;⁵ another related study was discussed above in Part 2 (*AWE* 5 [2006], 294).⁶ Nielsen's study on Triphylia in *Papers* 4 encompasses a topic of related interest.⁷ Jeannette and Björn Forsén are contributors to this volume, and are noteworthy authorities on the archaeology of Arcadia; they offer two studies elsewhere in the Centre Publications.⁸ Not only did Arcadia have geopolitical and ethno-linguistic ties with Triphylia, but it was also linked with the Pisatis, the region including Olympia. Thus, it is apropos to mention James Roy's study, 'The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis...' in *Papers* 6.⁹

A fitting opening chapter is the meaty offering of Thomas Heine Nielsen, 'The Concept of Arkadia – The People, their land, and their Organisation' (pp. 16-79). His long first part

⁵ 'Was there an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth-Century B.C.?', and 'A Survey of Dependent *Poleis* in Classical Arkadia'. In M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1996), 39-61; 63-105 (= *Papers* 3).

⁶ T.H. Nielsen, 'Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23-26 1995* (Copenhagen 1996), 117-63 (= *Acts* 3).

⁷ 'Triphylia. An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation'. In T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1997), 129-62 (= *Papers* 4).

⁸ J. Forsén and B. Forsén, 'The *Polis* of Asea. A Case-Study of How Archaeology Can Expand Our Knowledge of the History of a *Polis*'. T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1997), 163-76 (= *Papers* 4). And B. Forsén, 'Population and Political Strength of Some South-eastern Arkadian *Poleis*'. In P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 2000), 35-55 (= *Papers* 5).

⁹ 'The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis. The "Eight *Poleis*"'. In T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 2002), 229-47 (= *Papers* 6).

is 'the people', which starts with the historiography treating the Arcadians as a unit. Then their ethnicity (as *ethnos* and/or *phylē*) is assessed after the categories of Anthony Smith,¹⁰ beginning with the usage of the ethnic of which the rich evidence finds a detailed treatment. The sequence of categories proceeds with 'a myth of common origin' (noting the foundation of cultural aspects attributed to the early kings Pelasgus and Lycaon); and 'a shared history'. The section 'a distinctive shared culture' deals with dialect (though I am troubled by the lack of emphasis on the Arcadian dialect throughout this work), with religion, including the cults of Pan, and with mercenary service. Short treatments of 'association with a specific territory' and 'a sense of solidarity' round off this section. The second part of the chapter is 'the land of the people', which surveys geographical conceptualisation and the somewhat fluctuating boundaries. The final part delves into 'the organisation of the people', in which the issue of fragmentation is a focus. The plasticity of the Arcadian political identity is explored with regard to Triphylia and Pisa. Naturally, the 4th-century league is a prime topic (a short-lived phenomenon, as Nielsen insists and reiterates in the brief conclusion). Tables follow about the victors in the games on Mount Lycaeus (important for ethnic identification) and on the use of the regional ethnic during the federal period. Earlier forms of Arcadian integration are somewhat underplayed throughout, such as the intervention of Cleomenes I of Sparta in the late 490s, and, more significantly, the *Arcadicon* coinage, where the author's limitation of its significance to a cultic amphictyony is most questionable. The speech of Lycomedes of Mantinea, the important Arcadian federal politician, in Xenophon *HG* 7. 1. 23-25 is a bit under-utilised on Arcadian self-visualisation. I find it inexplicable why no one in this volume (and, most of all, Nielsen here) thought worthy of mention Aristocrates of Orchomenus, 'king of the Arcadians', and his son Aristodemus, described as ruler of almost all Arcadia (Pausanias 4. 17. 2-10, 22. 1-7, 8. 5. 13; Diogenes Laertius 1. 94; Callisthenes *FGH* 124 F 23 *apud* Polybius 4. 33. 2-6; Heracleides Ponticus *FGH* fr. 114 Wehrli). These men were major figures in the foreign policy of the middle and late 7th-century Peloponnese, and their careers, however obscure, are greatly pertinent to the nature of *polis* development in the region of Arkadia and to ethnic self-identification.

M.H. Hansen presents a short study, 'Aristotle's Reference to the Arkadian Federation at *Pol.* 1261a29' (pp. 80-88). The passage under study is *Politics* 1261a27-29: διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλεις, ἔθνη οὖν ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὥσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλοῖον Ἀρκάδες. Hansen follows those who construe τῷ τοιούτῳ as 'by quantity', while I would argue that it means 'by the difference in character distinguishing *polis* from *symmakhia*' (i.e. internal differentiation), which is the subject of the previous sentence. Hansen's determination leads to a reaffirmation of his and Nielsen's view that Arcadia was an *ethnos* of *poleis*. In my view, the point of contrast to Arcadians here is rather Asiatic *ethnē*, where the *komai* are interchangeable and entirely non-integrated, and so thereby different from *poleis* even more systematically than an *ethnos* like the Arcadians. Hansen believes his interpretation explains why Aristotle does not analyse units larger than the *polis* in the *Politics*. That appears speculative to me. Hansen concludes with a useful outline of the Aristotelian passages referring to *ethnos/ethnē*.

Maria Pretzler, in 'Myth and Continuity at Tegea – Local Tradition and Community Identity' (pp. 89-129), employs Pausanias' description of the myths involving Tegea to explore

¹⁰ A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford 1986).

local tradition and *polis*-identity. Starting from the foundation stories, she works through Pausanias, incorporating the remaining attestations and touching on Auge and Telephus, Agapenor and the Trojan war, Atalante and the hunt for the Calydonian boar, Cepheus and a talismanic strand of the hair of Medusa, and the emblematic victory of the Tegean king Echemus over the Heraclidae and, by implication, the Dorians. Next for treatment are the myth-historical early wars with Sparta, including the early Tegean victories (the captured fetters and the memorials of the woman Marpessa who fought the Spartans) and the Spartan appropriation of the bones of the hero Orestes. Pretzler notes how later events receive remarkably little commentary in Pausanias; more could have been done with the Tegean valour at Plateia, and the absence of material on pan-Arcadian myths supporting the 4th-century league is noteworthy. That Pausanias felt the need to build a long digression on Philopoimen and his place in Greek history on a Tegean inscription honouring him needed some treatment here (Pausanias 8. 49. 1-8. 52. 6). I would also point out how external literary portrayals seem to have fed back into the local mythological structure (for example from Euripides on Telephus).

The author subsequently subjects Tegean tradition to an examination under the criteria for ethnic identity of Anthony Smith (see above), while her other major theoretical influence is A.P. Cohen.¹¹ Filling in the categories does at times belabour the obvious, but the evidence in each pigeonhole is apposite: common name, myth of common descent, shared history, distinctive shared culture (with some notes on local religion), and association with a specific territory. It is a pity that more could not be made of the four Tegean legislators (Pausanias 8. 48. 1) who were honoured in the *agora*. A somewhat clumsier assessment is next made of the Tegean evidence for Smith's processes of community formation through organised religion and inter-state warfare, although there is sensible discussion, respectively, of the symbolism of the sanctuary of Athena Alea (especially the iconography of the temple) and the significance of the struggles with Sparta. The latter is picked up in the next section on 'myths as symbols', where it is joined by a consideration of the 'Arcadianising' aspects of the Tegean foundation stories and the myths involving Telephus.

The next presentation is Mary E. Voyatzis, 'The Role of Temple Building in Consolidating Arkadian Communities' (pp. 130-68). The author is one of the leading experts on this subject, having produced an important monograph that focused on the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. First offered is a summary of the sacred architecture of Arcadia with citation of the most important excavation reports and other scholarship. This useful outline is supplemented both with an appendix (organised geographically) that lists Arcadian temples from 800 to 400 BC, along with the most important bibliography, and with a map. A second section links the known temple remains with their proper political units (with particular emphasis on Tegea and other polities of eastern Arcadia). In her summary, Voyatzis highlights several points: eastern Arcadia with its more developed *poleis* built temples earlier, more elaborately, and was more influenced architecturally and ritually by panhellenic patterns; here the example of external *poleis*, especially Sparta, appears significant; and, in the centre, west and north (where affiliation with *ethnê* interacted with *polis* formation), temple building is somewhat later, less panhellenic, and sometimes avoided monumental

¹¹ A.P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester 1985)

manifestations. I would stress that sacralising (both intra- and extra-Arcadian) boundaries that were inherently unstable probably played a large role in determining which cult sites were devoted the most resources.

More modest in its aspirations is the next chapter, Jeannette Forsén, Björn Forsén and Erik Østby, 'The Sanctuary of Agios Elias – Its Significance, and Its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements' (pp. 169-91). Agios Elias was near the small southern Arcadian *polis* of Asea and was the site (500-490 BC) of the largest known Archaic temple in Arcadia. This contribution contains a preliminary review (despite authorial disclaimers) of the excavations there of the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1997. The beginning of the cult at Agios Elias is as early as the 10th century (at least), as evidenced by Protogeometric sherds. Prevalent Geometric and Archaic finds show intense activity, even before the erection of the first known cult building *ca.* 600 BC, and the late Archaic temple seems to have had two precursors. Agios Elias and another high elevation cult place at Vigla (with yet another marble temple) have been viewed as extra-urban sanctuaries, encapsulating the territory of Asea. Citing the archaeological survey of the Asea region, the authors suggest that Agios Elias was an *ethnos* cult site, an inter-state regional sanctuary. This religious centre was beyond the resources of the few, poor Aseans and was probably built and used by the Mainalians (or their southern group), a sub-*ethnos* of the Arcadians. That demonstrates to me that the Arcadian *ethnè* are likely to have preceded the small *poleis* which coalesced within them. Two regional maps at the end of the volume supplement this chapter.

An intellectually ambitious offering is that of Madeleine Jost, 'Les schémas de peuplement de l'Arcadie aux époques archaïque et classique' (pp. 192-247), in which she first offers a typology of settlement in Arcadia according to a sequence of societal functions. Consideration of the defensive function yields the categories 'villes acropoles', 'villes mixtes', 'villes de plaine' and 'tours de guet'. Alipheira typifies citadel type (*ville acropole*), where an eminently defensive height served as a refuge for a small territory (see also Lykosoura, Lousoi, Torthyneion and possibly Thaliades and Paos). A number of the sites (not all of which can be identified by ancient name) appear to have been 'sub-political' in status (*village acropole*); some of them appear exclusively military in function. The mixed cities encompass larger areas of inhabitation on slopes, plateaux and levels, with easier access to arable land (for example, in the north-east: Alea, Orkhomenos, Stymphalos; in the west: Psophis, Thelpousa, Phigaleia; in the south: Asea, Oresthasion). The cities of the plain, which appear to be products of synoecism, are more dependent on their fortifications (Megalopolis, Mantinea, Tegea and Kleitor).

Jost's second section is devoted to political, religious and social functions. For political functions, the short discussion is mostly limited to describing the *agora* in the six cases where it has been identified. A more elaborate treatment of religious functions opens with classifying the sites of sanctuaries as suburban/extra-urban, on the elevated margins of agricultural basins, in the mountains (including border shrines), and urban. The section on 'physiognomy' of sanctuaries surveys temples, altars, and other buildings (such as porticoes). A short exploration of social functions involves gymnasia, theatres, houses, cemeteries, and assorted rural remains. The more systematically investigated sites of Stymphalos and Lousoi are emphasised. Jost's second part deals with the implantation of sites on territories. The communities of the mountains in western Arcadia like Phigaleia and Thelpousa are dominated by the *chora* with its dispersed habitation. In eastern Arcadia, mountainous curtains surrounded

plains, in which drainage shaped settlement patterns. Cities stood on defensible heights (Pheneos, Strympalos, Alea, Orkhomenos) or in the plains, dense with villages, at the centre of defensive networks (Mantineia, Tegea). This section contains two test cases, one of which is that of Kleitor, which is presented as an expansionistic *polis*. The other is Megalopolis, where many villages were depopulated to aggregate the new city's population, while others were maintained for strategic purposes, being refortified and supplemented with new defensive sites. Concentration of population was concomitantly accompanied by intensification of cult activity on the inherited rural sites. The urban sanctuaries are rich in civic ideology (for example Zeus Soter or Athena Polias). The mirroring in the city of major rural sanctuaries (like that of Zeus Lycaeus) serves communal integration.

Yanis A. Pikoulas is the author of 'The Road-Network of Arkadia' (pp. 248-319). Pikoulas has been working on an exhaustive programme of research on the routes of this region, most of the results of which have been published in Greek. Hence his contribution is particularly welcome. He covers the extramural roads for wheeled carts, whose remains can be identified by their specially cut wheel grooves on rock surfaces (standard gauge 1.40 m). His first section admirably surveys the state of research on roads, and sketches methodology and previous research, with a heartfelt appeal on behalf of local village informants. The author assumes that developed road nets presuppose a powerful central authority', which, in the case of Arcadia, could only be Sparta. I would need a better case against the hypothesis of co-operation of peer states against the background of a regional common identity. The second section presents a catalogue of all the evidence for cart-roads (50 in all), including geography, remains, testimonia, bibliography, authorial autopsy and local informants. Some remains are illustrated with photographs. All are located on a map of Arcadia. The traces on the same ground of the mediaeval and Ottoman roads of the *kalderimia* type are also usefully noted. The third part summarises the evidence on roads for each Arcadian district, before proceeding to wider conclusions.

The cart-roads served most Arcadian communities and their discovery has furthered the identification of sites, previously placed only doubtfully. The placement of Megalopolis becomes easily understood because of the intersection of earlier routes. Some sites can now be clarified as roadside settlements through the discovery of the well-travelled major routes. Pikoulas acutely exemplifies the gains which route topography can offer for historical analysis, including a nice example regarding the movements of Philip V in north-east Arcadia in 219/8 BC. No one will cavil over the author's wider time-frame for the creation of the road network in the Archaic and Classical periods, but far fewer will accept that major building began around 650 BC. If Sparta's directing role is admitted, 546 or 522 BC to 465 or 446 BC becomes the more likely chronological context. Yet, local initiatives may well have accounted for most building, the actual routes being prescribed by the traces of Dark Age and Early Archaic trails created by the habitual use of individual travellers. As the author notes, the creation of Megalopolis transformed transportation in its region. A brief consideration of the Peloponnesian network during the Roman period concludes the chapter. One appendix deals with the single attested bridge, a wooden structure on stone bases near Torthyneion; a second with the settlement pattern of the upper Helisson valley of the Mainalian plain.

One of the most important authorities on Arcadian history over the last generation has been James Roy, whose output shows little sign of diminution. He has also been a regular

contributor to the activities of the Copenhagen Centre, and offers here an interesting study, 'The Economies of Arkadia' (pp. 320-81). He follows on a study that marks the basis for all recent work on this subject, an article of S. and H. Hodkinson, 'Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis'.¹² First Roy discusses the environment regarding weather conditions, rainfall and routes (where the skewing of the evidence by the influence of Spartan history must be addressed). His succeeding section deals with mountain dwellers, making a case for a degree of intensity of activity by bringing in comparative modern data. Roy then discusses subsistence while incorporating the anecdotal and epigraphical evidence, and noting modern material and the result of the Argolid Survey. Barley predominated among cereals, and the roles of grapes, herbs and bees are noted. Unsurprisingly, animal husbandry is prominent in these attestations (and the faunal analyses from Lousoi and Stymphalos are suggestive as well). Later in this piece, the role of pastoral activity will be revisited substantially on the existence of wealthier shepherds and on the strategies (like transhumance) associated with animal husbandry. Wood (for which Theophrastus vouches) and stone were locally important, but not much exported (doubtless, I add, because of transport costs). Roy singles out building under 'other economic activity', but the evidence does not add up to a judgment on scale. Trade patterns are more easily determinable for imports (metal, salt, fine pottery, fish and luxury goods) than for exports (which are assumed to have been agricultural products in the main; cf. Thucydides 1. 120. 2). The discussion of population is well informed and diligent, although the imponderables are many and more could perhaps be said. The presence of ca. 4000 Arcadian hoplite mercenaries in the army of Cyrus the Younger in 400 BC does seem to imply higher population levels than the current consensus, shared by Roy, would allow. At 100,000 to 200,000, this one body of men would be 2%-4% of the *total* population (or 8%-17% of males of prime military age), a topic that Roy does discuss in order to argue for the significance of emigration in Arcadian culture.

Catherine Morgan next presents 'Cultural Subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?' (pp. 382-456). The question mark in the title nicely catches the tone of an essay that poses questions more energetically than it offers solutions. The author starts from accepting many of the findings of Nielsen's introductory chapter. Yet it is quite uncertain why she accepts (for instance) that the Arcadian *ethnē* only achieved group status after regional *poleis* had emerged, since she cites the opposing evidence. Nor is it clear why the *Arcadicon* coinage is emphasised, because the author is well aware of the leading students of the issue who would disagree with Nielsen's effort to limit this minting to agonistic purposes. The longer part of the chapter is an investigation of the material data for the 'subzones' of the title. Unfortunately, the map at the back of the volume does not specify a fair number of the locations that are discussed by Morgan. She starts with eastern Arcadia and the territory of Mantineia (where the absence of Tegean bronze work and the distinctiveness of Mantineian votives may be stressed); then Orkhomenos; Tegea with its rich finds (following the works of M. Voyatzis); and, finally, tiny Pallantion with its remarkable complex of four temples (I should have liked a treatment of the waterworks of Lake Taka, supposedly shared with Tegea). The section on southern Arcadia picks up with Asea and its important rural/boundary cult sites of Vigla and Agios Elias. Next for review are the environs of Asea to the north

¹² 'Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis'. *BSA* 76 (1981), 239-96.

(the Peraithis), and to the south and west, much of this Mainalian territory (later controlled by Megalopolis), where Laconian influences were strong. Leuktron and Malea here became perioecic communities of the Spartans. Morgan then rounds out her investigation of the remaining holdings of later Megalopolis. South central Arcadia is Parrhasian territory, of which the archaeology is dominated by the finds at Lykosoura and (especially) Mount Lycaeum. Morgan comments in a rather minimalist vein concerning speculations about the regional or pan-Arcadian status of the latter. Mountainous south-west Arcadia is represented by finds from sanctuaries: those associated with Phigaleia, the important sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai, the sanctuary of Athena at Alipheira, and the poorly evidenced *polis* Heraia. Central Arcadia has been little explored. Azania was in northern Arcadia, where the excavated shrine of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi stands out, the possible regional significance of which Morgan explores. Inscriptions, survey results and several excavations supplement isolated finds to illuminate Azanian Pheneos. The rest of Azania is most notable for the sanctuary at Ay. Petros in the territory of Psophis, where cult activity is attested by a sequence of traces, beginning in the Early Iron Age. Discussion of Stymphalos and Telpheusa is appended to Azania. Morgan offers a final section that explores 'cultural subzones', in which the emphasis falls on compartmentalization and localism, even in architecture, where some pan-Arcadian elements have been noted. The author stresses the influence of interactions with neighbouring regions (especially the Argolid and Laconia). Mercenary service by Arcadians is proposed as a channel for this influence.

The Imaginary Polis

While I would most heartily approve of the plan to bring together this group of scholars to discuss the *polis*, and I do indeed find much to commend in the choice of subjects that were suggested to them and in the implementation of their charges, these contributions scarcely cohere under the heading 'imaginary *polis*'. Let us start by considering M.H. Hansen's 'Introduction' (pp. 9-24). We can grant Hansen's point against those who would deny abstraction to the concept of the *polis*, but demur when he would have this work treat a *polis* 'that did not exist anywhere as a tangible entity'. Quite the contrary, commentators on Spartan and Cretan *poleis* believed they were describing real states; that they may have failed to do so under our standards of historical accuracy does not render their Spartans and Cretans inhabitants of imaginary *poleis*. We may accuse commentators of naivety, idealisation and glorification about Sparta, but the judgment that they were 'dreamers' does not necessarily portray their self-awareness. References to *polis* life in Attic tragedy and even to a certain extent in Old Comedy are admittedly a conglomerate of fiction, fantasy (especially in some Aristophanic contexts), and, to be sure, genuine experiences of Greek political life. Even the philosophers not only offered polities that were sometimes unrealistic for sake of heuristic rationales, but also conveyed much they held ripe for implementation – imaginary only in the sense of 'never realised' – and there are hints that Greek urban planners did endeavour to accomplish their visionary *poleis* on the ground.

Nor do I judge 'utopian' to be a very useful description of this material, since modern utopias have various inapposite qualities for denoting Greek political commentary. Utopias are ideal *and* not realisable, holding up a distorting mirror to their real-world counterparts. They exhibit inversion as a means of social criticism, and they usually maintain in tension images of the seductive *eutopia* and the nightmarish *dystopia*. Nothing here, except for the

reworked Athens of the *Ecclesiazousae*, remotely fulfils these criteria. Some of the other examples cited by Hansen might fill the bill, but, in that case, we should have had a book about them. Secondly, Greek colonisation obviously required abstraction about political and social processes – the ability of the *polis* to engender such abstraction produced its capacity for reduplication in colonising – but does this amount to an ‘imagined *polis*’, except in the sense that anything is imagined until we actually do it? And colonial institutions usually copied the metropolis, except where a dissident group colonised and realised sectarian aspirations. I suggested that pattern for the Rhodians and Cnidians in the Lipari Islands,¹³ but the history of that singular experiment indicates an exception dramatising the usual pattern. I do see the synoecisms of tradition as a way of envisaging the *polis* through means of myth. Such synoecisms are not treated in this volume, and might well not qualify as ‘imaginary’ in Hansen’s sense.

Hansen closes his introduction with an appreciation of the difficulties of isolating Greek commentary on the *polis*, as opposed to discussion of a specific *polis* or *poleis*. That reflects in my view the characteristically intense identification of the Greeks with their particular *polis*. Hansen stresses the risks of Athenocentric distortion in Attic drama. For these reasons, the programmatic and theoretical discussions of Plato and Aristotle assume unusual importance.

A series of readings of the *polis* in literature start the volume. The first of these is offered by Johannes Haubold, ‘The Homeric *Polis*’ (pp. 25–48). His respondent was Minna Skafte Jensen. This short treatment has the admirable intention of seeing the Homeric *polis* within the context of hexametric, oral poetry, although the results are to my mind therefore somewhat disappointing. Recognising that Homeric poetry mediates between a now of performance and a then of heroic action, Haubold tries to place the human *polis* with early concepts of *kosmos*. *Polis* life is reached by an evolution through existential phases as specified in Hesiod. The Homeric gods are not yet *polis* gods, and the heroes are positioned ambiguously at the transition from divine to human history. The *poleis* of the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18 and the just and unjust *poleis* of Hesiod’s *Erga* have passed the threshold, transitioning from objects in divine strife (the semantic field of the variant *ptoliethron*) to arenas of human initiative, regulated by the gods. This not unworthy insight is then rather overworked to analyse the conceptual associations of the *polis* in Homer. Troy is the paradigmatic city of the *Iliad* and the heroic age, being matched by the counter-city of the Achaean camp. Haubold presents ably the tension between *oikos* and *polis* in the Iliadic polity. However, that the Iliadic *polis* is placed at the threshold of the demise of the heroes is only true in comparative mythological terms, and not internally or intrinsically true of the oral formulaic universe of the *Iliad*, which focuses on the demise of a single hero, Achilles. In the *Odyssey*, Haubold would see *poleis* in an Iliadic mode, Sparta and Pylos, balanced by transformed *poleis* Skherie and Ithaka. The anger of Poseidon will demarcate the heroic *polis* phase of Skherie from a possible post-heroic phase. Yet, the reticence of the poem about the identity and continuity of Phaiakia deliberately nullifies a claim to inheritance of the authority of Alkinoos and Arete, unlike the treatment of, for example, Nestor and Pylos, which seems a significant discontinuity. On the other hand, Odyssean Ithaka is in some real sense a post-heroic *polis*, which

¹³ T.J. Figueira, ‘The Lipari Islands and their System of Communal Property’. *CLAnt* 3 (1984), 179–206.

is an assertion few will question, even without Haubold's paradigm. The proposition that its transition is played out before us in the vengeance wreaked on the suitors and its aftermath is a little too cut and dried for me. For Haubold, the performance of Homer at the Panathenaia dramatises the evolution from the epic *polis* to the present *polis*, as experienced by the Athenians.

The next chapter is that of Pat Easterling, 'The Image of the *Polis* in Greek Tragedy' (pp. 49-72), for which the respondent was Robert Parker. She begins with a brief, possibly too telegraphic, comment on recent scholarship, noting the supplanting of 'new critical' analysis by ideological readings and glancing at attempts to grapple with tragedy as competitive performance at a festival that was mounted by a democratic *polis*. Easterling proposes to assess how the logic of selected tragedies is conditioned by the image of the *polis* by adducing dramas that have Theban settings. The rationale is the recent line of criticism that offers Thebes as an 'antitype' of Athens. It would have been useful to the likely audience for these volumes for Easterling to be less coy; summarise this interpretative approach and then subject it to the criticism she feels warranted. Also noted is the richness of the mythological material – three whole epics – that was reflected not only in the extant tragedies to be discussed, but also in a dozen lost plays. The *Seven against Thebes* comes first, for which the author describes the various invocations of the concept of *polis* as well as Thebes as *polis*. Noting that Troy provides the dramatic paradigm of the *polis* taken by enemies, Easterling observes that Thebes in Attic tragedy is never completely destroyed. We must consider whether it is therefore a model for the *polis* under threat. For Easterling, it was 'ill-omened to present the destruction of a Greek city in theatre'. Yet to appreciate fully this point, I would have added a discussion of the Athenian reaction to the staging of the *Sack of Miletus* of Phrynichus. The *Antigone* is treated next as the 'most famously "political" of all Greek plays', where, along with an account of various specific references to Thebes, particular attention is given to the chorus as *politai* and to how Thebes seems to recede when the main issues of the tragedy come into the foreground, yielding to invocation of a generic *polis*. The last section explores *stasis* through the *Oedipus at Colonus*, in which the introduction of the theme is markedly programmatic and admonitory. Easterling emphasises tragedy's transcendence of 'Athenian propaganda', what I would rather call parochial concerns, in order to appeal to a panhellenic audience.

The corresponding piece on comedy is offered by Alan H. Sommerstein in '*Nephelokokkygia* and *Gynaikopolis*: Aristophanes' Dream Cities' (pp. 73-99), for which the respondent was Paul Cartledge. Sommerstein begins rather slowly by noting how comedy shifts political blame onto bad politicians, but also stresses a more essential point, namely that Cloud-cuckooland of the *Birds* and the redesigned, feminised Athens of the *Ecclesiazusae* stand out among the political projects of Aristophanic heroes as distinct experiments in *polis* reformulation. However, Peisetaerus of the *Birds* and Praxagora of the *Ecclesiazusae* resemble *Lysistrata* in their decisive activism and amassing of personal power, so that *Lysistrata* must next be briefly summarised. Sommerstein's discussion of the highlights the process by which what is ostensibly a project for bird hegemony is truly an achievement of universal power by Peisetaerus and indirectly other men, while the birds merely exchange exploitative regimes. The status of Peisetaerus as tyrant is given due weight. In juxtaposition, I would have stressed the theme of inevitable self-aggrandisement by politicians and the irony in which the activist and hegemonic Attic psyche reasserts itself in Peisetaerus, initially a defector or recusant

from and 'refusnik' toward Athenian cultural/political norms. And birds after all are only birds, not Athenians. Praxagora has similar aggrandising features. For Sommerstein, she can be compared with Dionysius of Syracuse, although a *stratēgos autokratōr* much closer to home and more apposite could be offered in Alcibiades after his recall. The conclusion that Praxagora's revolution primarily benefits men seems overdrawn. Their gains in the common meals and reductions in work are naturally owed to the underlying utopian paradigm being parodied, and are offset by the sexual advantages garnered by women, which are generically determined (beyond the bounds of the paradigm) and which by the conventions of Old Comedy and by folk tradition must be appraised as colossal. Yes, we may follow Sommerstein in marking the wish-fulfilment in the monarchical (better, autocratic) polity of these Aristophanic heroes. Yet we may also want to ponder how, by liberating individual *politai*, democracy paradoxically allows some individuals in society to seek self-realisation in extreme arrogation; this dilemma is brought to a point by our ambivalent reactions to the enterprise of the Aristophanic hero.

The next group of chapters explore theoretical *polis*-forms in philosophical texts, beginning with Plato. Jean-François Pradeau contributes 'L'irréalisable vérité de la *République* platonicienne: Remarques sur le statut et sur le contenu de la *politeia* de la *République*' (pp. 100-23). The author appraises the constitutional features of the *Republic* for their realism and practicality in a useful corrective study that does not, however, clear much new ground. Plato is following a 'constitutional' generic format that must address legislation (especially in the healthy and bloated cities of Book II), magistracies and demography, and which includes a typology of constitutions. Pradeau then turns to consider the issue of feasibility, in other words whether the *politeia* of the *Republic* is utopian. This inquiry is to be divided, asking both whether the *politeia* ἐν λόγῳ is possible and whether it can be brought into existence. It is indeed possible, taken in rational terms, but the task of bringing it into being in a pre-existing state is problematical, except as a mental construct to guide an individual or civic body that has internalised its precepts (cf. *Republic* 591C-592B; *Laws* 739B-E). The Platonic sensitivity to the *politeia* as an internal disposition within an individual is a salutary reminder of the willingness of the Greeks to grant political psychology its central place in the life of the *polis*, a concept that has tended to be neglected at times in the Polis Centre's investigations of physical or overt *polis* characteristics.

The next offering is provided by Marcel Piérart with 'La cité des Magnètes dans les *Lois* de Platon' (pp. 124-51). The respondent at the symposium in Copenhagen was Jean-Marie Bertrand, who provides his reactions to Piérart's chapter in his own contribution that immediately follows. This piece is largely descriptive, providing a useful overview. Piérart begins by detailing how the frame for the city foundation in the dialogue is a Cretan colonisation that is undertaken by the interlocutor Kleinias. To this enterprise Plato is at pains to impart verisimilitude. Piérart also indicates how the *polis* paradigm serves as a heuristic instrument in the *Laws*. Successively, Piérart provides helpful sketches on institutional issues, commencing with the name of the city, *polis* of the Magnetes. He outlines the guiding social premises: functional classes, with segregation of the warriors; characteristic educational system; non-monetary economy; communism; common education and roles for women; marriages and children held in common; and *archontes* subordinated to the laws. In order to avoid alienation of classes through elite aggrandisement, a system of inalienable and indivisible lots sustains the class of landowners, assisted by servile labour, in a *chora* and *asty* organised in

concentric circles, where are set dual households and farms (urban or extramural and in the countryside). The lots are to be maintained in number so as to subsidise a military class, integrated through common messes (which the citizen women attended). Artisans become metics with a residential limit of 20 years. The territory is divided into 12 tribal segments, while each tribe has in turn 12 subdivisions. Four census classes are established in the manner of Solonian precedent – and I suspect following his lead as well in their agricultural basis – but without a thetic component. This constitution is to balance or mix Persian-style monarchy and Attic democracy. Piérart points out that the magistracies follow Attic practice, but with more elaborate combinations of review, election and allotment. There are some additions, including the important board of the *nomophylakes* with their penal, supervisory, censorial and, possibly, legislative duties, and *agoranomoi* (cf. the *agoranomoi* and *astynomoi*), young men who patrol the countryside and borders rather like Attic *peripoloi* or Spartan *kryptoi*, and exercise legal jurisdiction. The judiciary is also generally based on Athenian models, but the *astynomoi* and *agoranomoi* (especially) hear more expensive disputes than the Attic demedcasts, and special judges, drawn from former magistrates, have appellate jurisdiction and try serious cases with the *nomophylakes*. *Dokimasia* ‘preliminary scrutiny’ is applied to candidates after the Attic precedent, but the *euthunoi*, reviewing magistratal service, are a less populist body. They form, along with the ten oldest *nomophylakes*, a nocturnal council, which, assisted by select young men, will combine educational, intelligence and constitutional deliberations. Piérart has naturally drawn on his earlier work on the *Laws*, especially his monograph of 1974.¹⁴

The minor and pendent contribution of Bertrand, ‘L’utopie magnète: Réflexions sur *Les Lois* de Platon’ (pp. 152–63), limits itself to commentary on a few points. The first of these is to emphasise that the city of Magnesia is a colony of volunteer settlers on previously inhabited Cretan territory. The size and spatial structuring of Magnesia also offer problems of interpretation, about which one cannot be sure that Plato had recognised the full ramifications, such as the land needed for the subsistence of 5040 exclusively agricultural households or the logistics in getting the young together for schooling. Finally, Bertrand tackles the complex question of the Platonic view in the *Laws* of techniques of behavioural control, finishing up with the Platonic construal of *parhēsia* ‘freedom of speech’ that is granted its place in the polity of the *Laws*.

The next two chapters shift the focus to Aristotle, starting with Roderick T. Long, ‘Aristotle’s Egalitarian Utopia: The *Polis* Kat’ *Euchen*’ (pp. 164–96). Here Hansen himself acted as respondent. The author suggests that the *polis* ‘according to our prayers’ is a species of utopian discourse, as well as being egalitarian. We are reminded first of the nature of the Aristotelian *polis* as supreme association of free, rational beings for the achievement of the good life, ideally in the exercise of virtue. This formulation is next pointed up by considering Aristotle’s natural slave, a human being so impaired in *dianoia* or *thumos* as to be incapable of *polis* existence. Then Long explores whether intellectual and practical wisdom both belong in the *polis kat’eukhēn*, including a interesting glance at the ‘inclusivist’ and ‘intellectualist’ readings of Book 7 of the *Politics* and 10 of the *Ethics*, which blends into an explication how the philosophical and political lives are combined therein through an alternation of attention.

¹⁴ M. Piérart, *Platon et la cité grecque: théorie et réalité dans la constitution des Lois* (Brussels 1974).

The argument turns next to the best *polis* and constitutional forms as interpreted both under the traditional typology and under the proportional merit system that classifies by kinds of merit (virtue/wisdom, wealth and freedom). Noting the role of collective wisdom, as opposed to individual wisdom, is important for Aristotelian analysis here, since it endorses a mixture of democratic and oligarchic elements in the constitutional type called *politeia*. Aristotle diverges from traditional categorisation by insisting that a true classification depends on identifying the conception of happiness that underlies any political order. Yet his classification must respect common parlance even within analysis on its own principles, as illustrated in problems such as whether to use wealth or few rulers and poverty or majority rule in defining oligarchy and democracy, or in the difficulty in understanding the preferred polity as an aristocracy or monarchy. Long concludes by considering whether the *polis kat'eukhēn* is just, both in Aristotelian terms or generally. Criticisms have focused on the treatment of women and slaves (who may not be natural slaves, and may be offered an improper regimen of incentives, and may engender naturally free children), and on the treatment of the *banau-soi* who constitute the craft and service sectors of society. For Long, Aristotle defends the justice of his polity better in his own terms (supremacy of virtue and equality of authority among peers in virtue) than in ours, with difficulties surrounding natural slavery, his limitation of the consent of the governed to constitutional authorisation, and his fundamental equation of state and society. Thus, through Aristotle, Long returns to a recognition of the uniquely articulated and tight integration of the *polis*, a formulation at which Hansen and his Danish collaborators have bridled (see above on *Acts* 5; and on J. Ober in *Acts* 1 in Part 2 of this review article – *AWE* 5 [2006], 280).

The short chapter of Hansen which is entitled 'A Pedestrian Synopsis of Aristotle's Best *Polis* in *Pol.* 7-8' (pp. 197-201) is exactly the outline that its title promises. Perhaps it would better have been put before Long's contribution, to remind readers who are less familiar with or mindful of the *Politics* about the material on the best polity in Books 7 and 8.

Oswyn Murray offers the last of the chapters dealing with philosophical visions of the *polis* in 'Zeno and the Art of *Polis* Maintenance' (pp. 202-21), for which the respondent was Johnny Christensen. Murray's title plays on *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values*, the acclaimed and best-selling work of 1974 by Robert M. Pirsig, who is quoted at the beginning of the text (along with Italo Calvino). Murray highlights the prominence of Zeno's *Politeia* amid the more practical efforts at constitutional formation that preoccupied early Hellenistic philosophers before proceeding to note and express dissatisfaction with modern reconstructions. He locates the most relevant controversy in the late Roman Republic, when re-examination of the founding doctrines of the philosophical schools was in vogue and the relationship of contemporary Stoic political science, shaped by Panaetius and Poseidonius, with early Stoic teaching was problematical. Controversial too was the relationship of Zeno's work with a 'constitution' attributed to Diogenes the Cynic. A brief appreciation of recent work (including Baldry, Erskine, Vander Waerdt and Schofield), showing the most sympathy with Dawson, emphasises the need to account for the shocking features of a work that was influenced by and reacting to Plato, strongly coloured by Cynic elements. Zeno's polity was a community exclusively of the wise, without religious and cultural institutions or social amenities, which abolished the family, held property in common, practised gender equality and rejected behavioural strictures like the prohibition on incest. The wise cohered in *homonoia*, promoted by *erōs*. Here, I would note how Zeno

reaches back to Archaic modes of sectarian integration, moving past the Platonic and Aristotelian rejection of pederasty as an educative and organising principle. This early conception of the Stoic wise man is cleverly discerned by Murray in Philo's treatment of Moses in his *Life of Moses*. It is next suggested that such a *polis* of *sophoi* already exists in the wise men scattered through existing communities, but united in *homonoia* through *erōs* for wisdom. This is the original sense of the *kosmopolitēs*, whose *kosmopolis* was expanded to mankind only in the Middle Stoa. The author then explores the possibility that Augustine's (*De civitate Dei* 19. 24) identification of the object of a shared love as the key toward understanding community formation not only adapts Cicero *De republica* 1. 25, but recalls or revives the conceptions of Zeno. Murray concludes by modulating an endorsement of a non-philological, more holistic and reception-oriented approach to this type of exploration within the history of ideas into a gracious tribute to the shared devotions fostered by the Polis Centre itself.

The next chapter, that of Stephen Hodkinson, 'The Imaginary Spartan *Politeia*' (pp. 222-81), for which the respondent was Cartledge, represents a major change in direction for the volume. As Hodkinson himself instructs us, he was asked to study contemporary views of Sparta 'without concern for their historical reality'. Therefore, in my view, there is the substantial and unnecessary risk that Spartan processes and institutions which diverge from classical norms may become mistaken for features of the imaginary Sparta (as this volume envisages such imagination) or that idealisation and fictionalisation will be confused for honestly-intending description. Hodkinson notes the problematic impact of utopianism in the sense of social dreaming, a nice formulation if we do not press the anachronistic ramifications of the term 'utopianism' too far. The author emphasises that most of the modes of classical Laconism, following a typology of Cartledge, are not well enough represented, which leaves us with the 4th-century philosophers, rhetoricians and historians and a focus on the *polis* as a political community within 'utopianising' and 'dystopianising' accounts.

The first important subject is the nature of the Spartan constitution, with the jumping-off point in Aristotle's references to various opinions about Sparta and mixed constitutions (*Politics* 1265b33-6a1, 1294b13-34). Plato's *Laws* is investigated as a possible point of departure for Aristotle, with Hodkinson rejecting *Laws* 712d-713a (justifiably in my opinion) and 691d-692a (unnecessarily) and cautiously endorsing 693d-e. Depending on the dynamics of argument, the orators veered between Spartan democracy and oligarchy, with the concept of mixture sometimes allowing for both positions simultaneously. Hodkinson notes astutely how the case for democracy utilises not only procedural features, such as eligibility for the ephorate and the ability to elect, but also the egalitarian features of the Spartiate lifestyle. In the background of this debate – I would underscore – lie both the attractions of Spartan populism as an answer to cultural anxieties over status differentiation and the undoubted Spartan championing of oligarchy in the struggles against the Athenians. Conspicuously absent were references to the judicial system and the assembly. I suspect the first is owed to the wide latitude given to the 'democratic' ephors to rule on the basic customary norms, a situation which would have struck an observer based in Athens as intolerably amorphous. The second is truly 'more striking', prompting me to raise the *mikra ekklēsia*, cryptically noted by Xenophon regarding the conspiracy of Kinadon (*HG* 3. 3. 7) and to question how functional the classical assembly may have been outside of elections and questions of peace and war. Hodkinson devotes a long note (n. 22, pp. 277-78) to a fascinating fragment attributed to Archytas of Taras which discusses the Spartan constitution

(Stobaeus *Flor.* 4. 1. 138). If one believes, as I do, that this passage preserves pre-Aristotelian analysis, a debate must have already existed by the early 4th century over Sparta as a systematically mixed constitution. As for Aristotle himself, Hodkinson concludes that he viewed Sparta as an aristocracy in which *aretē* was tempered by the role of the *dēmos* operating through the ephorate (which also checks royal power).

Hodkinson consigns 5th-century commentary to 'before the mixture', a position that might naturally be reconsidered under the influence of my date for the fundamental analysis that underlies the account of Archytas in his *On Law and Justice*. References in Attic drama, for instance the portrayals of Menelaus in the *Ajax* of Sophocles and the *Andromache* of Euripides, focus criticism on the kings and Spartan tyranny or authoritarianism. I would go a little further and suggest that this attitude may reflect the activism in foreign policy of strong early 5th-century figures like Cleomenes and Pausanias during a period in which Spartan hegemonism was feared, but the peculiar social and political order of the Lakedaimonians seemed an improbable pattern for imitation. The Spartan victory over the Athenians changed this judgment. Therefore, I would agree with Hodkinson that Xenophon (who is treated next) is a pivotal figure, with his stress on the ephors, *gerousia*, civic *aretē* and the kingship, about which he rebuffs the accusations of tyranny.

The section on 'the fusion of state and society' attempts to nuance the concessions by Hansen that Sparta exemplifies the fusion of state and society after the manner of Constant and Fustel de Coulanges (in *Acts* 5, pp. 84-97, for which note above). Hodkinson first offers in evidence 'pro-active state control over the lives of Spartiate citizens', presenting Critias and Xenophon on the *agōgē*, messes and subsistence. Authoritarianism is modified, however, by cases of private initiative and willing citizen compliance. He believes that Xenophon's emphasis falls on public behaviour at Sparta, with the implication that private mores and deportment abroad were less conforming, and that this judgment is paralleled by Plato's treatment of the timarchic polity in the *Republic* and his insinuations in the *Laus* concerning a Spartan failure to instil *sōphrosynē*. Aristotle adds the deficiency of an undue concentration on military *aretē* and details the effects of 'uncontrolled private interest', including the corruption of officials and the absence of female socialisation. From Thucydides in his funeral oration of Pericles, we discern the traces of this same evaluation, which I would identify as an Attic, elite appraisal. I would restate as follows: Sparta was different in the extended boundary granted the public sphere in a human existence necessarily divided into public and private realms; that extension afforded greater behavioural control over outward comportment, while surrendering social discipline in the restricted private sphere; and Sparta was therefore deficient in *sōphrosynē* through its lack of a *paideia* with internalisation of cultural values. For Hodkinson, the contemporary evidence for the fusion of state and society is 'hedged around with qualifications or represented as limited in their application'. Next Hodkinson summarises the portrait of military discipline in Isocrates and other 4th-century commentary. Hodkinson then turns to discussing the co-operative features of Spartan life through exploring the sharing of property with their fellows and the commonality of child-rearing and adult life-style. A key concept is *homonoia* 'unanimity', and respect for elders is singled out, with both qualities as points of contrast with Athens.

The conclusion of the chapter expressly addresses 'utopianism' in light of Hansen's views and Cartledge's responses to the underlying paper. It is stressed that the image of a moderate and mixed Spartan constitution and the resultant condition of *homonoia* are products of

4th-century appreciation. Appraisals of Sparta characterise its institutions as mainly a result of human initiative (usually emphasising Lycurgus) rather than highlighting supernatural contributions like the intervention of the Delphic oracle. Modern utopian thought balances visions of *eutopia* and *dystopia* as well, in contrast to ancient parallels, but Hodgkinson suggests that the regime of the Thirty at Athens exhibits a dialectic between *eutopia* and *dystopia*. I think this exaggerates the borrowing from Sparta in the Thirty's political programme, which was itself not so systematically conceived as sometimes held. And the dystopian ramifications of the supremacy of Critias and his comrades transcended mere polemics. Amid recognition of the abuses levied on the Greeks by the Spartans, idealisation of Sparta in the 4th century was persistent and tended to downplay the contrast between a glorious past and a degenerate present. Readers will find this examination useful, especially if they focus on the helpful concept of idealisation and not press the idea of utopianism too far. It remains most doubtful whether the latter concept accurately describes the abstraction and generalisation that typifies contemporary commentary on Sparta.

Another significant contribution is that of Paula Perlman, 'Imagining Crete' (pp. 282-334), for which Hansen served as respondent. She sets up her exploration by contrasting the political and ethnic fragmentation and diversity with the confidence of ancient commentators in the existence of a single Cretan *politeia*. For Perlman, the 4th-century exponents of a Cretan *politeia* follow a blueprint that originated in the Academy. This judgment is unfortunate. It rejects an important role for the *Cretica* of Charon of Lampsacus (which, nevertheless, Perlman does survey). It is also insufficiently appreciative of the prominence of Minos in the *Archaeologia* of Thucydides. It attributes an idiosyncratic and unlikely methodology to Aristotle and his students for the composition of their Cretan *politeia*.

After a précis outlining Plato's account in the *Laws*, Aristotle in the *Politics* and Ephorus *FGH* 70 F 149.17-19, there follows a discussion of the major points of common exegesis that starts with the ground principle of the polity. This is military prowess that preserves *eleutheria*, which in turn protects all other goods from seizure, but the satisfaction of a requirement for *homonoia* was also a part of the same analysis. *Agelai* and *sysitia*, or child-rearing and male commensality, follow from these rationales. Aristotle's views are harder to clarify, yet a critique of acquisitiveness is subtly implied. Minos as lawgiver was another *leitmotif* of these accounts, although Aristotle in the *Politics* took a different tack from the Aristotelian *politeia* as reflected through Heraclides Lembos. An emphasis on Minos meant treating his thalassocracy (under the influence of Thucydides) to some degree as a factor promoting moral decay, and comparing it with the 5th-century Athenian *arkhē* and its 4th-century Spartan successor. Ephorus can be reconstructed to offer a more complex portrait, which includes an early king Kres as thalassocrat and coloniser and an early Rhadamanthys (not the brother of Minos) as a fundamental legislator and culture hero. Unlike Perlman, I judge this the most significant variant on Minos, inasmuch as a supposed Platonic and Aristotelian undermining of his contribution seems sketchy. Rather speculatively, Perlman offers the tradition of the tripartite Dorian division of the Peloponnese as a model for a threefold division of Crete by the Peripatetic Minos, a scheme influenced by Hellenistic power relations.

A third theme of the historiography about the Cretan *politeia* was its relationship to the Lycurgan constitution, a topic which Herodotus had raised earlier. While Aristotle offered a cautious appraisal of institutional analogies, Ephorus highlighted the derivation, providing a scenario whereupon primordial Dorian customs, established by the heroic coloniser,

Althaimenes, were reintroduced to Laconia through Lycurgus. Specifically, the relationship of Spartan laws to that of its colony Lyctus was a central problem. Aristotle's caution was enmeshed with the question of the possible pre-Dorian, 'Minoan' character of the Lycurgan borrowings. However, for Perlman, the framework for such borrowing, namely the travels of Lycurgus and his dealings with the Cretan lyric poet Thales/Thaletas, is treated similarly in the *Politics*, in the Peripatetic *politeia* as reflected in Heraclides Lembos and in Ephorus. Chapter 4 of Plutarch's *Lycurgus* could have been profitably introduced here, because it derives (perhaps, indirectly) from a Peripatetic *politeia* – I say 'Peripatetic', because one should not exclude the use of the *politeia* of Dicaearchus. The treatment in Plutarch reinforces the conclusion that the Peripatetics would not commit unconditionally to a Dorian/Cretan origin for the Spartan polity, because Thales is here a precursor of Lycurgus, not his mentor, and because Ionia also influences Lycurgan *nomothesia*, negatively by exhibiting deviations from Greek norms, and positively by Lycurgan assimilation of Homeric poetry.

Perlman also notes that both Ephorus and Aristotle offer lists of equivalencies between Spartan and Cretan institutions: both having *gerousial/boulē*, ephors/*kosmoi* and *pheidition/andreion* (common mess); Aristotle has additionally the levies on the dependent class, kings as early war chieftains and an assembly with limited powers; and Ephorus notes the Spartan application of the epithet *kretikos* to dances, paeans and the like, as well as both peoples' possession of corps of *hippeis* (only the Cretan ones are mounted). However, Perlman's discussion of early Cretan horsemanship and society is very helpful.

The last section of this chapter turns to the most prominent institutions of the Cretans, starting with the *syssition* 'common mess' where a short sketch of the institution is presented that draws on Aristotle's *Politics*, an important fragment of the epichoric historian Dosiadas (FGH 458 F 2), Heraclides Lembos and Ephorus. A comparison with Spartan practice always appears implicit. The topic of *paideia*, including Cretan pederastic abductions, is examined by juxtaposing passages from Heraclides and Ephorus. The third major component (based on the surviving evidence) is the political order in the strict sense, with emphasis on the *kosmoi* and *gerontes*. Notably, the *kosmoi* were subjected to vigorous criticism by Aristotle. In her conclusion, Perlman properly stresses that Crete is seldom viewed without Sparta being held in sight as well. More adventurous is the location of the origin of the standard Cretan polity among the Spartans themselves during the First Peloponnesian War, for which a close relationship with the Lyctioi served as a catalyst. This *logos* of *syngeneia* was transformed at Athens into the Cretan *politeia*. An annotated appendix collects the composite Peripatetic constitutional treatises into three classes: Hellenic federations like the Arcadians or Achaeans; semi-barbarian (or better, semi-Hellenised) *ethnē*, for example the Lycians; and the multi-plate islands, among whom I would deem the Cyprians the most significant parallel.

In my judgment, the Spartans recognised affinities in Cretan social processes, and such perceptions were enhanced by similarities in dialect, socio-political nomenclature, cult practices and social mores. Compared with the less-articulated, 'primitive' Cretan social structure, Spartan institutional history is marked by re-institutionalisation (as M.I. Finley observed) whose practitioners claimed to be achieving reversion toward or 'revolution' back to an authentic primordial order. For the Spartans, their appreciation of Cretan customs, reinforced by their belief in the expatriation of Lycurgus on Crete (a myth about *nomothesia* originally readable in both directions), provided a useful 'governor' on engine of this re-institutionalisation. Sometime in the late 5th or early 4th century, a historian or pamphleteer – Charon

of Lampsacus is still the best candidate, although certain judgment is elusive – schematised Cretan society with an eye toward Laconian parallels in so prestigious a fashion as to condition his successors into a reactive posture.

Graham Shipley, offers a lengthy discussion of idealised urbanisation in ‘Little Boxes on the Hillside: Greek Town Planning, Hippodamos, and Polis Ideology’ (pp. 335–403). His respondent was Tobias Fischer-Hansen. We should judge this piece an important addition to the series of studies on Greek urbanism that have been offered by the Polis Centre. Its affinities with and dependence upon the study of the respondent on early town planning (in *Acts* 3, as discussed in Part 2 of this review article: *AWE* 5 [2006], 296–97) in the West Greek colonies is apparent, as demonstrated by a number of endnotes. This contribution is dedicated to the memory of Michael Jameson. Shipley calls our attention to the need for a monographic treatment in English of urban planning. I concur, but I add that this chapter does a good job of holding the fort in the meanwhile by virtue of its reasoned presentation of the issues and its marshalling of much important scholarship.

A major preoccupation, as exposed in the Introduction, is whether particular forms of town planning have an ideological inspiration or intent, or, specifically whether planning was egalitarian or democratic. The second section on ‘early town planning’ examines the manifestations of urban order in the parallelism of streets which is illustrated by late 7th-century Casmenae in the hinterland of Syracuse. Parallelism leads to the ‘strip-planning’ that creates long narrow *insulae* or blocks that may be intersected by rectangular crossing roads. This phenomenon is then exemplified by a number of cases from the Western colonies. Strikingly, all of these grids are subsequent to the foundation of their cities, except for Megara Hyblaea. In that connection, I would note the possibility that Megara Hyblaea was conceived as a subordinate settlement from Syracuse, but that the Megarian colonists almost immediately broke free in a parallel insurrection to the assertion of independence by their brethren in homeland Greece. With ‘strip-planning’ both equality, as at Megara and Poseidonia, and inequality of plot size, as at Himera, occurred. Shipley sensibly observes that equal plots do not mean equal houses. Town plans imply a civic schema, and may be accompanied by territorial structuring or restructuring.

We are rightly warned about extrapolating from town structures to assumptions about equal divisions and about the limitations of an egalitarian spirit. Shipley establishes the impulse toward reconfiguration as subsequent to founding (except for Megara), noting social tensions. I would stress that colonies reflected the social and political structure of the metropolis, almost inevitably hierarchical in the Archaic period, and that the principle of equality prevailed for groups of peers, such as a core of settlers from the mother city, and not necessarily for other groups such as refugees, suppliants, settlers from a secondary metropolis, colonists from dependent strata and communities in the homeland, and later arrivals. Moreover, unlike Shipley, I read the evidence about the foundation of Syracuse with its Gamoroi to support this hypothesis. And Megara Hyblaea with its equality of plots and *klēroi* stands in necessary counterpoint to Syracuse. Naturally, in the 5th century, when the Attic model of colonisation came to predominate, Athenian democracy ensured that the principle of peer equality could expand to subsume all settlers.

The next section covers ‘classical town planning’ and notes the development of shorter, eventually square building blocks, sometimes accompanied by the division of the town grid into quarters and a hierarchy of three grades of thoroughfares. Examples are Heracleia and

Thourioi in southern Italy, most significantly, the Peiraieus in Attica, and, eventually, Rhodes. In this period, instances of newly established 'strip-planning' have also been discovered. This examination leads to Hippodamus, who becomes an ever more enigmatic and perhaps elusive figure, the more we learn of town planning archaeologically. Shipley presents the evidence for his career, an investigation that is supported by an appendix containing the literary and epigraphical testimonia in chronological order, for which reproduction of the Greek texts would have been useful. Aristotle bulks large in this treatment, since he uniquely combines information about the political speculation of Hippodamus with Hippodamian urbanism. Aristotle had his own preferences in urban planning, one of which was a concern for town defence. Hippodamus' career is next reconstructed, in the course of which his work in designing the Peiraieus, Rhodes and Thourioi are noted, although the task of redesigning his home town of Miletus did not apparently fall to him.

Shipley is undoubtedly justified in rejecting the theory that Hippodamus was practising 'Hippodamian-Pythagorean' planning, if we may translate the terminology of W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner. Yet, we ought not exclude that some intersection of Pythagorean geometry, political science and town planning occurred in western Greece, even if its cultural history is irrecoverable because of our terribly inadequate data. Shipley's caution over the constitutional or ideological ramifications of Hippodamian town planning is reasonable, but veers too far in reaction, particularly in his doubts that the *klēroi* of Attic imperial colonies (like Brea) were equal.¹⁵ Particularly challenging as well is coping with the theories of Hoepfner and Schwandner about *Typenhäuser* 'modular houses' which were built on equivalent plots to the same floor plan and sharing common walls. Is their creation, for example, in the Peiraieus, to be considered both Hippodamian and motivated by democratic ideology? I would additionally emphasise the pragmatic inquiry whether these homes were built as a governmental initiative or resulted from economic processes working in a non-public sector (privately funded). Shipley rightly underlines the lack of literary evidence on this topic, and observes how the issue of provision of housing for the large population of metics complicates analysis. Furthermore, the appearance of 'modular housing' at Olynthus further complicates interpretation in both political and social historical terms. The discussion of Hippodamus concludes with a cautious affirmation that his contributions may have lain in zoning, demarcation, integration of units, and hierarchy of streets. Next, the evidence on other literary authorities on town planning is outlined (both shadowy figures, such as Pheidon of Corinth, Phaleos of Kalkhedon, and Pytheos [of Priene?], and Plato and Aristotle).

Brief notes on the issues of functionality and aesthetics close this section, in which Shipley warns against bringing the two influences into necessary opposition and introduces the role of practical features, like commercial access, in Hippodamian town plan. A short coda to this section is provided by a treatment of 'fourth-century and Hellenistic town planning' discussing several issues with some bibliography. The conclusion to the chapter gives an admirable restatement of points covered.

Shipley's title makes play with the first line of Malvina Reynolds's song *Little Boxes*, copyrighted in 1962, that is said to have been written in (dis)honour of the tract housing being erected by developers on hillsides in Daly City, south of San Francisco on the Peninsula. They

¹⁵ See T.J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore 1991), especially 176-84.

were 'made of ticky-tacky' in the lyrics and 'all looked just the same'. The song is a protest against the social and cultural regimentation supposedly implied by the houses and personified by their denizens, and was widely performed in America in counter-cultural, or, more properly, just left-wing circles (Reynolds was associated with the intellectual milieu of Berkeley down to her death in 1978.) Although there is something deliciously silly from the vantage point of early 21st-century American academic life about any leftist critique of American conformity, I want rather to take a moment over an underlying point of social analysis. Postwar American social policies promoted home owning, suburbanisation, acculturation to middle-class values and mores, and mass access to higher education, all of which are objects of protest in *Little Boxes*. In retrospect, those policies turned out to be both populist and conservative. In this chapter, Shipley has done an excellent job of laying bare the weaknesses of data and analysis concerning Hippodamian city design and 'modular housing' as a modality of Attic democratic populism. It remains an open question, however, whether the available data, if they were interrogated by a more sophisticated economic and institutional analysis than archaeology has offered heretofore, might not in fact reveal traces of populist policies, set within Athenian traditions regarding the *oikos* and family subsistence.

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Thomas Figueira

A COMMENT ON THE REVIEW ARTICLE OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE COPENHAGEN POLIS CENTRE IN *AWE* 5

In *AWE* 5 (2006) T.J. Figueira published the first two parts of an evaluation of all the publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre in the years 1993–2003. His review article covers the two volumes about city-state cultures¹ (pp. 254–76) and the first four volumes of *Acts*² (pp. 277–302). The rest will appear in this issue and the next two. It is extremely valuable to have an overview of the publications instead of reviews of the individual volumes, and F.'s review comprises extensive summaries of the various contributions with critical remarks indicating agreement or disagreement. Some of the contributors get some praise, most of them escape unhurt, some almost without a scratch, but I am sorry to see that F. is extremely critical of almost all my own contributions to the project. That is a serious matter for, as F. correctly points out, my contributions are crucial for the coherence of the entire project. Therefore, on behalf of the project, I am bound to respond, and I can do it because I am not persuaded by F.'s criticism and still think that the whole project leading up to the Inventory is based on a solid foundation of empirical research. For my response I have selected the chapter that is most severely criticised by F., *viz.* 'ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ...'

¹ M.H. Hansen (ed.): *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen 2000); *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen 2002).

² M.H. Hansen (ed.): *The Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1993) = *Acts* 1; *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1995) = *Acts* 2; *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen 1996) = *Acts* 3; *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen 1997) = *Acts* 4.

in *Acts* 3,³ a contribution which, according to F., 'constitutes one of the most programmatic pieces in the Polis Centre's publications' (p. 290).

According to F., my article starts 'quite maladroitly by two examples of misunderstanding of the nature of the *polis*' (p. 290). The first concerns Mykalessos, the second the status of Athenian cleruchies.

(1) I argue that Mykalessos⁴ in the 5th century BC was a *polis* as reported by Thucydides 7. 29-30, whose description, however, is passed over in silence in almost all discussions of the political structure of Boeotia, and probably was a *polis* in the 6th century too as indicated by its mint, but was a *kome* in the 1st century BC as reported by Strabo (9. 2.11, 15).⁵

Combining the information we have from Thucydides and Strabo, F. suggests that Mykalessos may have been both a *polis* and a *kome*. Thus, F. does what we have tried to avoid in all of our publications: to retroject a source of the Roman period and apply the information it contains to the Classical period 400 years earlier. On p. 290 F. applies a similar anachronistic interpretation to the even later passage in Pausanias (10. 4. 1) about the Phocian *polis* Panopeus.

The view that *polis* and *kome* may occasionally overlap is duly acknowledged and problematised in *Papers* 2⁶ in connection with, for example, Helisson (*SEG* 37 340) where the issue can be discussed without any anachronistic retrojection of sources.⁷

F. then takes me to task for criticising encyclopaedic articles (*RE* and *The Princeton Encyclopedia*)⁸ which cannot be expected to answer constitutional questions. But the same, in my opinion, anachronistic and erroneous view of Mykalessos as a *kome* and not as a *polis* as reported by Thucydides is found in almost all the studies of the political organisation of Boeotia, and, *pace* F. p. 283, also in R.J. Buck.⁹ Like F., and without any caveat, Buck takes Strabo's information about the status of Mykalessos to be valid for the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods and he has no mention of Thucydides.

(2) F.'s other example is my view that Athenian cleruchies were (dependent) *poleis*. But in this case my error can hardly be a 'misunderstanding of the nature of the *polis*' (p. 290), but rather the unfortunate fact that, in my brief treatment of cleruchies, I had not (yet) read F.'s book and cited him for the correct view which, with one proviso, we share: that in the 4th century BC 'all settlements abroad were called cleruchies and they were conceptualised as *poleis* of Athenians living abroad' (p. 291).¹⁰ The one proviso is that not all 4th-century

³ M.H. Hansen, 'ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. Pol. 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*'. In *Acts* 3 (as in n. 2), 7-72.

⁴ No. 212 in M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

⁵ See M.H. Hansen, 'Kome. A Study of How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*'. In M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1995), 48 (= *Papers* 2).

⁶ Hansen 1995 (as in n. 5), 73-75.

⁷ See now T.H. Nielsen, *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen 2002), 359-63; Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4), 97.

⁸ R. Stilwell *et al.* (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976).

⁹ R.J. Buck, *A History of Boiotia* (Edmonton 1979), 99.

¹⁰ T.J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore 1991), 238. There are numerous references to this book in Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4), for example on p. 89 in connection with my discussion of the Athenian cleruchies on Lemnos.

settlements were cleruchies (see, for example, the decree *IG II* 1629.165-271 where the planned settlement abroad is referred to as a *ναύσταθμον* and [*ἀποικίαι*], and the colonists are not called *κλήρουχοι* but *ἐποικιστοί*). But I agree with F. that the cleruchies were *poleis* of Athenians living abroad.

Incidentally, both F.'s examples show that he accepts the Polis Centre's view that many *poleis* were dependencies and that independence was not a *sine qua non* for *polis* status.¹¹

The following discussion of how we build up our inventory contains a misunderstanding of p. 13 of my text. We do not treat communities that fulfil a number of conditions and communities called *polis* in later sources as two distinct categories. For communities which are not attested as *poleis* in Archaic and Classical sources but fulfil a number of characteristics (a *bouleuterion*, a mint, membership of an alliance, etc.), we note if they are called *poleis* in later sources, in particular in a retrospective context. But communities called *poleis* in later sources do not form a separate category and even a retrospective reference is not taken as proof that the community in question was a *polis* in the period *ca.* 650-323 BC.

F. then discusses a number of 'pitfalls' (p. 291). On the question whether *polis* status was a frequently disputed issue F. notes that 'in a major error in judgment, Hansen concludes that disagreements over the status of communities were rare' (p. 291). Let me take a closer look at his objections.

(1) 'The status of Megara as a *polis* was not recognised by the Corinthians who saw the Megareis as inhabitants of the northern *komai* of Corinth' (p. 291). The source – not stated by F. – must be Demon (*FGrHist* 327) fr. 19, *cf.* Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 19, and it does not prove his point.

(2) F. claims that there is 'a vast dossier of examples from the ideological struggles of the late 5th and 4th centuries' (p. 291). My reply is that, whereas we have hundreds of attestations of *stasis*, there are not many examples of *polis* status being an issue, in my opinion fewer than a dozen, for example Zakynthos in the 370s, Samos in 403 and Tegea in 370; and note that there is a counter-example at Isocrates 19. 38-39.¹² Furthermore, the problem with refugee governments as a result of *stasis* is not whether, for example, Samos was a *polis* – agreed by all – but whether the Samian *polis* during a period of severe *stasis* was the faction staying in Samos or the faction of exiled Samians, or both. And that is a different scenario from the issue of whether a village lying in the territory of a *polis* or some other civic subdivision would claim the status of *polis* for itself, or whether large *poleis* would allow or deny small neighbouring communities the status as *poleis*. For what may be a kind of compromise, see the case of Helisson.

Given the very large corpus of sources we possess it is – in my opinion – significant that there are so few examples of the question: is X a *polis* or is it not a *polis*? But that the question was an important one is argued in connection with the most famous attestation of the problem: the dispute between Themistocles and the Corinthian admiral about the *polis* status of Athens in 480 BC (*Acts* 3, p. 17).¹³

¹¹ For example R. Parker in his review of Hansen and Nielsen 2004 in *ClRev* 56 (2006), 383.

¹² Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4), 29.

¹³ Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4), 13.

The next 'pitfall' is inconsistency. Without any substantiation of the view and in spite of all the Polis Centre investigations to the contrary,¹⁴ F. holds that the term *polis* is used 'broadly' and 'non-differentially' (p. 292).

Next, unlike others, F. is not impressed by our effort to avoid Athenocentrism. Let me add one more observation which F. knows about from our later publications (and that may be his reason for not including a reference in this context): in inscriptions of the Archaic and Classical periods there are altogether some 1450 attestations of *polis*. *Ca.* 450 come from Athenian and *ca.* 1000 from non-Athenian inscriptions. Comparing these two groups of inscriptions, there is no detectable difference in how *polis* is used and what the term signifies.

The final problem is my observation that '*polis* as urban centre is not customarily used for sites other than those identifiable as the political centres of *poleis*... This *Lex Hafniensis* is unduly rigid, and must be emended (at the least) to include as *poleis* all urban centres on the territory of a *polis*, such as the *komai* of Megara which gave Hansen pause in [Scylax] and, more dramatically, that lower city *par excellence*, the Peiraieus' (p. 292).

I confess that here I am unable to follow F.'s line of thought. To include all urban centres on the territory of a *polis* in our investigation of how the term *polis* is used would mean that all the small settlements should be included alongside the settlements attested as *poleis*, although none of these small settlements is called a *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources or is known for any of the important characteristics of a *polis*.

To focus on the settlements specifically mentioned by F. in this context: I believe that almost all historians agree that there is no basis for including Peiraieus among the *poleis*. The evidence we have suggests at most that Athens and Peiraieus taken together could be seen as one large *polis* in the urban sense of which Peiraieus was the lower and Athens the upper *polis* – see Thucydides 2. 48. 2, a passage in which ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις comprises both Athens and Peiraieus whereas ἡ ἄνω πόλις is used a few lines further on to distinguish Athens from Peiraieus.¹⁵ Again, we must distinguish between *polis* applied specifically to one or more named communities, and *polis* as a generic term used as a heading to refer to a number of communities of which some but not necessarily all were actually *poleis*.¹⁶ In Ps.-Scylax πόλεις αἵδε and similar phrases are headings followed by a number of toponyms of which some are demonstrably not thought of as being *poleis* insofar as they are specifically classified as sanctuaries, or forts, or harbours, or promontories, etc. Ps.-Skylax's ultra-short chapter about Megaris is hopelessly corrupted,¹⁷ and cannot be adduced in support of the view that an investigation of the use of the term *polis* should include the *komai* in Megaris of which there were five according to Plutarch *Moralia* 295B, a passage probably derived from Aristotle's *politeia of the Megarians*.

¹⁴ Summed up in M.H. Hansen: 'A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources'. In P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 2000), 173-215 (= *Papers* 5); *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen 1998), 17-34 (= *Acts* 5).

¹⁵ Hansen 2000 (as in n. 14), 195-96.

¹⁶ M.H. Hansen, 'Πόλις as the Generic Term for State'. In T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1997), 9-15 (= *Papers* 4).

¹⁷ P. Flensted-Jensen and M.H. Hansen, 'Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*'. In M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1996), 142 (= *Papers* 3).

F.'s evaluation of my investigation of how Herodotus uses the term *polis* calls for three comments.

(1) F. argues that I should have taken into account that Herodotus upgraded to the status of *polis* a number of communities that, in fact, were just 'examples of the combined *emporion* and stronghold' (p. 293). As instances of such communities he mentions Eion, Heraion, Mesambria, Pistyros and, possibly, Sindos and Therme, all in Thrace.¹⁸

The evidence is the following: Eion is attested as a *polis* at Herodotus 4. 90. 2 and as an *emporion* at Thucydides 4. 102. 4. Heraion teichos is attested as a *polis* at Herodotus 4. 90. 2. There is no evidence that it was an *emporion*. Mesambria is attested both as a *polis* and as a *teichos* at Herodotus 7. 108. 2, but not as an *emporion* in any source. It is, in fact, unknown from other sources. Pistyros is attested as a *polis* at Herodotus 7. 109. 2. There is no evidence that it was a stronghold, nor is it attested in any source as an *emporion* (F. seems to mix up this Πίστυρος with Πίστιρος,¹⁹ attested as an *emporion* in a 4th-century inscription [SEG 43 486, ἐμπορεῖται]). Sindos is attested as a *polis* at Herodotus 7. 123. 3. There is no evidence that it was a stronghold, nor is it attested in any source as an *emporion*. Therme is attested as a *polis* at Hecataeus fr. 146 and Herodotus 7. 124. There is no evidence that it was a stronghold, nor is it attested in any source as an *emporion*.

Of the six communities adduced by F. as 'examples of combined *emporion* and stronghold', five do not fit his category and only one stands up to scrutiny – Eion, called *polis* by Herodotus and *emporion* by Thucydides. We know from Herodotus that it was fortified, but from this piece of information we cannot deduce that it was a *teichos* and not a *polis*. It could easily have been both (cf. Herodotus 7. 108. 1, on Mesambria above). Again, almost all *emporia* for which we have some evidence are attested as *poleis* as well.²⁰ Furthermore, Eion's status as a *polis* is supported by the coinage of ca. 500-440 BC, if correctly assigned to Eion as suggested by Head.²¹ For the five other communities why not trust Herodotus' classification of them as *poleis* instead of inventing an unattested classification of 'combined *emporion* and stronghold'?

(2) My other comment concerns F.'s assessment of my focus on Hellenic *poleis* to the exclusion of Herodotus' references to barbarian *poleis*: 'Hansen's willingness to limit his paradigms to Hellenic communities is perverse' (p. 292) and 'the historian who mentions 60 barbarian *poleis* was clearly an inclusivist who Hellenised, regularised in structure, and augmented in status the political entities beyond what this appendix admits' (p. 293). Yes, of course Herodotus Hellenised, like almost all other Greek authors. That is precisely my point: see *Papers* 5, 180-82,²² where I adduce the Hellenisation of foreign gods as a parallel: the Greeks identified barbarian gods with their own pantheon. Thus Herodotus identified

¹⁸ Respectively nos. 630, 676, 647, 638, 551 and 552 in Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4).

¹⁹ No. 656 in Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4).

²⁰ See M.H. Hansen, 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In *Papers* 4 (as in n. 16) 86-94; and now M.H. Hansen, 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* vol. 1 (Leiden/Boston 2006), 3-14.

²¹ B.V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* 2nd ed. (Oxford 1911), 197; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 173-81.

²² Hansen 2000 (as in n. 14), 180-82.

Scythian Argimpasa with Greek Aphrodite (4. 59). F.'s view implies, if transferred to the study of religion, that it would be perverse to conduct an investigation of Greek Aphrodite without including investigations of Assyrian Mylitta, Arabian Alilat, Persian Mitra (Herodotus 1. 131) and Scythian Argimpasa (Herodotus 4. 59). But, in my opinion, it would be a mistake from such often dubious identifications to infer that what we know about these Oriental goddesses is essential for understanding the myths and cults connected with Greek Aphrodite. Similarly, for want of a better term and concept, the Greeks called barbarian towns *poleis*. Some passages even reveal that Herodotus seems to think of barbarian communities as being *poleis* in the political sense too (7. 96. 2 and 8. 90. 4).²³ But it would be a gross mistake from that identification to infer that the various characteristics of a barbarian town applied to the Greek *polis* too and is essential for our understanding of what a Greek *polis* was. A thorough investigation of the barbarian towns called *poleis* by Hecataeus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Ps.-Scylax is certainly a valuable project but not a central issue for composing an inventory of Hellenic *poleis*.

(3) And what about Naukratis? F. admits that 'undoubtedly the community in Egypt possessed some social processes and physical appurtenances of a *polis*' (p. 293). Being under the authority of the Pharaoh, it was of course a dependent *polis* (just as Miletus and Ephesus for long periods were *poleis* under the authority of the Persian king and his satraps). 'Nonetheless,' says Figueira, 'this analysis... sidesteps the critical issue of individual identity. ... The plan of the features of the *polis* must encompass a psychological or behavioural map internalised in the *politai*' (p. 293).

Yes indeed, and the use of the city-ethnic is one important way in which we can still trace the status-consciousness connected with being *politai* collectively and individually a *polites* of a named *polis*.²⁴ In the first half of the 4th century the Naukratitai are collectively recorded alongside other *poleis* as benefactors of the temple of Apollo in Delphi (*CID* II 4.I.37), and two Naukratitai were appointed *proxenoi* by the Athenians and had the honours bestowed on them inscribed on stone (*IG* II 163. 1, 206. 7-8).²⁵ Another important sign of *polis* identity was the *prytaneion* with its eternal flame on the public hearth as the symbol of the life of the *polis*.²⁶ At Naukratis it can be traced back to the Classical period (if the Hermeias of *FHG* II 80-81 is identical with *FGrHist* 558, as seems likely).²⁷ Whether Naukratis in the age of Amasis was a *polis* or an *emporion*, or both or neither, is a question on which I suspend judgment.

To conclude, if F. is right about the points of criticism discussed above, the whole Polis project is flawed and the Inventory should never have been published. But I do not think that any of F.'s points of criticism has been substantiated. There are, of course, some

²³ See Hansen 2000 (as in n. 14), 180-81.

²⁴ See M.H. Hansen, 'City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity'. In *Papers* 3 (as in n. 17), 169-96; Hansen and Nielsen 2004 (as in n. 4), 64, 66-67.

²⁵ On *proxenia* as an important indication of *polis* status, see P.J. Rhodes, 'Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees'. In *Acts* 2 (as in n. 2), 102-08.

²⁶ M.H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen, 'Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance. In D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantus. Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1994), 31 (= *Papers* 1).

²⁷ See Hansen 2006 (as in n. 20), 15-16.

overlapping categories, open ends, problems that cannot be settled, etc. But I find no reason to doubt that the method we have used in the Polis project is basically sound and has resulted in a valuable description of the ancient Greek *polis* world. Other investigations can be conducted from other points of view, and with different methods, but that is another story.

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RACISM IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY? THREE OPINIONS

B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2004, 562 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-691-11691-1

1.

The aim of this book is to show that 'some essential elements of later racism have their roots in Greek and Roman thinking' (p. 5), but it is also concerned with links between ethnic stereotypes and relations, particularly hostile, between states (p. 8). Hence the main part of the book falls into two parts: 'Stereotypes and proto-racism: criteria for differentiation' (pp. 53-252) and 'Greek and Roman attitudes towards specific groups: Greek and Roman imperialism' (pp. 253-500) – and the first of these discusses (i) 'Superior and inferior peoples' (pp. 55-168) and 'Fears and suppression' (pp. 225-48), and (ii) 'Conquest and imperialism' (pp. 169-224). There is a positive contention that there are consistent patterns of thinking about foreigners throughout the long period from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD, and that differences of political or social climate result only in minor variations (p. 44).

The data-base for Isaac's analysis essentially excludes Christian and Jewish texts, in the former case because of Galatians 3: 27-29 (for those baptised in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise'), in the latter case because 'the Jews never became part of mainstream Greek or Roman society' (p. 15). The latter may be a good reason, but it points up flagrantly that Christians *did* become part of the mainstream – indeed came to constitute the mainstream. I. intimates that to have dealt with this would still have left the Christian dimension a secondary issue in his work and that that would be inappropriate because it is important enough to deserve attention in its own right. But in a work which stresses the appropriation of ancient ideas of racism by a modern world that was also Christian this may look like an excuse not a reason. (Any tensions between intellectual enlightenment and traditional religious values and authority in the 18th century do not alter, and perhaps enhance, this complaint.)

Another interesting omission is that I. offers no systematic discussion of attitudes to black Africans (p. 49), on grounds that they did not form much of an actual presence in the Greek and Roman worlds – though ancient ideas about Ethiopians will (we are told) be mentioned frequently when they are instructive about ancient ideas about causes of physical differences between peoples. Moreover, 'for similar reasons I have decided not to treat the Scythians systematically' (p. 50). Two questions arise. (a) Does this second observation constitute an implicit suggestion that Scythians were as objectively different in appearance from the

Mediterranean norm as black Africans? In Greek usage the normal antonym to Ethiopians were the blond Thracians – though the Thracians are not the object of systematic discussion either, as far as I can see. Or is it just the Scythians' presumed general non-participation in the Mediterranean world? But, given the importance of Scythia in Herodotus and *Airs, Waters, Places*, the presence of a notable prejudiced portrayal of a Scythian in Aristophanes, and the continuing use of Scythia as part of a discourse of the 'other' (Ephorus, Lucian), this does look a touch odd. (b) Whatever the case with Scythians, why are people (Ethiopians) who are relevant to physical difference and its causes so peripheral to discussion of racism? We shall return to this.

First, however, let us note that I. often (indeed mostly) speaks of proto-racism, not racism. On p. 5 he suggests that this is because there was none of 'the biological determinism which represents a distortion of Darwin's ideas' nor was there systematic persecution of any ethnic group by another, while p. 15 says that 'the term "proto-racism" will be used to describe patterns of thought in antiquity, as it will be argued that ancient views of other people and the groups to which they belonged took forms that were adopted by early modern racists'. The book repeatedly adverts to the impact of classical ideas upon those thinkers of Enlightenment Europe who in turn influenced the racism of the 19th- and 20th-century Europe, and it is no doubt true that Greeks and Romans are at two or three removes from the worst excesses of state-sponsored racism in the modern world. But a number of points need to be made.

(1) An element of state intervention is arguably a *sine qua non* for anything that would now normally be called racism, whether it is a matter of promoting it in reference to (supposed) outsiders (including outsiders within) or outlawing it for the sake of internal social cohesion. In the modern context the scope of 'racism' tends to become greatly extended in the latter context because ethnocentric or religious prejudice is labelled as racism in order to damn it with what is seen (partly because of examples in the former context) as greater rhetorical force – a process that makes the term (and therefore the derivative 'proto-racism') of doubtful utility for scholarly analysis.

(2) 'It will be argued here that [the] continuity [between modern racism, its eighteenth century precursors and ideas found in classical texts] is sufficient to allow us to speak of Graeco-Roman forms of proto-racism' (p. 13) is a dubious syllogism that illustrates the baleful influence of *Rezeptionsgeschichte*. I agree with I. (p. 131, for example) that we must be as prepared to note the modern era's adoption of nasty features of the classical world as to celebrate its adoption of putatively attractive ones (such as democracy), but what the modern world does with ancient texts and ideas is not particularly cogent evidence about the meaning of those texts and ideas: study of the reception of classical antiquity is a branch of post-antique cultural history not a way to understand the ancient world.¹

¹ It is worrying that at p. 122 n. 254 the reaction to Cohen's claim that Athenian autochthony is not be taken too seriously is not to argue the contrary but to stress how much greater its supposed later influence is than that of Japanese, Dutch or Maori parallels. Again I do not see why the first move in a discussion of the important issue of inheritance of acquired characteristics is to talk about Kant. Even ancient reception has to be watched carefully: Galen's representation of *Airs, Waters, Places* both recasts some material in post-classical form and fails to note the non-climatic element in the author's analysis (cf. pp. 86-87 and n. 117).

(3) More importantly, it is arguable whether the distance between classical and modern contexts necessitates or justifies the 'proto-' prefix. I.'s willingness to label certain ancient views proto-racist is based upon a universally applicable definition of 'racism' (not 'proto-racism') – he says the term proto-racism 'may be used when Greek and Latin sources attribute to groups of people common characteristics considered to be unalterable because they are determined by external factors or heredity' (p. 38), and this reproduces his identification of the crucial essence of 'racism' – and the title of the book is, after all, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Since I. considers that he has a robust definition of racism, should he not believe that people are either racist or they are not? Certainly the fact that they might be either rabidly and aggressively or passively and unthinkingly racist is no reason to answer that question in the negative. *Proto-racism*, therefore, looks like the reflex of a degree of embarrassment, not the marker of a logically necessary distinction.

I have referred to definitions. It is time to deal with this matter head on. It can be a tiresome gambit to keep saying of a proposition 'it depends what you mean by...', but it is ineluctably true of the topic with which we are concerned here, and I. himself (rightly) devotes some space to the issue.

I entirely agree that it is unhelpful to use both 'racism' and 'racialism' and to seek a rational way of distinguishing them (pp. 22-23),² but disagreement starts when we turn to the question of 'race'. I. is hostile to this concept, and notes the irony that the desire to combat 'racism' leads to attempts to define race, where it would be better to deny there is such a thing in the first place (p. 28). 'Race... does not exist' (p. 30) – though is widely believed to exist. It is perfectly fair to say that 'race' is a by-product of 'racism' in the sense that the root of the whole thing is an alliance between (a) an inclination of human groups to regard other human groups as different and inferior and (b) appeal to somatic features as (one) distinctive feature of a particular group that is being identified as alien. But the truth of I.'s statement that 'racism is never caused by the physical characteristics of the other' (p. 33) very much depends on what you mean by 'caused'. After all for I. physical *differentiae* are still a *sine qua non* of 'racism', as distinct from group prejudice: 'Xs have no sense of humour' (we are told) is group prejudice, whereas 'Ys cannot cook because they have no sense of smell' is racism. Of course, it may be true that the inclination to make this point about the latter group may arise from other factors – the physical issue is then picked upon as a convenient form of extending the 'othering'. But it is perhaps optimistic to suppose that no human has ever been irrationally prompted to assume the worst (or the best) about another human on grounds of different physical appearance. I should add that (*pace* p. 69 n. 54, where I am taken to task on the point), since a black sub-Saharan African is plainly different in appearance from a white Northern European and since no normal person would deny this, it is not unreasonable to speak of 'our idea of major racial distinctions'. No assertion is being made about the biological reality of 'race' or the propriety of associating any qualitative evaluation with the visible difference in appearance. It may be that in the ancient Mediterranean world these plain physical *differentiae* often did not apply and it may be that this has an

² 'Racial', on the other hand, is useful, because it is useful to be able to distinguish between racial harassment and racist abuse.

impact on the modalities of ancient xenophobia (that indeed was my point³). But that does not mean that talk of 'racism' can usefully be disjoined from the sort of things that users of what is an intrinsically emotive word think they understand by 'race'.

We come, therefore, to I.'s actual definition of racism. Racism is 'an attitude towards individuals and groups of peoples which posits a direct and linear connection between physical and mental qualities. It therefore attributes to those individuals and groups of peoples collective traits, physical, mental and moral, which are constant and unalterable by human will, because they are caused by hereditary factors or external influences such as climate or geography' (p. 23). The major difference between racism and ethnic or other group prejudices is that the latter do not in principle deny the possibility of change at an individual or collective level.

I.'s crucial move is to insist that the factor(s) not under human control that determine a group's character from the point of view of a racist can be non-biological – though they must be in some sense external – and so can be environmental, or even astrological (p. 21). This allows him to say that antiquity will be guilty of proto-racism if 'the explanations given in ancient literature for the presumed inferiority or superiority of specific groups... consist of theories regarding heredity or *unalterable exterior influences*' (p. 37: my italics). Why the insistence on the potential role of non-biological factors?

I.'s objection to definitions of racism which limit the term to discrimination on the basis of presumed biological differences is that this is a usage dictated by particular modern circumstances and therefore inapplicable, for example, to antiquity (p. 19). The claim that the sort of biologically defined racism that I. is rejecting is a limited modern phenomenon is bolstered *inter alia* by a claim that 19th-century racism was mostly directed at people who were in physical terms largely indistinguishable from the majority. But, though it may be true that plenty of Jews looked like their non-Jewish neighbours, the (long-established) perception, true or false, that there was a Jewish physical type cannot simply be removed from the equation. I therefore do not think (*pace* p. 33 n. 87) that 'ordinary English usage regards white hatred of blacks as racism, but not anti-semitism for the Jews because they are not physically distinct enough from the peoples among which they live'. And (*pace* p. 69 n. 54) I think one can use language in such a way that 'racism' is confined to cases where the 'other' is physically different or is believed to be strongly associated with a degree of physical difference. I. stresses the irrationality of the nexus of ideas we are dealing with in this topic: indeed he is admirably clear about the distinction between reality and people's irrational perceptions of reality. But he is sometimes apt to privilege the former over the latter, and this is a case in point. (We see the same thing in p. 180 n. 39. Because he thinks that racism is irrational, I. is unwilling to acknowledge that people think they have reasons for it and unwilling to let the historian speculate about what those reasons might be. So Rosivach is not permitted to speculate about the connection between Athenian experience of Thracians and the articulation of ideas about 'natural slaves'. This is daft. Greeks said that certain foreigners talked like animals; one can see why this is said even if it is not true and it is absurd to say that one should not say one can see why it is said.)

³ C.J. Tuplin, 'Greek Racism. Observations on the Character and Limits of Greek Ethnic Prejudice'. In G.R. Tsatsikhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden 1999), 47-75, at 68-69.

Irrationality can include irrational generalisation of somatic traits. There seems no obvious reason why I. cannot accept this: it certainly does not offend against his principle that 'racism is never caused by the physical characteristics of the other' (p. 33). For I., of course, anti-semitism *is* racism, albeit a different form from anti-black feeling in the United States ('blacks were never forced to wear the equivalent of a Star of David for the sake of identification': p. 51), and one can see from I.'s ego-history (p. 51) where the conviction that racism can exist even where the 'other' group is physically indistinguishable has come from. But, in his terms, *why* is anti-semitism racism? What constitutes the cause of externally determined inability to change that is necessary for racism? It certainly is not a race-land nexus, since Jews are not autochthonous residents in the Promised Land.

I suspect that all ethnocentric discourse – indeed all discourse of prejudice against a particular group of people – tends to behave as though the target group is of unchanging character. The very act of categorising people as, for example, 'chavs' (and then expressing contempt for them as such) says: 'they are not one of us (and one cannot imagine how they ever could be)'. In a class-conscious society people prefer to respect, fear or hate other classes rather than to imagine the possibility of social mobility or cultural change. This is not inconsistent with acceptance of examples of such mobility or change in individual cases – the class equivalent of 'some of my best friends are Jews/Indians/blacks'. In the case of foreign ethnic groups in antiquity, environmentalism provides a rationalisation of this inclination to attribute unchanging homogeneity to out-groups – just as Aristotle's natural slave argument rationalises (or casts a web of entirely theoretical reason vaguely in the direction of) the actual practice of keeping predominantly non-Greek individuals as chattel-slaves – but it does not demonstrate that the ground for hostility lies in anything other than factors of cultural behaviour. When Xenophon indicates that it would be best so to organise the Athenian army that Athenians do not have to serve with Syrians or Lydians, it is clear that rather a strong sense of hostility is involved, and that it makes the assumption 'once a Syrian, always a Syrian' – but that is all that is clear.

It is just because assumption of changelessness is the default in all cases that it is best to restrict accusations of racism to cases where the supposed mechanism for ensuring changelessness is as inherent as possible in the individuals who collectively form the group. The move by which I. says that, because there is no biological determinism in antiquity, one cannot speak of 'racism' is one with which I can agree – but I do not think that the next step should be to say that we can speak of proto-racism. If there is a distinction (as I. evidently thinks) it should be fully marked in our terms of description. People in antiquity were very good at feeling and expressing settled and powerful ethnic prejudices and at slipping between ethnic and group prejudices – so that slaves and women figure in the discourse about foreigners – but to speak of racism looks like an equivocation.

There is another reason for thinking this. Alongside insistence that external non-genetic factors can be a sufficient cause of inalterable difference, the other characteristic of I.'s definition is that (concomitantly with his hostility to the concept) he has removed from it any reference to 'race'. The result is that what it defines is simply a negatively discriminating attitude to a non-contingently physically (and thus supposedly psychologically) differentiated out-group. Prejudiced comment about women is therefore, apparently, racism. Despite the looseness with which Greeks were prepared to use words like *ethnos* and *genos*, this does not seem to me to be a helpful situation. The use of contemptuous views of women in the

rhetoric of ethno-prejudice is certainly no excuse for us to use language in a fashion that confuses the categories. However unscientific a concept 'race' may be, talk about racism is without meaning unless the targeted out-group is of an appropriate size (half of humanity is too big; the population of the next village, for example, too small) and can be thought of as having a distinctive identity in which a mixture of customary practices and geographical location plays a significant role.

I cannot, therefore, eradicate a feeling that poor definition subverts I.'s entire project. Nonetheless some comment should be offered about the ways in which (proto-)racism is alleged to emerge from the evidence about classical antiquity, and the central exhibit here is that set of texts which proposes the environmentally determinist thesis that climate and surroundings can determine physical and psychological character.

First, we should be clear that these texts really *are* the core of the argument. There are two reasons for saying this.

The first is that the only possible competitor, Aristotle's natural slave theory, is not a satisfactory alternative. It is true, of course, that the proposition that there are human beings who are by nature inferior and therefore in need of control by a master establishes a category that calls to mind I.'s definition of racism. But one must enter some reservations. The category is in the first instance theoretical. Aristotle responds to people who have suggested that slavery is unnatural by showing that, given the right premises, one can see what would be the characteristics of a natural slave – one whose slave status is in accord with certain principles of the natural order. At this level, the theory has nothing to do with race. What makes a connection with race is the move by which Aristotle adduces the fact that many Greeks believe that barbarians are naturally slavish as a piece of evidence from the *phainomena* that the natural slave is a possible category. This is hardly a cogent argument, and it means that for our present purposes the entire *Politics* passage really contributes nothing more than the proposition that 4th-century Greeks were prejudiced against barbarians and associated them with slaves. One suspects that this is because many chattel slaves were non-Greek and perhaps also because there was a discourse about the essentially slavish condition of subjects of the Persian or other autocratic kings. In any case, what is not established is whether people thought that the barbarians' natural slavishness was solely caused by the sort of interplay of ineluctable external factors and physical consequences required by I.'s definition. Many may have been amenable to the view expressed in Plato (*Laws* 776Df) that a slave's character was changeable inasmuch as differential treatment could produce differential behaviour. As for Aristotle, his introduction of nature into the equation is firmly part of the theoretical thought-experiment. Because ruling and ruled elements exist in various parts of the natural order (i.e. the way things are) it is logical that they could exist automatically (so to speak) within that part of the natural order that consists of human beings. Neither the mechanism by which this is supposed to happen nor the possibility of change are legitimate questions, so the applicability of I.'s definition cannot be validated – quite apart from the fact that, even if it could, we would not be dealing with *racism*. In these circumstances it is not surprising that (as I. acknowledges) later allusions to the Aristotelian theory are uncommon (and occur in the secondary context of imperialism), and we are not entitled to assume that when later texts suggest that certain people are 'born for servitude' or the like, they have Aristotle in mind or mean anything more than they belong to a group which 'everyone knows' is slavish. This sort of talk reflects the continuing presence of ideas like those which Aristotle saw in

his own environment, with all the attendant uncertainty as to their precise character. It is also worth stressing that the contrast between 'natural' and 'nomos-driven' slavery in the *Politics* passage is related to the issue of free men being turned into slaves by act of war: it does not mean that the so-called natural slave may not be slavish (in part) because of the influence of the *nomoi* appropriate to his geopolitical location.

A second reason to identify environmentalist texts as the core is that other trains of thought designated as proto-racist tend to collapse back onto the basic environmental contention. I offer two examples.

Ancient ethnocentric discourse played with the association of certain groups of people with animals, and I. labels this categorically as an ancient form of proto-racist thinking (p. 250). But it is not necessarily so: I. himself notes that the allegedly exceedingly bestial Iberians could be imagined as changing character (pp. 204-05: Strabo 3. 3. 8), and his discussion of cannibalism has to be justified as an example of the irrational thread in ideas about foreigners, because it is nothing to do with proto-racism. The signs of bestiality Aristotle cites are matters of cultural behaviour, and the Aristotelian connection between slaves and animals keeps the categories entirely distinct and contributes nothing more to the discovery of racism than is already contributed by the theory of natural slavery (i.e. not much). But, in the end, a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* does connect such behaviour with climatic determinism (p. 200) and so, in I.'s terms, proto-racism can be claimed.

Another example is pp. 109-33 on Greek views of lineage and descent. There are odd things here – under-recognition of the archaic definition of Hellenes as a shared descent-group (partly, perhaps, because publication dates meant that I. was not able to absorb Hall's *Hellenicity*)⁴ or the claim that Isocrates *Panegyricus* 80 is based on an assumption that Athenians were once not Hellenes and deals with Athenian and Hellenic *paideusis* in the way it does because there is a Macedonian subtext (this in *ca.* 380 BC) – but it is notable that much of the material is not really about racial genetics even in I.'s presentation, and some that is ought not to be: for example, I do not understand why 'the metal contents which determine the overall quality of a person' in the Phoenician story of Plato's *Republic* are 'racial characteristics' (p. 126) rather than class or moral qualities. Racial genetics are not entirely absent, of course: in the context of Athenian autochthony, Plato's *Menexenus* can celebrate Athenian *eugeneia*, and since the Athenian citizen body *was* (supposed to be) a descent group one could hardly avoid such an idea. But the taint of mixture is not necessarily one of blood or genes (rather than moral corruption) and, as I. observes at one point, 'in this entire complex the matter of language was particularly important' (p. 119). But (once again) in the end autochthony can be linked (as it is in Plato's *Timaeus*) with a version of the environmentalist idea – and we are back to that as the root issue. By contrast, the claim (p. 133) that the nexus of ideas is actually racist – not just proto-racist – because it focuses exclusively on descent looks questionable.

So the environmentalist thesis is of crucial importance.⁵ Of the texts expressing versions of it, not all are in fact proto-racist. Indeed, this is true of the first and most complex of them,

⁴ J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago 2002). See discussion in *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 409-59.

⁵ So where it does not eventually surface, discussion remains (in terms of the contention of I.'s title) up in the air. For example, pp. 225-35 surveys various literary expressions of distaste, outrage and

the pseudo-Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*, because it recognises factors of cultural behaviour (the prevalence of monarchy) as well as climatic conditions as having an impact upon populations in particular parts of the world. The same mixture appears in Plato *Laws* 747C-E, while the environment is missing in dispraisal of Persian character in Isocrates and Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8. 8. In fact, we must wait for Aristotle and authors from the Hellenistic and Roman periods to find the genuine proto-racist article. Among those in the latter category Vitruvius is specially notable, with his idea that the mechanism of environmental influence is the effect of the sun's strength on the quantity of blood in an individual's body, which in turn affects behaviour/character. Of course, not everyone accepted such ideas – for example, Cicero (pp. 87-89), Strabo (pp. 91-93) and Caesar (p. 97) eschewed the proto-racist environmentalist thesis (a striking fact in the first case, given Cicero's readiness in other contexts to voice simple ethnic prejudice) – and the number of texts that articulate them is not large. But the ideas do exist, and the proof that *Airs, Waters, Places* is not racist does not exhaust the topic, and my discussion of these matters in 1999 (*cf.* n. 3) was wrong to assume otherwise. It proceeded partly from a focus on Archaic and Classical texts, partly from an assumption that, if the most elaborate discussion of environmental determinism (that in *Airs, Waters, Places*) failed to articulate a racist thesis, the same conclusion would apply *a fortiori* to later and simpler presentations of similar ideas. This (unexamined) assumption is, of course, not necessarily true: convoluted academic argument may give way to simplistic ideological certainty.

The crucial question is the ineluctability of the effect of the relevant environment. As I have already observed, 'othering' discourse necessarily assumes a significant degree of unchanging predictability in the character and behaviour of the target out-group. Racist discourse must presuppose an unusually strong claim about the necessary inherence of particular characteristics in the individuals who constitute the group. Environmental determinism certainly affirms that specific conditions are bound to produce specific physical and therefore behavioural results. But what we know of Aristotle and the other representative authors does not seem to guarantee that their view was that someone transported as a child from Lydia to Gaul would still grow up slavish and in due course father slavish children. The question is indeed hardly addressed. I. notes this explicitly in the case of Ptolemy's version of the thesis, in which it is astrological conditions that determine character (p. 101), but does not seem to be much worried by it. But, since astrology was in principle capable of establishing the influence of the stars on a single individual (i.e. is potentially much more targeted than general climatic and environmental factors), failure to consider the effect of movement is a particular weakness in this version of the theory, and the fact that I. nonetheless declares Ptolemy's text 'an extreme example of proto-racism' is thus rather worrying. The same goes for description of Tertullian's version of environmentalism as racist (pp. 97-98), since it has features that make considerable allowance for individual mutability – something that *a fortiori* would presumably be even more marked in the case of physical relocation.

apprehension about foreign groups that could be encountered in imperial Rome, and then comments 'it is characteristic of proto-racist and racist tensions that they combine, or alternate between, feelings of superiority and inferiority....'. But neither this material (nor the occasional expulsions of foreigners surveyed in pp. 235-39) intrinsically contains signs of (proto-)racism as such.

I.'s explicit approach to the question of relocation (for example p. 45) is to say that antiquity did not recognise that movement might lead to improvement. I do not know whether this is supposed to be a contingent fact (because the movements reported or envisaged in ancient texts all happen to be from hard to soft) or an analytic one (because it is assumed no one would move except from hard to soft) – I. does not pose the question – but either way the possibility of change is admitted, and the generally negative way in which it is envisioned may in the end simply be an aspect of a general tendency to manipulative xenophobia rather than a reflex of racism in any usefully tight sense of the term. (In the case of the Galatians, to which I. alludes several times, the Roman commentator has an interest in suggesting that potentially frightening Gauls have been weakened by association with Greeks and exposure to a milder environment.) Another approach (and more generally a way of tightening up the thesis) is to stress belief in the heritability of acquired characteristics – something (we are told: p. 82) that supported discriminatory stereotypes by allowing environmental determinism to be combined with assumptions about heredity. This principle, it could be claimed, would ensure genetic transmission of the effects of a particular environment even after relocation to another environment. But a moment's thought shows that this is not satisfactory: what determines that the new environment cannot have its own effect? (Nothing, to judge from the Galatian example.) More generally, the cogency of belief in the principle has to be regarded with reservations. I. can adduce relatively few texts expressing the theory in question – and some that he does adduce do not do so at all clearly, for example the Hippocratic *de semine* (p. 79) and Strabo 15. 1. 24 (p. 80 n. 98). No doubt the idea was entertained rather more often than articulated, but the really important point is that there is no reason to think that, when entertained, it was assumed to be a process that always worked. The author of *Airs, Waters, Places* does not write as though this were so (quite the contrary), and assertions in Aristotle or Pliny (7. 50) that, for example, a man with a scar fathered a child that was born with a similar scar are to be understood as evidence that the thing is possible, not that it is necessary. In reading Favorinus' insistence that slave or ex-slave women should not be used as wet-nurses because they might transmit acquired moral failing such as alcoholism (*cf.* Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 12. 1), we should remember that he is presumably protesting against common practice. Most people either did not think it could happen or thought it was highly unlikely (albeit theoretically possible) – or (most probably) did not think much about it all. Where the supposed physical consequence of environmental effect was markedly visible from birth (for example black-skinned Ethiopians), the idea of genetic transmission may have been somewhat closer to the surface, but, even so, Pliny 2. 189 (cited p. 80 n. 99) is frankly not saying that Ethiopians were burned by the sun some time in the distant past but have been black and woolly-haired ever since because of genetic inheritance, and in other cases (for example the softening effect of a nice climate) I doubt genetic inheritance was the object of much thought.

All of which said, it must be conceded that environmentalist texts are probably closer to what I would call a racist position than any others from antiquity, and I. is right to remind us that the category of such texts is not exhausted by *Airs, Waters, Places*. In terms of the sense of humour/sense of smell example mentioned above, to say people are military wimps because their environment does not toughen them up is only racist if one can demonstrate the same objective and necessary ('scientific') connection between climatically induced softness and military inefficiency as between lack of sense of smell (and therefore taste) and

inability to cook. I am still inclined to say that, if those who are soft could find the will they could change their softness, whereas no exercise of will can produce a sense of smell, so that only if there is a directly genetic account of the physical softness can the required demonstration be essayed. But perhaps there were those in antiquity who would have maintained that, for certain groups in certain places, finding such a will was too intrinsically impossible for the concept of will to be logically applicable in the first place.

A second strand of I.'s book is (as we have seen) examination of the links between ethnic stereotypes and relations, particularly hostile, between states (p. 8). 'The connection between theories about others and views on the expansion of the [Roman] empire will be indicated where relevant in the discussion' of environmental theory in Chapter 1, we are told (p. 45), but will not be the subject of a separate chapter. Examples of this connection include the consequences for the way Romans saw their empire and subjects of their willingness to see weakness in foreign peoples (p. 91), Pliny's view that various peoples within the world's generally temperate zone have been able to have empires, a view which presumably admits, for example, the Persians to the category of relatively favoured races (p. 94), and Roman adaptation of Aristotle's belief in the Greeks' possession of characteristics that should enable them to dominate their neighbours (pp. 108-09). But, despite the promise (or threat) that would be no separate chapter, we then discover (p. 46) that Chapter 2 'considers aspects of the interrelationship between attitudes to foreign peoples and imperialist or expansionist ideologies in Greece and Rome'. This discussion is characterised by two things. The first is Aristotle's combination of environmental determinism with a theory of the 'natural slave' and its take-up by Roman authors (*cf.* pp. 164, 166-67). The second is a different tradition in 'Hellenistic and Roman attitudes to individual slaves and vanquished enemies.... [traced] in the sequel of chapter 2' – presumably a reference to pp. 187-88, which moves from Aristotle to 'a different perspective' consisting of a set of assumptions about the long-term effect of slavery on a person – essentially the view that enslaving people will ensure that they become slavish (if they are not so already) and continue to be easily controlled. Conquest leads to loss of belligerence and of the capacity to regain freedom. Romans did not regard all foreigners as inferior by nature – but all of them could be made lastingly inferior by conquest (*cf.* pp. 192-93). At this point we have drifted away from the putative proto-racism of Aristotle, since we are not dealing with the inalterably intrinsic inferiority of foreigners and it is not clear how universally and consciously people thought that slavishness acquired as an (enforced) culturally learned response became a necessarily irreversible characteristic: Favorinus may think that a slave wet-nurse can pass on slavishness to the children she suckles, but were imperialists sure that the principle applied to the slavery that is a metaphor for political subjection. Did they, indeed, need to bother to think about the question?

The second part of the book as a whole is devoted to showing how general principles of thought discussed in the first part are applied to specific peoples and its subtitle indicates that conquest and imperialism are an important aspect of the project. It begins with a chapter (Chapter 4) of polemic against purported loose statements to the effect that Herodotus provided an account of the victory of democracy and Western freedom (even the freedom of the individual) over oriental despotism – I say 'purported' because the several epigraphs to the chapter (presented as examples of the misrepresentation of which I. is complaining) do not really do so with the clarity that seems to be implied. I have no doubt, of course, that one can encounter loose talk about the significance of the events of 480-479, but there

is an whiff of the demolition of Aunt Sallies. That Pindar does not speak of 'the freedom of the individual' or allude to the Persian Wars as a triumph of democracy and that the famous epigram does not represent the Thermopylae Spartans as dying for the cultural freedom of the West can hardly count as surprising revelations. The suggestion later in the book (p. 492) that *daimonion* is the Greek for 'individual freedom' is also not encouraging, and the argument (p. 266) that, in his conversation with Xerxes, Demaratus only celebrates Spartan discipline and performance of duty, with no concern for freedom, misrepresents a passage whose point is the conjunction of freedom and law (freedom under the law, in fact). There are other examples of a similar looseness with texts: on p. 296 (and elsewhere) I. alleges that Plato's comments about mixture of populations in the Persian empire in *Laus* 693E are about mixed marriages, while on p. 287 he translates *epeirotais* in Isocrates 4. 157 as 'Asiatics' – which looks like the illegitimate importation of a charged word.

This last move contributes to I.'s larger thesis, *viz.* that in the 5th century there is little or none of the contempt for Persia as a locus of luxury and weakness familiar in 4th-century sources, but rather a sense of awe at the fact that the Greeks were able to defeat the might of such an empire. There may be something in this, but there is also some danger that it is an artefact of the types of evidence available (in combination with changed political circumstances) – and of I.'s choices about which evidence to regard as valid. Elsewhere in the book he remarks several times that one is allowed to infer things about real social and political attitudes from literary compositions, notably Roman satire. But in the present chapter he turns decidedly sniffy about the capacity of 5th-century tragedy to cast light on his topic (p. 277). Could this be because they might spoil his contrast between the 5th and 4th centuries? I. acknowledges that Edith Hall finds references to barbarian luxury and softness in tragic texts (p. 286 n. 133), but he evidently wishes to evade the possibility that this might have something to do with attitudes to Persia, and his apparent belief that Aeschylus' *Persae* is unambiguously a celebration of Greek victory over a formidable power is surely contentious. More peculiarly I. includes illustrations of the Eurymedon Vase (interpreted in the conventional post-Doverian manner – we are at least spared the subtleties of James Davidson on the topic) and two other later 5th-century images of effete Persians, but only gets round to speaking of them in the text when dealing with the 4th century – and even then the treatment is rather passingly. There is a similar evasiveness about iconographic evidence at p. 293 n. 18 (it cannot be dealt with by pretending that people think it is the *only* sort of valid evidence and then denouncing such an idea as wrong), and the Athenian taste for *Perserie* is noted but not explored, even though the phenomenon is surely not just (or even) a proof that 5th-century Athenians thought Persia a respectable place.

And what has all this to do with proto-racism? Nothing at all directly (*cf.* explicit statements to that effect on pp. 297, 293, 303). One might claim (I. presumably does: *cf.* pp. 48–49) that there is an interesting intersection between 4th-century insistence on the inherently enervated and slavish weakness of the Persian empire and the fact that it is Aristotle who (in I.'s terms) is responsible for the first proto-racist version of environmental determinism and for theoretical articulation of the idea that there is a portion of humanity that consists of people who are natural slaves and therefore naturally inferior to people in another portion of humanity. But, as things are presented at the end of Chapter 4 (p. 303), the main link is that – 'as will be seen below' – the models of thought about the East on show in the chapter were later used by actual proto-racists.

But, to be frank, the rest of Part II (which is presumably what 'below' refers to) is given over to a survey of stereotypes and prejudices about particular ethnic groups (or in one case geographically determined groups: mountaineers and plainsmen) that does not seem to advance this overall argument a very great deal. One thing it does show is that there is actually a variety of stereotypes and that the nature of these stereotypes does not have a purely arbitrary and irrational relationship to reality, but (though conscious of this) I. is still tempted to celebrate the supposed applicability of Aristotelian 'natural slave' ideas to virtually everyone. Given the exiguous explicit take-up of this Aristotelian theory and the existence of rejection, as well as endorsement, of environmental determinism, I would be inclined to say that the sort of discourse encountered in certain Roman authors says far more about the ancient world's addiction to moral panic and posturing (or to put it more neutrally, its moralism) than it does about its racism, proto- or otherwise. That is why we can have the odd spectacle of Tacitus in his *Germania* using what I. sees as proto-racist ideas to elevate the status of the out-group. This is an aspect of an idea already noted as important at pp. 48-49, *viz.* that empires carry within them the seeds of their own decline, but that one could use discourse about racial stereotypes as a means of ethical self-excoriation illustrates how much more important examination of one's own characteristics (qualities and defects) was than examination (let alone explanation) of other people's. All 'othering' discourse is *inter alia* self-celebratory; but the true racist also has a visceral, albeit putatively reasonable, distaste for the object of his outraged gaze.

But I. would perhaps say that the two categories I am distinguishing here (racism and moralism) are but two sides of the same thing, and I guess that how it strikes the viewer does pretty much depend on where that viewer chooses to stand to look at it. Since the whole of the topic is *ex hypothesi* riddled with prejudice, it is hard for there to be a neutral vantage-point.

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Christopher Tuplin

2.

'A big book is big evil.' So wrote the Hellenistic poet and critic Callimachus. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* is a very big book, but most certainly not a big evil. In this massive and wide-ranging study Isaac challenges two fundamental premises of contemporary historical scholarship: that racism is primarily a 19th- and 20th-century phenomenon and that racism did not exist in Graeco-Roman antiquity. On the contrary, according to I., while racism in the modern sense is absent, a close equivalent, which he calls 'proto-racism', existed in antiquity and exercised a significant influence on the thought of the 18th-century founders of modern racism.

The consensus against which I. argues views racism as a body of thought that locates such differences between peoples as culture and skin colour in biology in ways that are, in the formulation of G.M. Fredrickson, 'permanent and unbridgeable' and that provide 'a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethno-racial Other in ways we should regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own groups'.¹ While the Greeks and

¹ G.M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton 2002), 9.

Romans did recognise differences in culture and skin colour between human populations, they did not root them in biology but treated them as variable, dependent on the influence of external factors, primarily geography. Scholars insist, therefore, that, although various forms of prejudice can be documented in antiquity, racism – particularly racism based on skin colour – cannot. Graeco-Roman antiquity was, in Frank Snowden's telling formulation, 'Before Color Prejudice'.²

In his long and closely argued introduction I. argues that current definitions of racism are too narrow, particularly because of their insistence on the biological locus of racial difference which tends to marginalise forms of racism in which there is no obvious visual difference between the groups involved. He maintains instead that the 'essence of racism is that it regards individuals as superior or inferior' because of the stereotyped characteristics 'of the group to which they... belong'. Individuals cannot change these traits because they are 'determined by their physical makeup'. So long as some factor is adduced that allegedly permanently influences group characteristics, racism or, at least, proto-racism is present.

I. maintains that that factor was geographical determinism, which was the principle mechanism for explaining group character differences in antiquity. Geographical determinism can be considered 'proto-racist' because Greeks and Roman believed all individuals and their descendants living in a particular region were equally affected by it and, more importantly, they could not on their own alter these characteristics. Having established the existence of 'proto-racism' in antiquity, I. lays out his methodology for studying the phenomenon in the Introduction. His methodology has three components. It is (a) based primarily on the philological study of texts, especially pre-Hellenistic Greek and Late Republican and Imperial Roman texts, (b) focused on ideas rather than practice, and (c) excludes Graeco-Roman attitudes toward Ethiopians and Scythians from consideration because these peoples were not included within either Greek or Roman imperial structures.

The book is divided into two unequal sections. The first section, comprising Chapters 1-3, establishes the basic principles and traces the development of proto-racism from its origins in the 5th century BC through to the Principate; while the second and longer section, consisting of Chapters 4-13, analyses the literary accounts of various peoples by Greek and Roman writers and considers the extent to which they were shaped by proto-racism.

The first chapter analyses the heart of ancient proto-racism, the environmental theory of human character according to which the predominant variable determining the personal characteristics of various ethnic groups is physical geography and whose influence cannot be escaped by the actions of individuals since they remain subject to the same environmental influences as their ancestors. While the theory is widespread in classical literature, I. argues that it first appears fully developed in two 5th-century BC works – the *Airs, Waters, and Places* of Hippocrates and Herodotus' *History of the Persian Wars*, where it is mapped over the division between Greek and barbarian and gives it a quasi-hereditary character. He also considers a number of themes related to geographical determinism including eugenics and autochthony, cultural contact and intermarriage as leading to degeneration, and physiognomics, which sought to document the connection between environmentally determined bodily characteristics and personality traits.

² F.M. Snowden jr, *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, MA 1983).

Chapter 2 examines the relationship between proto-racism and imperialism with particular emphasis on the question of natural slavery. I. locates the origin of the idea of natural slavery in Aristotle's discussion of slavery in the *Politics* and then traces its subsequent influence, paying particular attention to its use as a justification for empire by Cicero and later imperial authors, both Greek and Roman. He also considers how the tendency in classical authors to use 'animal' metaphors to characterise both social inferiors and 'barbarians' made it easier to justify the exercise of control over the former and the conquest and 'taming' of the latter. The chapter closes with a discussion of how these two factors interacted to encourage the treatment of extreme violence in the form of massacres and mass expulsions as 'normal' in the context of Roman military operations.

Chapter 3 is the briefest but most original chapter in the book. In it I. offers an innovative reinterpretation of the legacy of Horace's famous tag 'Captive Greece took its fierce captor captive and brought the arts to rustic Latium', illustrating the fear of being overwhelmed and corrupted by foreign immigrants that surrounds virtually all similar statements by later Greek and Roman writers. The same fear, he demonstrates, also lies behind the periodic expulsions of various groups of foreign residents during the Roman Republic and the ambivalence that marks almost all Greek and Roman discussions of culture contact, which is seen more as leading to social and cultural degeneration than as a force for positive change.

The second section of I.'s book provides what is to my knowledge the most comprehensive and detailed survey in existence of classical stereotypes of peoples who could be classified as 'other'. Individual chapters are devoted to Greek and especially Roman descriptions of Persians; Parthians; European and Asian Greeks; Egyptians, Syrians, Phoenicians and Carthaginians; Gauls; Germans; and Jews. The analyses are thorough and perceptive and clearly document the extensive and varied negative stereotypes applied by Greek and Roman writers to the peoples they encountered. What is not documented, however, is consistent proto-racism as defined in the first section of the book. Specifically, I. finds environmental determinism invoked to explain group personality characteristics primarily in Roman accounts of the Asian Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and Gauls and Germans. In the case of the accounts of the other peoples, including the Persians, Parthians, European Greeks, and Jews, ethnic prejudice – often intense – and negative stereotypes are abundantly in evidence but not proto-racism.

The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity is a significant contribution to ancient and modern intellectual history. I. has identified an important thread in the development of modern racism and undermined the benign interpretation of environmental determinism in antiquity that hitherto has dominated scholarship. The book's strengths, however, are also its weaknesses. The book is a study in intellectual history; and while I. has established the presence of proto-racist thought in the works of Greek and Roman writers, he is much less successful in connecting proto-racism to ancient imperialism.

So, for example, his failure to consider Graeco-Roman practice obscures the fact that the well attested Roman practices of enfranchising freed slaves, which so puzzled Greeks, and extending citizenship to Rome's subjects, which climaxed in the emperor Caracalla's general enfranchisement in AD 212, clearly are inconsistent with proto-racism, although they provoked many of the proto-racist statements he analyses. Similarly, I.'s omission of the Ethiopians and Scythians from his analysis leads to an underestimation of the extent to which the apparent correlation between the differences in appearance and culture of the most remote

peoples known to the Greeks with climactic extremes contributed both to the development of geographically based pro-racism and its continued prominence in ancient accounts of the Gauls and especially the Germans. Despite its flaws, however, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* is an important contribution to scholarship on classical thought and its legacy that will interest all students of ancient and modern prejudice and its antecedents.

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Stanley M. Burstein

3.

As the two previous reviewers (Tuplin and Burstein) have advanced some important points about the book, I shall concentrate here in making some observations about aspects of interest which worry me. Isaac's book starts from an initial contradiction because it deals, according to its title, with 'the invention of racism in classical antiquity' but it insists, mainly in the first part of the work, that it is more appropriate to refer to 'proto-racism' (p. 15) to allude to the phenomena we can observe in antiquity. At the same time, I. establishes a relationship between that proto-racism (supposedly) existing in antiquity and the development of racist theories during later historical periods, which does not always seem firmly grounded.

There is seemingly another contradiction, observed by I. and to which a good part of his work is devoted, between the literary image and the reality of behaviour, although he does not try to solve the contradiction in this case because he considers attitudes to be as important as the literary perception of them. Also, the relationships between prejudice and xenophobia and proto-racism are not obvious in themselves and perhaps further emphasis on anthropological criteria would have been necessary in order to try to establish, if it were possible, the differences between them in antiquity. One of the main bases of I.'s arguments arises from his definition of race as 'a group of people who are believed to share imagined common characteristics, physical and mental or moral which cannot be changed by human will, because they are thought to be determined by unalterable stable physical factors: hereditary, or external, such as climate or geography' (pp. 34-35). Certainly, this definition is made from outside and adheres to the observations made by actors external to the group thus defined. But if we oppose this external definition to that which the ethnic group gives of itself, well studied by Hall in his book *Hellenicity* (which I. acknowledges he was unable to read),¹ we can check how those definitions serve both for one's own group and for the 'others'.²

The main trouble with these definitions is that all of them enter within the category of literature and it is difficult to know if they obey only the perspective of their creators or if, on the contrary, they have a wider degree of acceptance. Of course, we cannot disregard evidence which refers to perceptions, but it would be interesting to set it against other kinds of evidence, such as archaeology or iconography, in order to establish the relationship of literature with other forms of perceiving reality. It is of the nature of archaeology, for instance, to be unable to deal with subjective perceptions but it does serve as a yardstick for checking

¹ J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago 2002), 9-10.

² I. prefers not to use the word 'Others' (p. 4) because of its increasingly comprehensive character and, in consequence, its lack of precision.

literary information. Archaeology can indeed speak about cultural contacts, cohabitation or collaboration between different groups: Greeks with Sicels, Thracians, Scythians or Iberians, who carry out common enterprises including mixed marriages and who collaborate with each other in war and peace. This does not mean rejecting the literary tradition – it remains a source of essential information. But it implies not placing it at the centre of ancient and modern concerns. As for iconography, in spite of I. making little approach to some images, its language is different from the literary, and the ways it codifies its message exhibit features that are difficult to interpret within our categories. Is the image depicted on an Attic red-figure oinochoe kept in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (I.'s fig. 2), in which 'a Greek is preparing sexually to assault a terrified Persian, exotically dressed' (I.'s description), racist (or proto-racist)? Or is it simply a joke, suited to the private world of the *symposion*? Of course, in regarding the 'other' there is (almost) always an element of despisement and an affirmation of one's own superiority, as Edith Hall made clear in her book:³ it might be xenophobia, but it is not necessarily racism. As I. himself assures us, 'there should be no disagreement as to the existence of ethnic prejudice or xenophobia in antiquity, even though there may be marked differences in the evaluation of these phenomena, but the existence of proto-racism is not obvious' (p. 24). In many cases the difference between (proto-) racism and xenophobia is not clear and depends in some way on the posture of the observer, ancient and modern.

The limits of an exclusively literary approach can be observed in the contradiction between Aristotle's thoughts about natural slaves ('the claim that some members of humanity are born to be slaves could be described as the ultimate form of proto-racism': p. 46) and the actions carried out by his pupil Alexander. Although the theoretical basis for his campaign against the Persian empire can be sought in such ideas (but also in other considerations perhaps more influential in 4th-century Greece, such as revenge for past outrages or the desire to seize the wealth of the East), in his exercise of government Alexander not only did not put into practice these (proto-)racist ideas but himself married Persian women and made many of his followers do the same. Furthermore, the spread of Persian customs (among them *proskynesis*) tends to transform both Macedonians and Greeks as well as Persians (not what Aristotle and his other advisers would have desired). Is Alexander's behaviour towards Persians racist? I doubt it. Racism and imperialism are instruments of power, but the second does not always arise in the ancient world as a consequence of the first.

One of the features of I.'s concept of 'race' is the impossibility of change because of hereditary and environmental factors. This perception might have existed in antiquity, but it is not the only possible one. It might have been the case that 'marriage with outsiders produces offspring of lesser quality appears firmly entrenched in Greece as well as in Rome' (pp. 90-91), but the fact is that such marriages existed and even produced agreements between Greek and non-Greek communities (as Thucydides 6. 6. 2 shows for Selinous and Segesta). I do not dismiss altogether that a literary perception may have existed that length of settlement in the same land was a mark of superiority and that Athens would make extensive use of this idea (p. 90) considering herself superior to others, even Greeks, such as those living in Sicily where there were mixed populations: according to Thucydides (6. 17. 2-3) it means that 'they [we]re easy to defeat, for immigrants will not be loyal to their new polis'

³ E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford 1989).

(p. 119). It is possible, as I. suggests, that 'Alcibiades is not referring here to a mixture of Greeks and non-Greeks, but to populations of Greeks from various cities' (p. 119) in the same way as Polybius (34. 14. 5) when he speaks of the inhabitants of Alexandria as a 'mixed people', which implies that 'they were descendants from assorted Greek settlers, not a mixture of Greeks with others' (p. 132). Are these views (proto-)racist? I am not sure. But we have sometimes contradictory views, as when Greek ambassadors come up to Gelon of Syracuse asking for help in the imminent war against the Persians and address to him as 'lord of Sicily who rules not the least part of Hellas' (Herodotus 7. 157). As is natural, we find in this moment no negative reference to his place of residence, although they did arise after Gelon's excessive requests (Herodotus 7. 159-161). Arguments that serve in the confrontation between Greeks and non-Greeks are also used in the rivalries between Greeks themselves. Are these arguments (proto-)racist sometimes, never or always? I think it can be contradictory and troublesome to try to squeeze out what ancient writers may have meant. As I. asserts, 'we have seen that there is a long-standing tradition in Greek and Latin literature of idealizing the concepts of unmixed origin, pure lineage, and autochthony' and that 'these ideas are clearly proto-racist' (p. 148). But if language and concepts are the same irrespective of whether they refer to Gaul or Greek, is it licit to consider that there were (proto-)racist attitudes between Greeks on account of the greater or lesser proximity to the ideal of autochthony? Undoubtedly not all the Greeks accepted this analysis, which might, consequently, be simply an Athenian perception which would not have been shared by other authors. The holding of (proto-)racist attitudes by some Greeks against other Greeks would go against the concept of *to Hellenikon* anticipated by Herodotus (8. 144) and exhaustively developed by 4th-century authors, which lets us suspect that when these same observations are addressed to non-Greek people they are not absolutely (proto-)racist.

One last example, mentioned also by I., will show the limits of the idea of (proto-)racism. There are two stories, mentioned several times in the book, relating to Massalia. In the first, Rhodian ambassadors declare in the Roman Senate in 189 BC that Massalia, in spite of her distance from Greece, enjoyed among the Romans 'the same honour and the same consideration as if [it] should inhabit in the navel itself of Greece' (Livy 37. 54. 21); in the second, in the same year, the consul Manlius Vulso harangues his soldiers, telling them that 'Massilia, placed amidst Gauls took in good measure the character of her neighbours' (Livy 38. 17. 12). If both speeches, delivered in two different contexts, reproducing the ideas expressed, respectively, by Rhodians (Greeks themselves) and by a Roman consul, show different appraisals of the same fact, naturally they would show that there is no agreement about which criterion has priority, residence or heritage; but in a racist vision, as suggested by I., these would be immutable characteristics. However, if we take into account that the information comes, in both cases, from Livy and that, according to I., it must reflect the ideas of Augustan Rome and not those current at the time these episodes took place (p. 90), the problem is still greater, and it is not clear if Livy's vision about Massalia is or is not (proto-)racist. The answer could be in thinking that there is a discourse about imperialism, embedded in ethnocentric considerations, but no consensus, not even by the same author, as to how Massalia (in this case) should be considered – whether as a purely Greek city, in spite of her distance from Greece, or as semi-wild due to her proximity to the Gauls. In one case the basic criterion is heritage, in the other it is environment, but not both at the same time, which would weaken the definition of racism advanced by I. In any case, Livy would have

played with the idea of change, which in one case is denied but in the other accepted; this is, in itself, a contradiction. It might be true that 'ancient authors believed that this change could only be for the worse' (pp. 45, 56, 79, 89, 295, 310-11, 323, 510, 514), which another author has analysed suggesting even some kind of linguistic taboo,⁴ but it seems that not all the ancient writers shared that view, which, if it were true, we could consider racism or proto-racism. On the contrary, a real possibility of change (and not for the worse) can be observed in some stories, for instance when Trogus Pompeius (a Romanised Gaul educated in the Greek manner) mentions the role of Massalia as school for the Gauls (Justinus *Epitome* 43. 4. 1)⁵ or when Strabo (3. 2. 15) shows the development (for the better) of the Iberian peoples and, especially, of the Celtiberians.⁶ In not one of those cases do we have the impression that the authors consider that the change has been for the worse, or, as in other cases explored by I., that there is a negative moral judgment on the peoples who experienced this change.

Indeed, there can exist among ancient authors an implicit consciousness of the superiority of Greek (and Roman) culture, but there was no closed frontier and, consequently, no irremediable divide between cultures, which is one of the ideas sponsored by racist thinking. Already Eratosthenes had suggested that people be divided not between Greeks and non-Greeks but 'to make such divisions according to good qualities and bad qualities; for not only are many of the Greeks bad, but many of the Barbarians are refined' (Strabo 1. 4. 9), in the context of the rejection by Alexander of the ideas of his advisers (among them, undoubtedly, Aristotle) who preferred a division between Greek and barbarians. Eratosthenes' passage, and another by Plutarch (*Moralia* 329 b-d) which complements it, are dismissed by I. (pp. 300-01) because they belong to the thinking not of Alexander's but of Roman times, which may or may not be so, but in any case they show how many Greek thinkers of Hellenistic and Roman times were not adherents of (proto-)racist views. Furthermore, before Aristotle developed his views with respect to non-Greeks, Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 50) had begun to expand the name and concept of Hellenes to those who shared the same education, which I. interprets from a very restrictive perspective (p. 113). Although, as he suggests, Isocrates is trying to assimilate the Macedonians in his definition of Greeks, it undoubtedly represents progress on those, such as Demosthenes (19. 308), who considered them barbarians. In any case, Isocrates' passage offers a more comprehensive interpretation and shows how the regard of the 'other' does not belong to a racist agenda but, on the contrary, to personal positions related more to political choices or to other factors.

I.'s book presents an extraordinary analysis of a great part of the Greek and Roman literary evidence about the cultural contrasts which shaped the ancient world. Ethnocentric visions gave place to representations of the 'other' in which the writer placed himself as a yardstick to judge and analyse the background to his prejudices and, in many occasions, his

⁴ M. Dubuisson, 'Remarques sur le vocabulaire grec de l'acculturation'. *Revue Belge de Philologie* 60 (1982), 5-32 (not cited by I.).

⁵ 'It was from these Greeks that the Gauls learned to live in a more civilised manner, abandoning or modifying their barbarous ways; they learned to practice agriculture and encircle their cities with walls. Then they became used to a life governed by law rather than armed might, to cultivating vine and planting the olive-tree; and so brilliantly.'

⁶ 'All the Iberians who have adopted this way of life are called *togatoi*, and among them are the Celtiberians, who were considered the fiercest of them'.

xenophobic views. More questionable is the existence of a theory about races, especially as we actually understand them: there is an appraisal of the differences, real or perceived and an (ab)use of those differences according to the discourse which each author wanted to show at any time, but there was not a cogent and uninterrupted expression in Greek and Roman literature of what was and what was not a 'race'. The ideas of superiority and inferiority are inconsistent: what for some authors was an advantage for others was a disadvantage. It may be true, and this is one of the first arguments advanced by I. (pp. 226, 512), that the important thing is not so much 'actual reality' as 'the popular perspective of reality' (p. 457), which places the literary image in the foreground. This would be effective 'only if his readers recognized some form of reality in it' (p. 344).

My conclusions about I.'s book are, like the author's approach itself, contradictory. Greek and Roman literary tradition shows an attitude of superiority over almost everything it deals with: the superiority of some Greeks over other Greeks, of Greeks over other peoples, of Romans over Greeks and other cultures, of some Romans over other Romans, and so on. I. has done an extraordinary job in showing us this. However, I am not convinced that there was a (proto-)racist attitude in most of these perceptions. Each author was well aware of the agenda of his time, of the circumstances under which he wrote, and of concepts such as self-definition of the group to which he belonged. But the contradictions between the perceptions of each author and of each time, and the absence of a common code accepted by everybody, weaken the idea of the existence of an elaborated concept of 'race' in the ancient world. Although racism, irrational by definition, can exist, based on the perception of something that actually does not (in I.'s words: 'race, then, does not exist, but it is extremely difficult to combat the acceptance of something that does not exist and yet is widely believed to exist': pp. 30-31), I have not been convinced that racism or proto-racism existed in antiquity. Undoubtedly, I.'s book will provoke further debate of these matters. The contribution of the author to the debate is undeniable and his book will be an important starting point for further developments. However, I think that the suggestion that racism was an invention of the ancient world is 'not proven'. (Proto-)racist authors or (proto-)racist opinions may have existed, but, contrary to I.'s view, I am not convinced that 'a pattern of proto-racism in Greek and Roman views of subject peoples can be observed' (p. 510).

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Adolfo J. Domínguez

TWO BOOKS ON XENOPHON

R. Lane Fox (ed.), *The Long March: Xenophon and the Ten Thousand*, Yale University Press, New Haven/London 2004, xii+351 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-300-10403-0

C. Tuplin (ed.), *Xenophon and His World. Papers from a Conference Held in Liverpool 1999*, Historia-Einzelschrift 172, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2004, 524 pp. Cased. ISBN 3-515-08392-8

These two volumes of almost 40 papers represent current interest in Xenophon. They confirm that his content is of major interest, but say little about his language and his literary

or narrative techniques *per se*. There is not much reflection either of current ironic readings of his writing. Some papers break new ground nevertheless, and others, though they do take more well-known paths, still almost always lead to fresh views.

The essays edited by Lane Fox focus on Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The informative and proreptic introduction describes the story of *Anabasis*, its reception and author, the new opportunities for serious study of the work now that it is no longer in the schoolroom, the excitement of a work on the edge of two cultures, the state of the learned commentaries and the text, the exciting individuals in it, the historical background to the political situation behind the work and the route of the long march itself.

In the first two papers, on the composition of *Anabasis*, G. Cawkwell argues that Xenophon produced his work as a self-justifying reaction to the account of Sophænetus, which we now have in Diodorus Siculus, but P.J. Stylianou argues that Diodorus is in fact using Xenophon's work. T. Braun then focuses on negative aspects behind the apparently positive characterisation of Clearchus and Cyrus, two prominent individuals. More on Xenophon's leadership theory would enhance this paper. (In the volume edited by Tuplin, L. Tritle identifies Clearchus' difficulties as post traumatic stress disorder.)

R. Parker explores Xenophon's personal religion, establishing his optimism about the gods, their status as friends of mankind, their special gift of divination, his view that men need to do without their assistance however in matters that they can divine themselves. He then selects a series of incidents from *Anabasis* that illustrate his views on divination and dreams and omens and vows, as well as the effect of religion on morale. The gods emerge as 'reasonable but slightly remote creatures with whom one can do business, rather like the better sort of Spartan. But this really is personal religion à la grecque'.

Tuplin assesses Xenophon's knowledge of the Achaemenid empire from *Anabasis*: his presentation of the king, his functionaries, who are interesting, Eastern geography, *paradeisoi*, imperial tribute, religious practices, exploitation of resources, measures, roads, armies, the boundaries of Persian authority. I found this a very informative paper. Lane Fox in his paper on 'Sex, gender and the other' is equally informative in bringing out the range of evidence on these topics, which include foreigners.

There are three military papers. M. Whitby sees the Greek leaders, particularly Xenophon, as highly innovative. He addresses topics such as the unity of the army, the use of the hoplite, of tactics like the hollow square, river crossings, mountain fighting, and he ends with a tribute to Xenophon's ability to keep the men going in spite of winter. Focusing on the phrase 'it seemed good to them', S. Hornblower takes the idea of the army as a self-directing *polis* and finds six circumstances for armies outside Xenophon that dictate similar self-direction, drawing on parallels with Athenian forces in Sicily 415–413 BC. Another good paper! J. Roy writes about the phenomenon of the mercenary. *Anabasis* is a major source of information for this.

Many papers touch on Xenophon's self-presentation, but V. Azoulay focuses on Xenophon's practices of exchange: bribery and corruption as a commander, and taking pay as a mercenary. He deploys 'many rhetorical strategies and smoke screens' to cover these because they are shameful, thus demonstrating ideal aristocratic exchange values and giving our first glimpse of the 'ironic' Xenophon. T. Rood denies that Xenophon wrote *Anabasis* to encourage a panhellenic attack on Persia. He sees apparent panhellenic references as merely the clichés of a long literary tradition, which is fair enough, and notes that the speeches, which

form the main evidence, are tailored to their audience, not to the reader. His conclusion that they not only celebrate leadership, but are 'powerfully analytic' and slightly ironic and pessimistic may be an overstatement. The irony and pessimism he refers to is the fragility of the attempt to create order.

J. Ma's thoughtful paper on the question of identity for those who went on this famous expedition focuses on displaced persons: the ex-slave who discovers on the march that he is in his original homeland, the Spartan who had been exiled for accidental homicide, and Xenophon himself, another exile. Against their loss of homeland identity they find a replacement identity as a band of brothers in the army they join. And yet this new identity is frustrated by the innate desire for home; the men refuse to found a polis in the east and Scillus proves no permanent alternative home for Xenophon either. Displacement denies but also confirms identity. Xenophon produced *Anabasis* out of this feeling about this feeling. The theme of migration and identity looks forward to the Hellenistic world.

The more general volume edited by Tuplin goes well beyond *Anabasis*. It is conveniently divided into topics (Xenophon's life; Xenophon and Socrates; Xenophon and the barbarian world; Sparta; religion and politics; *Anabasis*; *Hellenica*), but these are not meant to offer sustained coverage. 'Sparta' has just two papers, both on *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*. The section on '*Anabasis*' consists of a study of the lochos, the location of Mount Thekes, and Tittle's portrait of Clearchus. The Introduction describes the papers and presents the volume as proof that Xenophon has a distinctive voice and is a sophisticated manipulator of the written word, a man with a straight face and a glint in the eye (p. 29). Yet there is not much evidence of this in the papers.

On Xenophon's life, E. Badian examines the biographical tradition and the works to prove that Xenophon was by his own lights a loyal Athenian from first to last, M. Dreher focuses on the legal process that led to Xenophon's exile from Athens and the circumstances of his return, M. Sordi asks why Xenophon adopted a Sicilian as his pseudonym as author of *Anabasis*.

R. Waterfield takes Xenophon seriously as a source for Socratic ideas: in philosophy there was none who could write and communicate as clearly as he could, and he wished to defend traditional morality (p. 83). He explains resemblances between Xenophon and Plato as Xenophon rewriting Plato according to this agenda. In this he touches on the Socratic definition of *kalokagathia*, to which F. Roscilla then devotes his own paper. Yet neither pierced the heart of Xenophon's definition of the condition in terms of 'correct usage' of 'property'. C. Hindley examines Xenophon's view of the middle way in same sex relationships, between Socrates' celibacy and Critias' indulgence.

In the first of two papers on barbarians, Azoulay looks at Xenophon's account of the Persian Cyrus' adoption of Median dress and ceremonial in Cyropaedia, and his desire to show how Cyrus balanced his dual Median and Persian heritage in order to create an ideal government. Petit then examines vassalage in the Persian system, making parallels with western mediaeval systems. He focuses on the Younger Cyrus' trial of the vassal Orontes in *Anabasis*. Recognising that Greek language and discourse might blur authentic practices, he is nevertheless impressed by authentic details, such as Orontes' belt. He examines the terms for vassals, then the procedures of *proskynesis*, the kiss, the oath and the gift. I began to feel uneasy only when relations said to be authentically Persian are also found in non-vassal relations between Greeks in Xenophon's other works, for instance, the decision of Cyrus' vassals to die with him in battle, for which those who die for Anaxibius in *Hellenica* 4. 8. 39

offer a parallel. Nevertheless, the question whether Xenophon captures authentic Persian practices gets a good run in this paper.

S. Pomeroy then continues her reflections on Xenophon's presentation of Spartan women in *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*, and N. Humble speculates about the function of that same work's notorious chapter 14. H. Bowden investigates the same relations between gods and men as Parker in the other volume, and questions the idea that Xenophon had any sweeping general principles about the operation of the divine in history. R. Brock raises the interesting question of Xenophon's political imagery and deals briefly with some of it. J. Dillery studies his *pompai*, including that of Cyrus in *Cyropaedia*, as precursors of Hellenistic kingship practice. His is a thoughtful paper too. R. Sevieri raises the interesting possibility that Xenophon's *Hiero* is accommodating the greatness of an individual to the needs of their communities as epinician poets did. J. Lee examines the functions military, social and administrative of the *lochos* in *Anabasis*, and thus joins the papers on the army in the volume edited by Lane Fox. V. Manfredi returns to the itinerary of the Ten Thousand and L. Tritle returns to Clearchus.

T. Rood writes the longest paper in the collection, on Thucydidean allusions in Xenophon's continuation of Thucydides in *Hellenica*. These are said to enter into dialogue with Thucydides' analysis. For example, his description of the reception of the news of Aegospotami, with its explicit reference to the Athenian massacre of the Melians, is said to recall Thucydides' description of the news of Syracuse as well as the Melian massacre itself. The effect is to enhance the similarities and the differences, which Rood argues are all important in the historical analysis. There is useful comment on Diodorus in relation to these allusions. Nevertheless, they are admitted to be subtle and not the major theme of the continuation.

In the remaining papers on *Hellenica*, J. Buckler argues for Xenophon's reliability in explaining the events in central Greece that heralded the outbreak of the Corinthian War, E. Rung reconciles his account of the mission of Timocrates with that of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, P. Funke investigates the *διοικισμος* of Mantinea, S. Sprawski the status of the rulers of Pherae, N. Stirling produces a balanced account of Xenophon's treatment of the Thebans, and M. Jehne addresses his account of the Second Athenian League.

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PHOENICIAN ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGI

S. Frede, *Die phönizischen anthropoiden Sarkophage Teil 1: Fundgruppen und Bestattungskontexte*, Forschungen zur Phönizisch-Punischen und Zyprischen Plastik, Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler als Zeugnisse kultureller Identitäten und Affinitäten I.1, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2000, x+192 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-2640-8

S. Frede, mit Beiträgen von Hedi Dridi *et al.*, *Die phönizischen anthropoiden Sarkophage Teil 2: Tradition – Rezeption – Wandel*, Forschungen zur Phönizisch-Punischen und Zyprischen Plastik, Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler als Zeugnisse kultureller Identitäten und Affinitäten I.2, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, xi+358 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-2938-5

The Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi today are generally considered to be a typical item of Phoenician art. In fact the vast majority were and still are found in Phoenicia proper, i.e. in the burial grounds of the old city-states of the Levantine coast. Only a few exceptions have come to light in the Central Mediterranean (Malta, Sicilian Cannita near Solunt/Soloeis) and in the Far West (Cádiz/Gades in south-western Spain), but also at Phoenician Kition and Amathus on Cyprus, in northern Egypt and in the Aegean (Paros, apparently an early centre of production). Except for Paros all places outside the Lebanon have strong Phoenician connections. Remarkably, none has been found until now at Carthage.

With their characteristic blend of an Egyptian type of sepulchral monument and Egyptian pattern of inhumation on one side and of Greek Early and Late Classical art forms, the sarcophagi seem to illustrate best what is mostly understood as the 'Phoenician' element in Phoenician art: a mixing of foreign artistic styles, adopted in order to make up for the lack of their own artistic identity and the consequent failure to develop an independent, genuinely Phoenician artistic tradition, be it in shaping style or in expressing intrinsic content.

Thus the production of these sarcophagi is considered a 'thriving industry'.¹ Supposedly they are an excellent illustration of the manifold interactions between the different civilisations existing around the Eastern Mediterranean in the 1st millennium BC, of the impact these various cultures exerted on each other, and, above all, of the mainly passive role the Phoenicians played within this network. When, in 1996, a 'unit for special research' (*Sonderforschungsbereich*) was established at the University of Mayence to promote investigation in intercultural exchange (comprising phenomena in language and literature, mythology and religion, concepts and ideas) between north-eastern Africa and western Asia in the 1st millennium BC, as far as archaeology is concerned, the Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi quite obviously had to be put on this project's agenda.

The two huge volumes under review are the imposing output of only four and six years of work respectively. The principal author and the other nine contributors deserve our warmest congratulations. The first volume comprises a thorough analysis of the respective places and circumstances of discovery and a comprehensive and detailed catalogue of all known pieces, totalling 130 compared with the 82 dealt with in the only earlier monograph dedicated to the study of this class of monuments, that by Kukahn.² The second volume contains very solid studies on iconographic, art historical and religious aspects, also examining the genuine Egyptian precursors, possible or alleged forerunners (the so-called Philistine clay sarcophagi), and parallels or related phenomena from Mesopotamia. Consequently, it consists of contributions by various authors.

These sarcophagi, which formerly were called 'Sidonian' because of their main site of discovery, have always intrigued classical archaeologists. While it has never been doubted that they were used first by Sidonian kings and then adopted by Phoenician aristocrats to contain their mortal remains, the Parian marble of which they are made and the discovery of several fragments of unfinished sarcophagus-lids on the island led scholars to assume that

¹ G. Markoe, *Phoenicians* (London 2000), 151. The German translation (*Die Phönizier* [Stuttgart 2003], 155) uses *die führende Industrie* ('the leading industry') thus accentuating even further the prominent role of this class of monuments.

² E. Kukahn, *Anthropoide Sarkophage in Beyrouth und die Geschichte der sidonischen Sarkophagkunst* (Berlin 1955).

they were first produced, or at least prefabricated, by Greek sculptors working in Parian workshops. The Parian artists would then have established workshops in Phoenicia proper close to their customers, i.e. Sidon, also employing local apprentices. Finally, the workshops of already mixed composition might have passed entirely into local hands during the 4th century BC, when a large number of sarcophagi appears which, while keeping to the type of burial monument in general, differ considerably in style and workmanship.

Thus, for instance, the Greek pedigree of the 'Sidonian' sarcophagi and their respective workshops (in Sidon, Arvad and on Cyprus) remains an undisputed fact for K. Lembke, author of another imposing monograph about this class of monuments which appeared at almost the same time as S. Frede's,³ and is endorsed in a way by A. Nunn's useful study focusing more broadly on the iconography of the figural arts in the Ancient Near East from the 6th to 4th centuries BC, for whom the inward (*die innere*) plasticity in Phoenician art is owed to Greek influence,⁴ on the other hand there can be no doubt that local, i.e. Phoenician artists already formed part of those workshops in the late 5th century BC, when Phoenician sculptor's signs (*Steinmetz-Zeichen*) first appear on the sarcophagi.

J. Elayi was the first scholar, so it seems, who went so far as to credit the entire production of anthropoid marble sarcophagi to Phoenician artists, and it is this same trend which is followed by the work under review: F. wants to reconsider the Graecocentric view prevailing hitherto in this complicated matter and to revise the traditional connotation of the Phoenician 'mixed style' (vol. 1, p. 4; vol. 2, pp. 92-94) The Greek stylistic elements, patent already in the earliest sarcophagi (dated as early as *ca.* 500 BC by F., in opposition to the usual chronology around 480 BC), would likewise have been floating offers on the art market, so to speak, and would have been appropriated by the Phoenician artists who were keen on artistic innovation.

To approve or to disprove similar theorems relevant to Phoenician art, thorough and fully illustrated studies on Phoenician monument classes are indispensable. Editor and publishers equally are to be praised for the sumptuous illustration and splendid get up of the two volumes under review. Discussion on the basic object matter itself, i.e. the Phoenician artists' attitude towards the graven image and iconism in general, will be kept alive for a while, as the reviewer has stressed elsewhere.⁵

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Hans Georg Niemeyer

PUBLICATIONS ON THE BLACK SEA

E.K. Petropoulos, *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeiros Pontos. Penetration, Early Establishment, and the Problem of the "Emporion" Revisited*, BAR International Series 1394, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, x+181 pp. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-832-7

³ K. Lembke, *Phönizische anthropoide Sarkophage* (Mainz 2001). On the workshops, cf. especially 106ff.

⁴ A. Nunn, *Der figürliche Motivschatz Phöniziens, Syriens und Transjordanien vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Freiburg, Switzerland 2000), especially 172.

⁵ *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000), 926 s.v. Phönizier, Punier.

- E.A. Popova and S.A. Kovalenko, *Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki grecheskoi i pozdneskifskoi kul'tur v Severo-Zapadnom Krymu (po materialam Chaikinskogo gorodishcha)* (Historical-Archaeological Essays on the Greek and Late Scythian Cultures in the North-Western Crimea [Based upon Material of the Chaika City-Site]), Faculty of History, Moscow Lomonosov State University, Moscow 2005, 134 pp., 149 figs. Paperback. ISBN 5-85422-031-8
- P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names Vol. IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*, The British Academy/Clarendon Press, Oxford 2005, xxix+387 pp. Cased. ISBN 10:0-19-927333-2/13:978-0-19-927333-1
- J. Bouzek, *Thracians and Their Neighbours: Their Destiny, Art and Heritage*, Studia Hercynia IX, Institute of Classical Archaeology, Charles University, Prague 2005 [2004], 268 pp., 109 figs., 4 colour and 39 black-and-white pls. Paperback. ISSN 1212-5865-9
- D.B. Erciyas and E. Koparal (eds.), *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Sempozyum Bildirileri, 16-17 Nisan 2004, Ankara/Black Sea Studies Symposium Proceedings, 16-17 April 2004, Ankara*, Settlement Archaeology Series, Symposium Proceedings 1, Ege Yayınları, Istanbul 2006, xiv+260 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 975-807-138-6

The Black Sea continues to attract interest from scholars with different specialisms, and the quantity of books published in the West and East increases.

In *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeiños Pontos*, E.K. Petropoulos 're-examines' Greek colonisation. Despite the title, the work, essentially the author's doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1999 at Moscow Lomonosov State University, focuses in the main on the northern part of the region from the 7th century to 590-580 BC. It contains a Prologue by J. Bouzek (p. v), a discussion of sources (written and archaeological) (pp. 1-6) and a historiography of the subject (pp. 6-13). Then comes Chapter 1 'The Earliest Archaeological Evidence for Greek Presence in the Northern Euxeiños Pontos (7th-First Quarter of the 6th Century B.C.)' (pp. 15-74), a second chapter entitled 'The Problems of the "Emporion" (Port of Trade): Main Characteristics and Particularities in the Ancient Written Tradition' (pp. 75-126), and an Epilogue (pp. 127-30). There are lists of abbreviations (pp. 131-35), separate bibliographies of Cyrillic (pp. 137-58) and Western (pp. 159-73) literature, and an index (pp. 174-81).

I read this book twice. Contrary to my hopes, I was left even more confused the second time. There is not a single page on which one can find a proper presentation and discussion of the material free from contradiction or unsupported assertion. Various scholars are subject to a scatter-gun attack which lacks the reinforcement of reasoned and sustained criticism.¹ To deal with every point would itself require a book-length review, and P's 'book' does not deserve to have such detailed attention paid to it. I will illustrate my conclusion with several examples.

¹ I am one of the principal targets. Several people, myself included, thought that D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki 2003) was a fine idea but a missed opportunity, and impossible to read (see my review in *AWE* 4.2 [2004], 405-07, that of B. Baebler in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2004.09.01, etc.). In general, P's criticism of the opinion of others shows that he is fully versed in the familiar tradition, citing material which appeared after the piece criticised had been published, or personal communications, or unpublished or forthcoming writings (see, for example, *VDI* 1[2002], 201-08; cf. *AWE* 2.1 [2002], 466-67). And authors are remonstrated with for the absence of things which they never claimed would be found in their work (as a reading of the relevant introductions or prefaces would have shown).

The first chapter is dedicated to Greek pottery. It is astonishing how ill-informed P. is about its chronology and interpretation. He attacks opinions incompatible with his conclusions, which he seems to have reached before he examined the evidence. In general, P. seldom cites others who have earlier reached opinions he shares. It is the same old story: Greek pottery, however little, means a Greek presence, whilst the context of the finds does not matter.² Often it seems that P. does not understand what he has read and cites, or perhaps he has deliberately misunderstood it. To take just a few examples, on p. 42 he gives the foundation date of Sinope as 630 BC, citing O. Doonan's 2003 article as his source,³ but in that article Doonan discusses at length the problems of being in any way certain about a foundation date so great are the contradictions between the different sources and types of evidence, and does not arrive at any definite date at all. Earlier, on p. 4, he quotes B.A. Shramko,⁴ that 'Gelonos was a peculiar city-state with a political regime'; the original says nothing about a political regime.

In the introduction to Chapter 1, P. seeks to provide evidence of Greek penetration of the Black Sea before the 7th century BC, basing himself on some finds of Mycenaean provenance or of Mycenaean-type objects. These objects are long known and have been discussed on many occasions. Here (pp. 19-21) and elsewhere the author's interpretation is hedged around with 'it may be possible to hypothesise...' or 'hypothetically, we could claim...', etc.⁵

² For criticism of of this practice in the context of the Black Sea area, see G.R. Tsatskheladze, 'Pontic Notes (without Notes)'. In J. Bouzek and L. Domaradzka (eds.), *The Culture of Thracians and their Neighbours. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Memory of Prof. Mieczysław Domaradzki, with a Round Table "Archaeological Map of Bulgaria"* (Oxford 2005), 229-30. Cf. M. Vassileva's review below, pp. 368. Much has been written recently about the interpretation and chronology of Greek pottery, but these works are apparently unknown to P. See J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases. Pottery, Painters and Pictures* (London 2001); P. Cabrera, P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds.), *El vaso griego y sus destinos* (Madrid 2004); C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by The Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23-24 March 2002* (Leiden/Boston 2004); A. Rathje, M. Nielsen and B.B. Rasmussen (eds.), *Pots for the Living, Pots for the Dead* (Copenhagen 2002); C. Scheffer (ed.), *Ceramics in Context. Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery held at Stockholm, 13-15 June 1997* (Stockholm 2001); B. Schmaltz and M. Söldner (eds.), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposiums in Kiel vom 24. bis 28.9.2001 veranstaltet durch das Archäologische Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel* (Münster 2003); B. Rückert and F. Kolb (eds.), *Probleme der Keramikchronologie des südlichen und westlichen Kleinasien in geometrischer und archaischer Zeit* (Bonn 2003). On the difficulties of interpreting Mycenaean pottery (and other objects) in the context of Mycenaean expansion, see now J. Vanschoonwinkel, 'Mycenaean Expansion'. In G.R. Tsatskheladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas* vol. 1 (Leiden/Boston 2006), 90-104.

³ O. Doonan, 'Sinope'. In Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003 (as in n. 1) vol. 2, 1381-82. See now G.R. Tsatskheladze, 'Greeks and Locals in the Southern Black Sea Littoral: A Re-Examination'. In G. Herman and I. Shatzman (eds.), *Greeks between East and West. Essays in Greek Literature and History in Memory of David Asheri* (Jerusalem 2007), 160-95.

⁴ B.A. Shramko, *Bel'skoe gorodishche skifskoi epokhi (gorod Gelon)* (Kiev 1987), 164.

⁵ At the same time we have 'we cannot be absolutely certain about the fact that Greek travelers in fact left such testimony behind them, with the result that we may be wasting our time framing hypotheses which will never be proven' (p. 21).

He tries to draw conclusions from a 'Catalogue of Ships' from the *Iliad*, although he admits that the passage is one exciting continued controversy (p. 20). P. has problems interpreting geography. He mentions the recently discovered Mycenaean pottery at Koprivlen (p. 70), which is in southern Bulgaria close to the Greek border in the Nestos valley. So this is more Aegean Thrace than (his) Pontic. Whoever brought the pottery had no need to approach the area from the Black Sea. The section discussing modern scholarly interpretations contains much contradiction, for example that the importance of the earliest Greek pottery from the Black Sea has not been properly recognised, criticising J. Boardman and the reviewer. He means a hydria allegedly coming from Berezan and a sherd from Histria kept in the Museum of Classical Archaeology in Cambridge; and then he himself says that these pieces should be disregarded because their true origins are doubtful (p. 29). There are bizarre mistakes: for instance (p. 27) Strabo is described as writing 'a few centuries after Herodotus,' and (p. 28) P. believes the southern Black Sea littoral to have contained a number of Greek settlements founded before that on the island of Berezan. I could go on.

The real confusion starts on p. 31 and continues throughout the rest of the volume. P. does not understand that in a discussion about dating pottery, which is a difficult exercise, one scholar may favour upper dating, another lower and a third somewhere in between, for instance for pottery generally dated to 650/40-630 BC. He attempts to draw far-reaching conclusions from a single piece of pottery – to suggest a physical Greek presence in the hinterland of the modern day Ukrainian steppes. But he does not understand that this piece can be dated very reasonably within that range to the 630s, when the first Greek colonies had already been established in the western and northern Black Sea. Instead, he deliberately favours upper dating, without any further explanation, to link the pottery's presence to so-called pre-colonial contacts.

The context of Greek pottery is very important, although sometimes it can make interpretation difficult. For example, recently a fragment of an oinochoe from Berezan has been published and dated to *ca.* middle 7th century BC. It was found in Pithouse 51, which was dated to the turn of the 7th-6th centuries BC on account of stratigraphy and other contextual material (other Greek pottery).⁶ From it, P. concludes that Berezan was established in the middle 7th century, but I would not be prepared to draw such a definite conclusion from so little evidence.⁷

The pottery from the Nemirovo settlement far inland has been redated several times, most recently and quite broadly to the last quarter 7th-beginning 6th.⁸ P. of course favours the last quarter of the 7th century BC, again choosing what fits his requirements, again

⁶ Y.I. Ilina, 'O novykh nakhodkakh vostochno-grecheskoi keramiki na ostrove Berezan'. In V.Y. Zuev (ed.), *ΣΥΣΤΙΤΑ* (St Petersburg 2000), 201-09.

⁷ For a balanced treatment of the evidence about all major Greek cities around the Black Sea, see A. Avram, J. Hind and G. Tsatskhelidze, 'The Black Sea Area'. In M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 924-73.

⁸ See, for example, M.Y. Vakhtina: 'Osnovnye kategorii grecheskoi importnoi keramiki Nemirovskogo gorodishcha'. *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* VI (1998), 122-39; 'Grecheskaya stolovaya keramika VI v. do n.e. iz raskopok Nemirovskogo gorodishcha v Pobuzh'e'. In Zuev 2000 (as in n. 6), 209-17. See now M. Kerschner and U. Schlotzhauer, 'A New Classification System for East Greek Pottery'. *AWE* 4.1 (2005), 17.

without providing a proper discussion or explanation. But most confusing is the 'discussion' about the Temir Gora oinochoe, where he cites the various opinions of so many scholars that one is left without any clear idea of what he wants to say. The oinochoe was found in a tumulus (*kurgan*). In one place (p. 33) he writes that the tomb contains a burial conducted in strict accordance with Scythian customs, but on pp. 34-35 that, since a Greek oinochoe was found there, the tomb must be that of a Greek! He also mentions on p. 34 a 'gilded stone crypt'; I do not understand what he means.

When P. writes about the Taganrog settlement, he mentions that Clazomenaeon pottery 'begins to appear only in strata above that containing the pottery dating to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C., which means that it must be later' (citing 'oral testimony' of the late Y.G. Vinogradov: p. 36). But there are no 'strata' at Taganrog. The settlement lies beneath the Sea of Azov and what pottery we have are sherds washed up on the beach.

The principal aim of Chapter 1 is to prove the existence of pre-colonial contacts, i.e. that Greeks visited the hinterland before Greek colonies along the Black Sea littoral were established. The main source used is Greek pottery. I tried to count how much, but the information is presented in such a confused way that it is impossible to give an exact figure.⁹ Several of the entries in the table on pp. 66-68 are unmentioned in the text, and it is unwise to rely on anything without corroborating it. To a great extent the chapter recycles A.S. Rusyaeva's article,¹⁰ citing the same literature, including evidence of an allegedly Greek altar from a local settlement near the village of Zhabotin. I have already written about this altar, whose interpretation raises more questions than answers;¹¹ P. dates it in one place to the beginning of the 7th century, in another to 'prior to the mid-7th century' (p. 53).

P. talks about the local settlements from which these isolated pieces of pottery come. I fail to understand the following statement on p. 63:

The ancient Greek showed great interest in the northern littoral of the Black Sea, and afterwards, without wasting valuable time [!], they advanced inland toward the north, into the Scythian forest-steppe. This apparently occurred after they determined that no

⁹ Cf. G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, Native Populations'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology* (Stuttgart 1998), 11.

¹⁰ A.S. Rusyaeva, 'Proniknovenie Ellinov na territoriyu Ukrainskoi lesostepi v arkhaischeskoe vremya (K postanovke problemy)'. *VDI* 4 (1999), 84-97.

¹¹ G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Greeks beyond the Bosphorus'. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Greeks beyond the Aegean: from Marseilles to Bactria* (New York 2003), 151. Moreover, this article contains a section 'Greeks in the Hinterland' (pp. 149-59) which discusses the bulk of the evidence P. presents in his Chapter 1. (On Nemirovo, see pp. 134-35 of my article.) Another piece (G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, Native Populations'. In Tsetskhladze [ed.] 1998 [as in n. 9]) has a section 'Earliest Greek Pottery found at Native Sites: Pre-Colonial Contacts?' (pp. 10-15). All of these writings are known to P. However, I am less far-reaching in my assessment and interpretation of such isolated finds of pottery. See now G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'More Finds of Early Greek Pottery in the Pontic Hinterland'. In E. Herring, I. Lemos, F. Lo Schiavo, L. Vagnetti, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Across Frontiers: Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in Honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway* (London 2006), 103-09, and for similar conclusions to mine R. Posamentir, 'The Greeks in Berezan and Naukratis: A Similar Story?'. In A. Villing and U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt* (London 2006), 159-67.

Scythian settlement had yet been built in the neighboring steppe (and indeed would not be until the 5th century B.C.); consequently, there was no permanently settled population, only transitory nomads.

First of all, if they were nomads, how do we have huge settlements such as Belsk, Nemirovo, etc. which the author himself mentions as the source of pottery? Secondly, if there was no local population and no local settlements, how could there be pre-colonial contacts?

P. touches on the Argonaut myth (p. 71), criticising those of us who do not regard it as historical evidence.¹² He believes it is, and to prove his point, he cites a Greek newspaper article or quotes extensively and enthusiastically but uncritically from some other scholar.

Thus, Chapter 1 should fail to convince anyone of the author's thesis, insofar as it can be ascertained through the tangled web of assertion, quotation, inaccuracy and contradiction.

The book has the subtitle 'Penetration, Early Establishment, and the Problem of the "Emporion" Revisited'. Chapter 2 is indeed devoted to revisiting the *emporion*, with the principal aim of revising V. Blavatskii's theory about the *emporion* period in the history of the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea, first formulated in the 1950s, namely that the *emporion* stage was a necessary precondition for the appearance and development of *poleis*. Blavatskii's views have been rejected by most scholars for a generation. 'Revisiting' this question is welcome, but not P.'s approach to it. The chapter is full of anachronisms, with evidence of later times used to support his contentions about the 7th century BC.

Page after page P. cites the mentions of *emporion* in Herodotus. He gives no explanation to link the section 'The *emporion* in Chersonesos Taurike', or that on the Pistiros inscription, with the 7th century.¹³ Typically, there is heavy quotation of ancient and modern authors, not necessarily of great relevance, and it is often difficult to disentangle the opinions of P. from those of the authors he quotes. As with Chapter 1, some peculiar errors may be

¹² See G.R. Tsetskhladze: 'Greek Penetration of the Black Sea'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994), 113-15; and 'Argonautica, Colchis and the Black Sea: Myth, Reality and Modern Scholarship'. *Thracia Pontica* 6.1 (1997), 337-47. See now G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Gold-Rich Colchis: Myth and Reality'. *Bulletin of The Archaeological and Anthropological Society of Victoria* 3, August (2005), 3-8.

¹³ In Chapter 1 there are also discussions irrelevant to the period and the subject, such as pithouse architecture and the transition to above-ground stone architecture, which took place in the Late Archaic period (see G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'On the Earliest Greek Colonial Architecture in the Pontus'. In C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Pontus and the Outside World. Studies in Black Sea History, Historiography and Archaeology* [Leiden/Boston 2004], 225-81; this article is unknown to P.), and the Black Sea grain trade (for which there is no evidence in the 7th or even the 6th century BC). For the grain trade, see L. Foxhall, 'Cargoes of the heart's desire: the character of trade in the archaic Mediterranean world'. In N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece. New Approaches and New Evidence* (London 1998), 301-03; S.M. Burstein, 'IG 1.³ 61 and the Black Sea grain trade'. In R. Mellor and L. Tritle (eds.), *Text and Tradition. Studies in Greek History and Historiography in Honor of Mortimer Chambers* (Claremont, CA 1999), 93-104; A.G. Keen, '"Grain for Athens": the importance of the Hellespontine route in Athenian foreign policy before the Peloponnesian war'. In G. Oliver, R. Brock, T. Cornell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Sea in Antiquity* (Oxford 2000), 63-73; G.R. Tsetskhladze: 'Trade on the Black Sea in the Archaic and Classical Periods: some observations'. In H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds.), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (London/New York 1998), 54-63; '"Grain for Athens": the View from the Black Sea'. In R. Alston and O. van Nijf (eds.), *Feeding the Ancient City* (Leuven 2008).

noted – the mid-4th century is declared as within the Hellenistic age, for example (p. 110). The whole aim of this chapter is to tout P.'s definition(s) of *emporion*. Here is how he defines it for the 7th century BC: 'In the present study, the "emporion period" is defined as that historical period during which the *emporion*, meaning a primitive settlement or proto-colony, appeared and developed... This idea gives a new dimension to the term *emporion*, without being related to its earlier definition or definitions in the historiography' (p. 75). Alternatively, '... *emporion* – "proto-settlements", according to the term "proto-colonization" – in various locations...' (p. 76); '... *emporion*, as the first organic social community at a given site, had the further aim, always according to the approach we've used so far, of preparing all the favorable conditions necessary for the arrival of the new settlers from the mother-city, no longer to the *emporion*, but to the *apoikia-polis*, i.e. the newly constituted city on or near the existing site of the *emporion*' (p. 77). All understandable to P., but rather unclear to the reader.

Like the whole book, this chapter is a missed opportunity. If the author had been acquainted with the articles by M.H. Hansen,¹⁴ J. Hind¹⁵ and myself,¹⁶ he would have realised that his chapter is largely superfluous. Hansen studied the question of the *emporion* from all points of view, using every kind of currently available evidence and providing references to every single mention of the term by ancient authors and in inscriptions, buttressed by a lengthy discussion based on archaeological and other evidence.

P. states, on the first page of Chapter 2, that he intends to ignore the situation in the mother cities of the colonisers. This is quite strange. How can one talk about Greek expansion without investigating the reasons for it? If P. had done this, he would have been forced to revise many of his 'conclusions' and 'statements'.

Even the Epilogue is not free of contradiction. In the same page P. states that the first Greeks arrived in the Black Sea variously at the end of the 8th, the beginning of 7th and the middle of the 7th century (p. 127). The colonists 'had invested enormous effort in adjusting and acclimating [*sic.*] themselves to the new conditions in the wider area' (p. 128), a question to which I dedicated a whole article (uncited).¹⁷ Mass colonisation is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century and to 590-580 BC (both p. 129).

In a book seeking to 'revolutionise' our understanding of isolated finds of Greek pottery and its 'dating', one expects to have illustrations of the pottery concerned, but fragments from Nemirovo (pp. 45-46) are all that is given.

¹⁴ M.H. Hansen, 'Emporion. A study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1997), 83-105. A substantially revised and updated version of this article appeared under the same title in Tsetskhladze 2006 (as in n. 2), 1-39.

¹⁵ J. Hind: 'Traders and Ports-of-Trade (*Emporoi* and *Emporia*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity'. *Il Mar Nero* II (1995/96), 113-26; and 'Colonies and Ports-of-Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea: Borysthene, Kremnoi and "Other Pontic Emporia" in Herodotus'. In Nielsen 1997 (as in n. 14), 107-16.

¹⁶ G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Pistiros in the System of Pontic *Emporia* (Greek Trading and Craft Settlements in the Hinterland of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea and Elsewhere)'. In L. Domaradzka et al. (eds.), *Structures économiques dans la péninsule balkanique VII^e-II^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Opole 2000), 235-46.

¹⁷ See G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Ionians Abroad'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and A.M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford 2002), 81-96.

The bibliography is no more consistent. Some works cited in the text are not in the bibliography, and *vice versa*. On p. 131, a book edited by Lordkipanidze in 1985 and cited as such is then given a faulty publication date of 1979; both *Hesperia* and *Historia* are listed in the schedules of abbreviations and acronyms; the date for *IOSPE* should be 1885-1916, not just 1916; and so on. The index is no better: for example, Assyro-Babylonian does not appear on p. 21, nor Bogazkoy on p. 20. The text has been translated from Greek to English, sometimes jarringly American, but the thesis was submitted in Russian. It seems that several things have been 'lost in translation': we have 'Homeros' (author of *Iliad* [*sic.*]), 'Hesiodos', Herodotus' 'Scythian speech', 'Urartou', 'weapon of war', colonists who were 'working-class and poor', 'populous community', the Babadag III 'civilization', 'housing settlement', 'the attempt to make the so-called Greek miracle reality', and many others.

It is stated in the Prologue (p. v) that 'Petropoulos' book opens the way and the eye for understanding what was sound in these achievements and contributes to establish a useful bridge between two scholarly traditions. Even for this reason, his book should be warmly welcomed.' But those who soldier through it may disagree. It is, on the other hand, a good example of how a book should *not* be written. Much has been done over the last decade or so to open up Black Sea archaeology to Western scholarship. This ostensible contribution, however, can only undermine such work. To demonstrate this is why I have written at such length rather than dismissed it briefly.

The modern-day north-western Crimea was once part of the far *chora* of Chersonesos. It has been investigated for many decades, yielding rich remains of rural settlements and farmhouses. Many articles have appeared in Russian and Ukrainian,¹⁸ but until recently we have lacked monographs presenting detailed studies of individual settlements. The first such volume, on Panskoe I, appeared in 2002.¹⁹ Now we have the book by E.A. Popova and S.A. Kovalenko on the Chaika settlement. This site was first discovered in 1959 by A.N. Karasev, who continued to work there until 1966. Since then it has been investigated by an expedition from the Department of Archaeology, Moscow Lomonosov State University, led by I.V. Yatsenko (1967-1986) and then by E.A. Popova (since 1987).²⁰

The book publishes a detailed archaeological account of the early settlement (pp. 7-30), Greek farmhouses nos. 2 and 3 (pp. 31-82), a late Scythian residential quarter (pp. 83-94), and provides an overview of the history of Chaika settlement placed within overall developments in the north-western Crimea (pp. 95-100). Appendix 1 (pp. 102-10) is a catalogue of pottery stamps found in the earliest levels of the settlement; Appendix 2 (pp. 110-13) of

¹⁸ For Western publications on the north-western Crimea, see A. Chtcheglov, *Polis et Chora. Cité et territoire dans le Pont-Euxin* (Besançon 1992); S.Y. Vnukov, 'The North-Western Crimea: an Historical-Archaeological Essay'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2001), 149-76.

¹⁹ L. Hannestad, V.F. Stolba and A.N. Scegllov (eds.), *Panskoye I* vol. 1 (Aarhus 2002).

²⁰ Some articles have appeared in the West. See E.A. Popova and S.A. Kovalenko: 'On the Cult of Herakles in the North-Western Crimea: Recent Finds from the Chaika Settlement'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *New Studies on the Black Sea Littoral* (Oxford 1996), 63-71; 'Notes on the New Hellenistic Farmhouse-Complex and the Entrance to the Chaika Settlement'. In Tsetskhladze 2001 (as in n. 18), 205-29; and 'A New Relief with Heracles in the North-Western Crimea'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and J.G. de Boer (eds.), *The Black Sea Region in the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Periods* (*Talanta* XXXII-XXXIII [2000-2001]) (Amsterdam 2002), 103-08.

stamps discovered during excavation of Greek farmhouses; Appendix 3A (pp. 113-15) of graffiti and dipinti on amphorae and pithoi unearthed in the early levels of the settlement; and Appendix 3B (pp. 115-19) of graffiti and dipinti on black glaze and tableware found in the earliest levels of the settlement. The numerous illustrations reinforce the authors' discussion and are well chosen.

This volume provides a very detailed history of the settlement, which was established by Chersonesos in the 360s BC on a cape, initially as a military outpost – a seven-towered, rectangular fort measuring 50 × 100 m, constructed of well-cut stone, which functioned additionally as an administrative centre for an area speckled with unfortified farmhouses (four of which have been excavated to date). About 1.5 km westward are the remains of an ancient quarry. The fortress was stormed and partly destroyed at the end of the 4th century BC. In its place, farmhouses arose, incorporating some of the surviving walls and towers. This new settlement was probably the residence of exiles from the losing side in the political turmoil experienced by Chersonesos at the turn of the 4th-3rd centuries BC. Three of these farmsteads were investigated, all of roughly 450 m². In the 270s-260s BC, like many other Greek settlements, the farmhouses of Chaika were destroyed (the destruction level is a metre thick) as Scythian tribes penetrated the Crimea. Although there is not much archaeological evidence, it indicates that some form of life continued here until at least the middle of the 2nd century BC. The Greek population left to be replaced by Scythians at the beginning of the last quarter of the 2nd century. The new Scythian settlement incorporated parts of the Greek houses, but Scythian dwellings were single-storey with earthen roofs. During the Bosporan/Mithridatic Wars of the first quarter of the 1st century BC, the settlement was destroyed once again. Life here resumed, but it did not continue beyond the 1st century AD.

The book analyses the architecture and functions of the farmhouse complexes, the purpose of individual rooms, the worship of Heracles and other deities, etc. Overall, it forms an important addition to our interpretation of Crimean antiquities.

Volume IV of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* is devoted to Macedonia, Thrace and the northern regions of the Black Sea. (The eastern and southern regions will, we hope, be covered in future volumes but would better have been covered here to provide a comprehensive guide for the region.) It is the painstaking work of many years by the staff of the main office of the project in Oxford in collaboration with specialists from the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens (M.B. Hatzopoulos, A. Tataki and L.D. Loukopoulou), Belgrade University (M. Rıcl), Maine University, Le Mans (A. Avram) and the Russian Academy of Sciences (the late J.[Y.G.] Vinogradov) and the numismatist W. Stancomb (affiliated to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), assisted by colleagues in many other institutions in many countries. Publications in many languages, often quite obscure and of limited local circulation, have been scrutinised to extract evidence. The result forms an essential tool for anyone interested in onomastics. Each name is followed by a list of the geographical references to it, dates and bibliography.

J. Bouzek's book is an enlarged and updated version of his Czech-language work of 1990, which was written originally as a textbook. This English-language version has been revised for a wider readership; in doing so, B. places Thrace in its wider regional context. The volume opens with a survey of geography, climate and climate change. The next three chapters provide a general overview of Thracian antiquities from the Neolithic down to the Bronze

Age. Chapter 5 concentrates on the Early Iron Age, migrations to and from Thrace, Thracian culture and the principal Thracian archaeological sites. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the Cimmerians, Thracian Geometric art, language, religion and mythology, and Thracian sanctuaries. The Thracian tribes are examined in Chapter 8, followed by Greek colonisation of the Thracian coast (Chapter 9). Late Archaic-Classical Thrace, the Persian presence, the establishment of the Odrysian kingdom, and the funeral sites of the Thracian aristocracy are discussed in Chapter 10. In Chapter 11, the social structure, Macedonian rule, settlements, tombs and material culture and outside influences on Thracian culture are covered. Separate chapters are dedicated to Hellenistic Thrace, the Anatolian Thracians, Thracians outside Thrace, and the Dacian kingdom and Dacian Wars. The main part of the book concludes with Chapter 16 (on Thracians under Roman rule) brings us to the end of the Thracians and a short examination of their legacy. There is an appendix listing the main Thracian archaeological sites and the museums (not just those in Bulgaria) housing Thracian antiquities (pp. 145-48), an extensive bibliography (pp. 149-78), tables listing the main dates/events of Thracian history and Thracian rulers (pp. 256-58), and an index (pp. 260-67). The book is lavishly illustrated.

A major feature of this book is that it not only summarises well-known facts, events and evidence but presents and discusses the most recently found Thracian antiquities.²¹ Thus, it forms a very valuable source of information for scholars, not just for students and general readers. Moreover, it places Bulgarian antiquity within the broader context of the Balkans, the Black Sea, Anatolia and the Mediterranean.

A new series has been established by the Graduate Program in Settlement Archaeology, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, with the aim of publishing papers given at symposia organised by this programme. The first issue contains nine papers read at a two-day conference in April 2004. Most are in English; the rest, in Turkish, have a parallel English text. A most interesting feature of the volume is the admixing of papers by established scholars and by the programme's graduate students. The thematic and chronological range is wide, covering mining in the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey in antiquity (O. Koçak), cultural development of the same region before Early Bronze Age II (Ş. Dönmez), Persian influence at Sinope using numismatic evidence (V. Keleş), the temple-states of Comana Pontica and Zela (E. Sökmen), the iconography of Achilles-Thetis from a mosaic at Amisos (D. Şahin), cults in the Black Sea region of Turkey in antiquity (A. Işık), an overview of Turkish archaeological literature on Hellenistic and Roman pottery on the southern Black Sea coast (E. Lafli), settlements, monuments and coins of the Pontic kingdom (D. Burcu Erciyas), and a study of traditional dwellings in Bartın (Ç. Buket Tosun).

This volume is very richly illustrated. It contains many interesting ideas and publishes some new evidence. The editors and publishers should be congratulated on their enterprise in establishing the first series to be published in Turkey dedicated to Black Sea antiquities.

It is obvious that Black Sea archaeology continues to attract considerable interest.

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Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

²¹ See also, for example, J. Bouzek, 'Local Schools of Thracian Toreutics of the 4th Century BC in a Broader Context'. *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 318-87.

W.L. Adams, *Alexander the Great. Legacy of a Conqueror*, The Library of World Biography, Pearson-Longman, New York/Boston/San Francisco, etc. 2005, xviii+188 pp., illustrations. Paperback ISBN 0-321-08617-1

This volume is part of the *Library of World Biography* series edited by P.N. Stearns. The author, W.L. Adams, has written on Philip, Alexander and Hellenistic history, and provides a brief but serviceable account of Alexander and the main themes of his reign. However, the work includes neither footnotes nor a bibliography, and gives a treatment of the subject aimed more at readers unfamiliar with the deeper and technical scholarly aspects of Alexander's reign than at scholars. Nevertheless, the text is well written and informative, and raises many issues that will inspire the reader to further research. The purpose of the *World Biography* series is to examine 'the roles and experiences of individuals in world history... and how individuals helped shape the society around them' (p. ix). In A.'s book this aim is certainly fulfilled.

The work is divided into five chapters, prefaced by a Prologue which examines the Macedonian background and gives a good review of the geography, people, society and early political history of Macedonia. Chapter I, 'Philip and the Young Alexander', deals with Philip's reign and his influence on Alexander. The second chapter, 'King Alexander', deals with Alexander's education and accession, and with events before the great invasion of Asia Minor in 334 BC. Chapter III, 'The Campaigns for Western Asia', treats the beginning of Alexander's invasion of Asia and the conquest of Egypt. Chapter IV, 'Alexander and the Eurasian Empire', covers events from 331 to 326 BC. A. follows Curtius in his history of Thais' role in the burning of the palace at Persepolis (p. 106), though this is often rejected by modern scholars who see the act as one of deliberate policy. In the final chapter, 'The Last Days and World Legacy of Alexander', A. concludes his account of the Indian campaign, and finishes his narrative of Alexander's reign. On the king's death in Babylon, A. soberly concludes that Alexander 'contracted a fever in an area noted for such things and succumbed naturally' (p. 138). An Epilogue gives a balanced view of Alexander's reign and legacy, and is followed by a useful chapter on ancient and modern sources. A Glossary ends the work.

Some minor errors are present. The Glossary mistakenly defines Somatophylakes as 'guardians of the sleep', and, in the entry for Nicanor, gives the erroneous date 331 BC for his death. Some typographical errors are also made: 'Hydroates' instead of Hydraotes (pp. 121, 125, 182), 'the battle of Megapolis' for Megalopolis (p. 136), and 'Mytiline' for Mytilene (p. 157).

Overall, the work provides a sound introduction to Alexander's reign for the general reader or undergraduate student.

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S.E. Alcock and J.F. Cherry (eds.), *Side-by-Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2004, xvi+251 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-096-1

The title of this book takes its name from the three-day workshop held at the University of Michigan in April 2002. Alcock and Cherry state that the objective for the gathering of specialists

... was to discuss some of the potential scholarly benefits of working in a comparative format with the evidence that has accumulated over the past 30 years or more from many different survey projects, and to consider solutions to some of the practical obstacles that currently present roadblocks to achieving that objective (p. xv).

An ambitious purpose, to be sure, but the editors readily acknowledge the obstacles to achieving some form of workable comparative format (p. 6), hence the 'Side-by-Side' reference in the title. Four graphs in the introductory essay clearly demonstrate the extraordinary rate of growth in field projects in Greece (figs. 1.2, 1.3) and the marked increase since 1966 in publications of survey data in general (figs. 1.1, 1.4); these charts are well-worth the reader's attention as a starting point. Faced with a wealth of data assembled upon a platform of wide-ranging variables – chronological, spatial, geographical, environmental, operational, theoretical and philosophical approaches, and so on (pp. 5, 7) – the prospects do not seem promising for a universal solution.

Access to data from surveys is of paramount importance, but at the same time it remains a stumbling block. Although Alcock and Cherry point to the Internet as an obvious solution, they caution that, 'the Internet ought not be used as a dumping ground for undigested, raw survey data' (p. 7). Nonetheless, the potential of getting survey data 'out there' via the Internet is brought home by the final statement in the volume. Gates, Alcock and Cherry provide a very useful, annotated listing of Internet resources concerning survey projects in the region (pp. 243–51) even though this outlet has, as yet, not been fully harnessed for Mediterranean field projects.

Most of the papers in the volume reinforce the view that there are many variables between modes of surveys and their outcomes. Problems are encountered at every level, from the visibility of sherds on the ground, through identification of pottery found in surveys and assignment of dates to the finds, as well as the range of terminology and methodological procedures used in the field. Four contributions grouped under the category of 'Methodological Issues' essentially present a range of case studies, which, to varying degrees, attempt Side-by-Side analyses. Efforts to compare survey finds of low-density sherd scatters that have been attributed to cultural factors are discussed by Given (especially manuring fields, see table 2.2 for contributing factors: p. 19). Davis focuses on the dearth of prehistoric artefacts identified in the Greek surveys, whereas the papers by Terrenato and by Wandsnider offer some historical depth to the theoretical and philosophical basis shaping the discipline of field survey. Only through standardisation or formalisation across field projects will it be possible to chart global trends.

The section 'Comparative Studies in the Mediterranean' comprises five papers that endeavour to draw together groups of data retrieved through surveys in a range of Mediterranean settings: Metaponto, southern Italy (Thompson); Pontine region, Salento Isthmus in Puglia and Sibaritide in Calabria, Italy (Attema and van Leusen); Bronze Age sites in Crete (Cunningham and Driessen); Bronze Age Peloponnese (Wright); North Africa (Stone).

In the first of three papers in the section 'Issues and Implications', Fentress, Fontana, Hitchner and Perkins concentrate on the distribution of African Red Slip. Next, Osborne demonstrates the potential of surveys for demographic studies in first millennium Greece, islands and mainland. Mattingly and Witcher offer a reassessment 'cartographic vision' using the Roman world as their case study.

Finally the two papers in 'Wider Perspective' look past the regions of the Mediterranean tackling important and wide-ranging issues such as the development of social complexity, state formation and political evolution: one by Wilkinson, Ur and Casana on settlement patterns in the Fertile Crescent and the other by Blanton widens the perspective to a comparison between the Mediterranean and Mesoamerica.

The solution toward comparability between surveys reverberates through the texts – open channels of communication and accessibility of data through publication with the Internet as the likely, yet under-exploited forum. Perhaps the clearest (and idealistic) advice was that of Mattingly and Witcher: 'Survey archaeologists therefore need to plan ahead for how to integrate their data into the bigger picture of the ancient world – to move from the local to the macroscale inter-regional picture' (p. 184).

As stated by a number of authors, the issue of comparability across regional surveys for the Mediterranean is not a new one and its effectiveness is only as good as the questions asked; further there is some consensus that these should focus on the 'big picture'. As Terrenato observes: 'It is much safer to decode a few large-scale surveys than lots of smaller ones.... It is easier to handle a few hopefully self-consistent research universes than dozens of microworlds' (p. 47).

Ultimately, I think Alcock and Cherry's volume is worthwhile for anyone contemplating field survey work and the essays will certainly be of benefit to teachers of archaeological field technique. The authors tackle the difficult issues in a candid, often critical manner; no student could be left with illusions that field survey is a perfected discipline after reading this volume! The book is well-presented with numerous and relevant figures and tables.

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Claudia Sagona

T. Bekker-Nielsen, *The Roads of Ancient Cyprus*, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2004, 308 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 87-7289-956-5

The reconstruction of ancient road systems, never an easy task, presents particular challenges in Cyprus for a number of reasons. The political division of the island since 1974 and the resulting presence of a range of military installations render some 10% of the island inaccessible; ancient literary and epigraphic sources are few and far between; and the physical landscape is being rapidly transformed as a result of agricultural intensification, modern road construction and housing and tourist development. The latter is a fact of life of which all those working in Cyprus are painfully aware. Bekker-Nielsen's efforts to record as much as possible of ancient road networks across the island in these circumstances are particularly timely.

The book begins with a discussion of methodology (how do you identify and date an ancient road?) and uses a critique of previous road studies undertaken, respectively, in Britain (Margary), Sicily (Verbrugge) and Israel (Dorsey) to highlight the advantages and shortcomings of various approaches. B.-N. himself uses an integrated line of attack, which brings together textual studies, field observation and an analysis of settlement patterns, associated structures and historical data through the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The written sources are meagre enough. Strabo and Ptolemy of Alexandria's *Geographies*, based on 1st- and 2nd-century AD road-books and itineraries, provide some reliable, and

much unreliable, information about geographical features, road distances and names of cities. Some thirty inscribed milestones associated with the coastal highway and that leading into the Karpas Peninsula date to the 2nd to 4th centuries AD, but few show distances or points of origin. The Kitchener Map of 1878, the first modern map of the island, records many ancient roads that remained in use until modern times. Further information on topography, transport and traveling distances is contained in relatively recent travellers' reports, such as Cobham's *Excerpta Cypria* of 1895-1902,¹ and descriptions of late Ottoman Cyprus by Cesnola (1877) and Hogarth (1889).² Much of this, however, is incidental and no previous sources set out to provide a complete picture.

The physical evidence is also patchy. Traces of ancient roads are visible in the Troodos and western Cyprus, where rock-cut features are sometimes preserved, but gravel surfaces in lower agricultural terrain, such as the Mesaoria, have not survived. Road systems must therefore be reconstructed as much by inference, based on need, probability, topography and literary evidence, as from physical data. B.-N.'s painstaking analysis has nevertheless enabled him to identify 1350 km of road network, 56% of which is securely identified on the basis of literary sources and field identification, while 33% is reasonably certain and 11% identified on the basis of morphology or context alone. Even this, however, as B.-N. admits, is unlikely to be a complete picture.

One of the most interesting chapters traces the development of the road network from early Hellenistic times to the 4th century AD. In the earliest system, of around 300 BC, the city states of the west (Paphos and Marion) were not linked by road to those in the centre and east of the island. The establishment of Nea Paphos as the administrative capital by the end of the 3rd century BC, however, led to the founding of land routes from Marion to Soloi and from Paphos to Kourion, probably during the Ptolemaic period. By the late 4th century AD the road system had once again been adapted to suit the political geography of the island, following Diocletian's reorganisation of the empire. With the governor of Cyprus now reporting to Antioch rather than Rome, the administrative importance of Paphos was eclipsed by Salamis and a shorter route from the west via Soli and Tamassos became more important than that via Nea Paphos and Kourion.

Much of the appeal of the book indeed derives from B.-N.'s concern with the political and economic background to the developing road system on Cyprus and with road design, financing, ownership, maintenance and function as well as with tracing actual road networks. In this quest he uses sources from other parts of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and includes all types of access way from *iter* (footpath) to *actus* (track) to *via* (road) and both *viae vicinales* (village roads) and *viae publicae* (public roads). Ancient Cyprus clearly possessed a far more extensive road network than has been previously recognised. B.-N. has also amply demonstrated that the complexity of this system was fully comparable to that of other Roman provinces.

The volume is well illustrated with black-and-white figures, colour plates and a fine collection of maps and is written in a scholarly but accessible style, which is no mean feat in a specialist study of this type. While the five central chapters, on the roads of western,

¹ C.D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Nicosia 1895-1902).

² L. Palmi di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (London 1877); D.G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* (London 1889).

northern and southern Cyprus, the Karpas Peninsula and the Mesaoria, are likely to be of use primarily to specialists, the rest of the volume ranges widely over issues of method, dating and design, and military, political and economic context and is of broader interest. A brief but useful concluding chapter is followed by a detailed appendix on 29 Roman milestones from Cyprus and a summary of the volume in Danish.

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Jennifer M. Webb

I. Bóna, *Les Huns. Le grand empire barbare d'Europe IVe-Ve siècles*, Traduit du hongrois par K. Escher, Editions Errance, Paris 2002, 240 pp., 192 figs. Paperback. ISBN 2-87772-223-6

This is not exactly a new book: its original Hungarian publication (1993) predates this French translation by almost a decade, and a German edition had been published even earlier.¹ This, however, does not affect its value in any way, not least because the author, a leading Hungarian archaeologist of the post-war period, had continued to update the text until shortly before his death (in 2001).

Overall, the volume consists of two separate but interdependent parts: text (141 pages), and appendices (80 pages). Each of these parts subdivides again into two sections: the text into historical and archaeological; and the appendices into a classified, commented bibliography, and extensive comments on the illustrations. This works surprisingly well; it frees the text of footnotes and excessive detail, creating a useful compromise between a general text and a scholarly publication. Occasionally, however, the scholarly reader will be irritated by the superficial or absent referencing of quotations from written sources.

The historical section provides a very readable overview of the origin of the Huns, and the rise and decline of their power in Europe. It also discusses language, physical anthropology, kingship, economy and way of life. A continuous thread is provided by the author's obsession with the prejudices of 'conventional historians' concerning the Huns – something that he blames to a large extent on the 'fantasy description' (p. 23) by Ammianus Marcellinus. The archaeology section appears, at first sight, to be a similar patchwork, dealing first with key artefact types, followed by graves and other sites, then returning to artefacts and finally turning to settlement sites. This makes much more sense than it sounds. Paradoxically, though, the archaeology section does not read as well as the history section – but perhaps this is to be expected where the author enters his own field of expertise and, being acutely aware of problems and ambiguities, tries to tread more carefully.

Whatever its readability, it is the archaeology section which is clearly at the core of this volume. This may come as a surprise to readers who believed the claim in another recent book on the same topic which stated the 'impossibility of using archaeological evidence at present'.² The present volume demonstrates not only that this is perfectly possible, but also that it adds immeasurably to the picture of the Huns and their empire. This approach is clearly helped by Bóna's encyclopaedic knowledge of the Central European archaeological evidence and his wide-ranging, easy familiarity with the Caucasian and Central Asian material.

¹ *Das Hunnenreich* (Stuttgart 1991).

² E.A. Thompson, *The Huns* (Oxford 1999), 6.

Whilst one should not expect new results from a general overview, it is clear from the somewhat short and abrupt conclusions (pp. 150-56) that the author considers his key result to be the identification of a centre of Hun military power (*ordu*) east of the River Tisza which is characterised by an absence of Hunnic-period burials and is surrounded by a semi-circular defensive zone pointing west, itself characterised by weapon burials and other graves of this period.

Equally interesting is the clear emphasis throughout on the composite and multi-ethnic nature of the Hun empire. What can be identified as Hunnic in Europe is an aristocratic element (although the aristocracy, too, was heterogeneous); archaeologically speaking, 'ordinary' Huns are hardly known outside Asia. In other words: Hunnic identity in 4th- and 5th-century Central and Eastern Europe was a social and cultural identity, it was not ethnic *sensu stricto*. Given this clear message (though spelt out in slightly different terms), the author's consistent firmness of ethnic identification (particularly of 'princely burials') is surprising, and occasionally unconvincing.

The translator has done a splendid job providing a straightforward, easy-to-read text. What few linguistic peculiarities there are, appear to derive from the original. One such idiosyncrasy is the unequal treatment of place-names affected by historical change: for all sites which at some stage belonged to Hungary and/or had a Hungarian name, both Hungarian and post-Hungarian names are given, whilst for all sites in the former Soviet Union only the post-Soviet names are given. Apart from obscuring many well-known Russian site names, it has a whiff of Hungarian nationalism and anti-Russian sentiment.

But whatever minor deficiencies one might be able to find in this volume, there can be little doubt that it deserves to serve as a key textbook and reference of the Hunnic period in Europe for many years to come. This is particularly true of its archaeological component which has no similarly up-to-date competition anywhere among current Western and Central European publications.

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Heinrich Härke

J. Bouzek and L. Domaradzka (eds.), *The Culture of the Thracians and their Neighbours. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Memory of Prof. Mieczyslaw Domaradzki, with a Round Table "Archaeological Map of Bulgaria"*, BAR International Series 1350, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, xiv+282 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-696-0

Recent progress in archaeological investigation in Bulgaria has convinced most scholars that Thracian culture cannot be assessed properly unless viewed against the background of its neighbours. New evidence has also shown that contacts and interactions between ancient Thrace and the Greek world were more intense and varied than previously imagined. That is why the title 'The Culture of Thracians and their Neighbours' for a conference to honour the memory of Prof. Mieczyslaw Domaradzki (held in September-October 1999) is well chosen.

The organisers grouped the papers into several major topics related to the scope of Domaradzki's research. These topics also reflect recent achievements in and priority for archaeological and historical studies in Bulgaria. The number of participants determined the short length of the papers. The volume contains 41 papers, mainly in English, but also in French and German.

Naturally, the first group of papers is devoted to settlement studies, where *emporion* Pistiros occupies a special chapter. Located at the westernmost confines of Odrysian territory, the settlement has been excavated by Domaradzki's team since 1988 (a joint Bulgarian-Czech-Polish and British expedition). The many seasons of archaeological endeavour have revealed the remains of a Greek trading post, *emporion*,¹ and provided new data about the interactions between the Greeks and the locals. Two volumes of the Pistiros excavations series have already been published and an international conference was held in 1998.²

Theoretical issues on ancient cities are welcome. J. Bouzek considers the urbanisation of Thrace against the background of prehistoric and early cities in the Near East, the Greek *polis* and Rome. This sweeping overview has little to contribute to a better understanding of Thracian 'cities'. However, the comparison between Thracian forts and Archaic Greek sanctuaries is worth further exploring. The very general view is also adopted by Z.H. Archibald. The author is rightly concerned more with terminology; she helpfully provides a summary of recent theoretical ideas about ancient cities.

Since its discovery in 1990, the Vetren inscription has seen several publications and a wide discussion.³ It was this text that provided the name of the excavated settlement, as well as important information about the regulations imposed by the Odysian kings on Greek merchants. L. Loukopoulou's text examines the data from the Vetren inscription in the context of the late 5th- and 4th-century BC political events in the Aegean. The author concludes that the largest part of the Odrysian *phoros* was customs duties, which were a heavy burden for the Greek cities along the northern Aegean coast and harmed painfully the interests of the Athenian League.

L. Domaradzka compares the onomastic data from Pistiros with names found on inscriptions and graffiti in other sites in Bulgaria, to conclude that some of these can also be *emporion*. However, not every occurrence of a Greek name in inland Thrace means a trade contact or an *emporion* (cf. G.R. Tsetskhladze's paper below). Domaradzka's statement that one of the factors for the foundation of a Greek settlement so far inland is 'the ethnic kinship between the two communities, Greeks and Thracians' is a puzzling one.

Five of the papers in the next section, devoted to settlement investigations in Thrace, deal with a newly discovered and excavated site in south-western Bulgaria, Koprivlen, from the Archaic through to the Hellenistic periods.⁴ Like Pistiros, it gives a good example

¹ Some scholars doubt the identification of the site as well as its nature as an *emporion*: G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Ionians Abroad'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and A.M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford 2002), 85.

² J. Bouzek, M. Domaradzka and Z.H. Archibald (eds.), *Pistiros I. Excavations and Studies* (Prague 1996); J. Bouzek, L. Domaradzka and Z.H. Archibald (eds.), *Pistiros II. Excavations and Studies* (Prague 2002); M. Domaradzka (ed.), *Pistiros et Thasos. Structures économiques dans la péninsule Balkanique aux VII^e-II^e siècles avant J.-C.* (Opole 2000); as well as the contributions in *BCH* 123 (1999).

³ V. Velkov and L. Domaradzka, 'Kotys I (383/2-359) et l'emporion de Pistiros en Thrace'. *BCH* 118 (1994), 1-15; L. Domaradzka, 'Addenda ad Pistiros I. The Pistiros-Vetren Inscription'. In *Pistiros II* (see above n. 2), 339-42. Cf. the bibliography in Loukopoulou's paper, n. 1.

⁴ Most of these papers were originally published in the first volume of the Koprivlen series: A. Bozkova and P. Delev (eds.), *Koprivlen I. Rescue Archaeological Investigations along the Gotse Delchev-Drama Road 1998-1999* (Sofia 2002). Only Alexandrov has reshaped his contribution to take a sharper focus on the Mycenaen pottery.

of the cohabitation of Greeks and locals. The multidisciplinary project for its investigation is reflected in the papers included. S. Alexandrov publishes the very few fragments of Mycenaean pottery found in Korpivlen so far, dating them to the early-middle phase of LH IIIB.

A. Bozkova discusses Thracο-Greek relations based on amphorae with geometric decoration. She concludes that the vessels represent a regional variant of North Aegean SPG pottery and dates them to the early 7th century BC. The trade routes of this time followed older Late Bronze Age itineraries. An attempt to reconstruct these routes is made by P. Delev and C. Popov who consider Korpivlen as an important crossroads naturally open to the south.

It would probably have been better to group the last paper in this section with those on the Thracians and their neighbours. A Romanian, a Moldovan and a Ukrainian archaeologist (V. Sîrbu, I. Niculiță and V. Vanciugov) join together to present evidence for the area between the Danube and the Dniester. They conclude that a sedentary Thracian Getic population lived there. They also quote examples of sites where Scythian burials were discovered in the immediate vicinity of Thracian settlements.

The next two sections concern issues of crucial importance in Thracian archaeology: burial customs and cult places. Domaradzki had explored some tumuli and a number of sanctuaries, and he had contributed to the classification and typology of cult places in Thrace.⁵ In line with the general theme of the volume, both kinds of site reveal different cultural and artistic traditions interwoven in the Thracian lands. While settlements and sepulchral architecture might offer examples of foreign objects and building practices, the rituals performed tend to preserve Thracian customs.

The tomb in the Mal Tepe tumulus, near the village of Mezek, district of Svilengrad, excavated some 75 years ago, still provokes a vivid discussion. Its reuse, initial plundering and excavation still pose many questions about its original appearance and contents. The bronze chariot fittings, generally accepted as betraying Celtic artistic features, have often been discussed. T. Stoyanov, after a brief but important examination of the available archival data on the excavations, suggests that the construction might have been a *heroon* in its final stage of use. Adaïos is the historical candidate for the last person buried there, and, if he had participated in the defeat of the Celts by Antiogonos Gonatos in 277 BC, the bronze fittings were probably among his trophies.

This paper links with J.V.S Megaw's 'Celts in Thrace?' in the section on the Thracians and their neighbours. Megaw's point here is to demonstrate how careful one should be when trying to assess the influence of another culture on the indigenous population. Even when a more detailed written account is available, the historical attribution of an archaeological find often remains only a hypothesis.⁶ The very few La Tène objects cannot confirm a serious Celtic impact on the Balkan population. The Mal Tepe tomb shows how the same set of archaeological data can be used for different historical interpretations: here, Megaw suggests one of Bolgios' warriors that followed him to the south as the possible occupant of the tomb.

⁵ M. Domaradzki, 'Sanctuaires thraces du II^e-I^{er} millénaire av. n.e.'. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 25 (1986), 89-104. Cf. his bibliography in the reviewed volume.

⁶ See G. Parzinger's instructive article 'Stepnye kochevniki na vostoke Tsentral'noi Evrope. Nakhodki i pamyatniki v svete sravnitel'noi arkheologii'. *VDI* 2 (1998), 104-14.

Most of the sites explored in the last decade or so in Bulgaria turned out to be 'cult places', 'open-air sanctuaries', or sites where different ritual activities were performed. A huge amount of new data has been accumulated recently. It is in need of processing, classification and better interpretation according to modern standards of archaeology, anthropology and history. The archaeology of cult naturally deserves a separate chapter.

Two of the papers in this section should be singled out: G. Nekhrizov's, on the present state of exploration and the types of Thracian sanctuaries in the eastern Rhodopes, and M. Tonkova's account of the Babjak sanctuary (which she has studied for a number of seasons). Nekhrizov's conclusions are more or less valid for all mountainous cult places/sanctuaries discovered in Thrace, as he differentiates them according to peculiarities of landscape, to function and to stages of construction. The significance of this paper is in demonstrating the great diversity of ritual practices performed, which, at the same time, followed a millennia-old tradition. Tonkova presents a classification of the offerings as a clue to the rituals and the deities worshipped at Babjak, set against the background of evidence from the major sanctuaries in the Greek world. The Anatolian parallels speak in favour of a place sacred to a Great Goddess.

A. Gotsev's theoretical essay, based mainly on evidence from the Babjak sanctuary, cannot really contribute to better study of Thracian cult places. The more general terms used, such as 'negative-' and 'positive context', only blur the picture.

The section that has given the name of the volume focuses mainly on Thraco-Celtic and Thraco-Scythian relations. Tsetskhladze makes a very brief (without notes) but significant re-evaluation of the present state of research on major topics related to Greek colonisation and the types of relations between Greeks and locals. He emphasises the problems that still provoke debate, or are being dealt with unsatisfactorily, such as the causes of colonisation, dates of foundation and, especially, the nature of the relations developed between the Greeks and the indigenous population.⁷ Tsetskhladze warns against overestimating the evidence of Greek pottery or metal objects for trade relations. His final paragraph is a frank statement of the still inadequate communication between Western and Eastern scholars in the field.

These last remarks are justified by the next two papers on Scytho-Thracian and Scytho-Thracio-Greek relations along the north-western Black Sea coast (E. Redina and T.L. Samoilova): the greater or lesser number of pottery or other finds (swords, jewellery) cannot alone be used to back up theories of cultural interaction, presence or impact. Relating 4th- and 3rd-century BC political events in Scythia and Thrace, Samoilova quotes works from the 1960s and 1970s but never mentions any of K. Jordanov's numerous more recent articles on the subject.⁸

Domaradzki was the promoter and a pioneer in modern mapping of archaeological sites in Bulgaria. The last papers in the volume were produced by the 'Archaeological Map of Bulgaria' Round Table held at the conference.

⁷ Some of these issues were already addressed in Tsetskhladze and Snodgrass 2002 (as in n. 1), especially J. Boardman's paper at pp. 1-16.

⁸ See, for example, K. Jordanov: 'The Getae against Lysimachos'. *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1 (1990), 39-51; 'Thraker und Skythen unter Philipp II'. *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3 (1991), 37-59; 'Thraco-Scythica'. In *Europa Indo-Europea. Atti del VI° Congresso Internazionale di Tracologia e del VII° Simposio di Studi Traci. Palma da Mallorca 24-28 Marzo 1992* (Rome 1994), 333-44.

Most of the papers are supplied with good maps, tables and black-and-white photographs. The editing of the volume could have been better: different formats are used for footnotes throughout the book, as well as different fonts for the principal text and the illustration captions. The titles of the different sections do not appear in the text: they are noted only in the table of contents. Most of the papers of non-native speakers badly need their language editing. However, this collection of papers will be very useful for a Western audience: some of the most important recent archaeological discoveries and research projects (mainly) in Bulgaria are well represented, as are many of the surrounding issues of under debate.

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J. Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France. A Guidebook*, Routledge, London/New York 2003, xiv+458 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-13994-5

The relationship between guidebooks and academic work on antiquity will always be problematic. Bromwich's work is best characterised as a high-class guidebook which is informed by academe, but perhaps not of it. Written for an intelligent general audience, the text is presented in a populist style which admirably communicates the author's obvious enthusiasm for his subject. One of its characteristics is the frequent use of rhetorical questions which, while perhaps frustrating for an academic audience, usefully convey the open nature of many scholarly debates. Given the nature of the book, footnotes are, in the main, eschewed and the bibliography, while scholarly, is short, having one page of general works on Gaul and only three pages for over 90 sites. Inevitably, there are omissions, M. Reddé's work on Alesia springs to mind.¹

One choice in this genre which is always awkward is that of the area to be covered. This volume does not use the Roman provincial divisions of Gaul as its point of reference, but rather the modern French administrative regions of Bourgogne, the Ile de France, Picardie and Nord/Pas de Calais. Again, while this makes sense given the book's primary object, it makes it less useful for academic purposes. An oddity is Vienne, which does fall within the area of the volume but which was covered in the author's previous work and is thus passed by here.²

B. begins with a brief historical overview (18 pages) of his area running from the Hallstatt Iron Age to the immediate post-Roman period. Inevitably his account is somewhat breathless, but gives the reader useful orientation. One issue which is underlined here is that of group identity where perhaps a little more could have been added; it would have been especially useful to have had a firmer discussion of 'Romanisation' and the driving forces behind it.

After the introduction, the bulk of the book is a gazetteer of sites subdivided into four regional sections. Oddly, the first three of these are followed by short excursuses of about ten pages. These deal with Romano-Celtic sanctuaries, travel and communication in Gaul,

¹ Such as *Alésia: l'archéologie face à l'imaginaire* (Paris 2001).

² *The Roman Remains of Southern France* (London/New York 1996).

and dress and appearance in Gaul respectively. The reason for giving these particular three topics extended treatment is never explained nor, is their relation with the chapters to which they are appended – on the whole they would have fitted better into an extended and reorganised introduction. Another surprise is the solitary box insert (pp. 408-09) on the Roman circus audience.

The gazetteer lists museums as well as extant archaeological remains and gives opening times as known at the time of going to press. A typical entry gives a brief local history and a description of the museum and exhibits/extant remains to be found there. B. is up to date with the interpretation of archaeological, noting, for example, the reinterpretation of the 'metroac complex' at Lyons. There are copious, clear maps of the sites both *in toto* and detail throughout. There are also 40 black-and-white photographs of sites and artefacts, though it is hard to discern the reason for the picture of the frogman on p. 173 save to give 'colour'.

In short, B. provides a good overview of the material remains of the area he has chosen to cover, the sign of a good guidebook. For academic use his work provides a useful starting point for the material remains of part of Roman Gaul, but its success as a guidebook limits it to being a proreptic for further study rather than a resource to be drawn on in such work.

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L. Burn, *Hellenistic Art from Alexander the Great to Augustus*, The British Museum Press, London 2004, 190 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-7141-2225-4

L. Burn's *Hellenistic Art* is a welcome addition to a growing number of volumes dedicated to the study of the material culture of the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic period is usually defined as that from Alexander the Great's death to the Battle of Actium (323-31 BC), but this approach ignores the fact that many of the artistic trends and social features of the Hellenistic world arose in the 4th century. B. begins her survey of the Hellenistic culture in 4th-century Macedon, which is examined for its role in the emergence of various Hellenistic trends, such as the display of personal and royal opulence, the amalgamation of different styles, including Eastern traditions, and the creation of a style fit for kings. These trends are evident in the ways Hellenistic people chose to portray themselves and others around them. Hellenistic portraits show great diversity and range from the grotesque to the sublime, each expressing different social needs and beliefs.

Hellenistic town planning, as well as religious architecture, is examined next. The themes of wealth and its display, and the combined use of sculpture, architecture and landscape for achieving the maximum dramatic effect, emerge as factors driving the development of cities and sanctuaries. Small-scale dedications are also examined, giving a broad image of life in the sanctuaries.

Aspects of private life are examined in Chapter 4; from houses and their furnishings and decoration, to cemeteries and grave-goods, public display is again revealed as an important element of what is used and how. These lead up to the next chapter on themes in Hellenistic art, an art characterised by a multiplicity of subjects. B. selects several representative themes that accentuate the diverse nature of Hellenistic art and shows how they could be used in the public and private spheres. In the last chapter she examines the role of patronage and the continuation and use of Hellenistic art in the Roman empire.

The book is aimed at people with no prior knowledge of Hellenistic art and succeeds in providing a concise and focused introduction to a vast and complex topic. The illustrations depict both well- and little-known artefacts and monuments. The thematic approach succeeds in highlighting common trends and features of Hellenistic art in objects of differing materials, modes of representation and spatial organisation.

Nevertheless, perhaps because of its introductory nature, the book could have benefited from more illustrations, since certain objects are discussed but not illustrated. That is not a problem in the case of oft-depicted and well-illustrated pieces, such as the portrait-statues from Delos (discussed on p. 58), but proves a difficulty in the visualisation of more complex objects and monuments, such as the Canosa vases (pp. 118-20), the Alexandria tombs (p. 123), or the Lion tomb (pp. 125-26). Also, even though the bibliography is up to date and includes the basic publications for each chapter, including some in languages other than English, the footnotes are sparse and as a result the discussion loses depth.

These, however, are minor drawbacks in a book that succeeds in its aim of introducing Hellenistic art to the uninitiated and does so in a clear, logical manner, with an adequate number of illustrations. Students can also benefit from the wide survey of the trends and objects, as well as from the use of the most recent publications in each subject under discussion. The use of illustrations from the rich collections of the British Museum is also helpful, since several of the artefacts depicted are of small scale and thus easily lost within the museum, or are in rooms inaccessible to visitors.

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Olympia Bobou

O. Callot, *Les Monnaies, Fouilles de la ville 1964-1974*, Salamine de Chypre XVI, Institut Fernand-Courby (Lyon)/Mission Archéologique française de Salamine de Chypre, De Boccard, Paris 2004, 222 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-903264-95-3

This is a welcome publication for numismatists and archaeologists concerned with Cyprus from the end of the 4th century BC through to the end of the 8th century AD. As well as numismatic information and topographical contexts, the archaeological and historical significance of the coins is amply discussed.

Of 1813 coins that are listed, 1110 identifiable coins are described according to their chronological periods. The Greek coins, which include coins struck in all regions around the Mediterranean until they became incorporated into the Roman empire, are arranged in geographical order, from Macedonia to Egypt, via Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, etc. Note that Macedonia includes all coins struck in the name of the Macedonian kings, both in Macedonia and in regional mints outside Macedonia, such as in Cyprus. In the same way, Egypt includes not only those coins struck under the Ptolemies in Alexandria, but also those from Cyprus and Ioppe in Samaria, during the period that these regions were part of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Note also that one anonymous series from the Ptolemaic period is listed under Cyprus.

The Roman imperial coins are described in chronological order. Roman provincial issues, struck from 27 BC until AD 475 with the permission of the Roman emperor, are in geographical order. Byzantine coins, the most numerous, are described by emperor, mint, denomination and type. A few Islamic and early mediaeval coins, dated from the 7th until the end of the 11th century, are also recorded.

The descriptions of the coins are not very detailed but refer to standard coin-types. Physical descriptions – metal, diameter, weight and die-axes – rarely include the condition of the coins or any other characteristics of their manufacture which are important for interpretation. This omission is compounded by the paucity of photographs. Fewer than half of the coins are illustrated (677 of the 1813), including only 670 of the 1110 identifiable coins. Regrettably, the quality of the images does not allow for more detailed examination. More positively, 19 Byzantine overstruck coins are also illustrated by drawings that clearly show the sequence of over-strikings. One coin may have been struck as many as five times, with various emperors and types. Handy tables also list the coin-types of Heraclius and of Constans II, including those not found in the excavations at Salamis. The bibliographical references for the coins are general, and not always up to date.

Important or new coin variations that were revealed in this excavation argue extra consideration which will doubtless stimulate further discussion.¹

The enumeration of the 703 'illegible' examples follows, where the physical aspect allows rough classification by period. These coins are described by area of the excavation in chronological order, with their essential information (metal, diameter and weight).

The clear merit of the book lies in its second part, in which Callot discusses the chronological and topographical distribution of the coins.

The total number of coins from each period is analysed in tables 2, 7 and 10, and the origins of the coins discussed in tables 6, 8 and 10. Some of the conclusions are arguable, for example that in the Hellenistic period the large number of Ptolemaic coins is proof of the protectionist politics of these kings. While this argument is valid for silver coins, it is not so for bronzes which circulate locally.

The chronological distribution of the coins found at Salamis is compared with that of those found at Kourion during the excavation of the University of Pennsylvania (tables 2, 3, 9 and 13). Differences are apparent and it is clear that both sites do not share the same evolution. The Byzantine coins are the most numerous from the excavations at Salamis; the Roman coins at Kourion (I should add, the Hellenistic coins at Paphos). However C. correctly observes that the proportional distribution of the Roman coins found at Salamis and Kourion is nearly the same (table 9). This is not the case for the Byzantine period: the coins struck before the reign of Heraclius are proportionally more numerous at Kourion, while those struck from Heraclius and later are more numerous at Salamis (table 13). For the latter period, C. usefully points to the new coin variations discovered at Salamis (pp. 134-35).

I must admit that the number of coins advanced by C. in his useful tables is not always consistent. In some cases (for example for the coins struck in Judea: see p. 128), he makes some necessary chronological adjustments; sometimes he includes a few of the illegible or debatable coins, but not in other cases. For the number of coins struck in Cyprus during the Hellenistic period listed in table 4, see my earlier remarks on the catalogue. Some apparent discrepancies would have been better understood with a detailed list of the coins by period rather than just their total numbers.

In the part dedicated to the topographical distribution of the coins on the site, C. stresses the chronological differences between the various sectors of the city. Most of the coins found in the area of the Archaic sanctuary are from the Classical and Hellenistic periods; coins

¹ The Cypriot coins of the Achaemenid period are discussed in *Tianseuphratène* 33 (2007), 150-51.

found in the Basilica of Campanopetra are mostly from the Byzantine period. More interesting is that the numismatic evidence shows that the basilica continued to be visited after the beginning of the decline of the city and even after the Arab raids, into the reign of Constantine IV. C. confirms that after Constantine IV and until the 11th century numismatic evidence is very scarce at Salamis and throughout Cyprus (p. 141).

The small glossary of numismatic, archaeological and art-historical terms is very handy. However, in some cases its brevity leads to confusion. The period or the region to which some terms are applied or in what context, are not defined. Examples are stater² and chlamyde.³ Other terms require more detailed explanation as for *liaison de coins* (die-links).⁴

Finally, there are the essential indexes, compiled by M. Yon, which include, first of all, a concordance between the inventory number in the excavation and the number used in this volume; secondly, a list of all of the coins, conveniently arranged by sector.

École française d'Athènes

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J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece 900-700 BC*, 2nd edition, Routledge, London/New York 2003, 453 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-415-29899-7

In contrast with A.M. Snodgrass, who added only a very short chapter to the the second edition of *The Dark Age of Greece*¹ and left most of the text untouched, Nicolas Coldstream has improved a number of pages and added an exhaustive supplement (pp. 371-415). But few essential changes to the main picture were necessary. It is fascinating to see how much of the first edition published in 1977 remains sound, how few changes in the synthetic picture of Geometric Greece have been made when compared with the syntheses of the late 1960s and the 1970s. C.'s knowledge and comprehensiveness are clear from the addenda and also from the improvements to the original text. Important new finds are listed and commented in the addendum, relations with the Near East thoroughly analysed with great competence. The Phoenician impact in the Aegean is one of the fields where our knowledge has been significantly enlarged since the first edition of this book, and the new evidence is given due weight in this edition. C. is one of those scholars who has pursued one particular subject throughout his scholarly life and no one can compete with him now in his proper field. His recent article on Protogeometric pottery found at Tel Rehov in Israel² is one of his many detailed studies on various aspects of the Dark Age, a field in which he is a real master, both in the details and in forming a comprehensive picture from them. The key period of emergence of Iron Age Greece is seen from his point of view very well.

The great changes between the earlier phase of Geometric Greece, with its rather primitive rural society in the 9th century BC, and Late Geometric are followed in detail in different areas of Greece – facilitated by the expansion of excavation and surveys in hitherto less well known areas. The period of transition from prehistory to history, remembered in the oral tradition by

² See definition by C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976), 316.

³ Chlamys is more than a 'vêtement porté pour le couronnement'.

⁴ See M. Amandry (ed.), *Dictionnaire de numismatique* (Paris 2001), 326, s.v. 'liaison de coins'.

¹ A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to Eighth Centuries BC* (Edinburgh 2000).

² J.N. Coldstream and A. Mazar, 'Greek Pottery from Tel Rehov and Iron Age Chronology'. *IEJ* 53 (2003), 29-48.

the date of the first Olympiad in 776 BC, and the rise of sophisticated *poleis* and the great adventure of overseas colonisation, realised in its near-entirety within a few generations, make a fascinating story. C. provides detailed archaeological evidence of these changes, which are now clearer than they were 30 years ago. But, as in any synthesis, other aspects should be added to get a complete picture of the subject, if seen from other angles.

C. has not enlarged his field of interest: there is very little in the book on northern Greece, and the Balkans are completely outside it, despite their participation in the gifts in Greek sanctuaries and in the religious tradition. The question of correlation of the archaeological picture with the two main literary figures of this age, Homer and Hesiod, is also beyond the scope of C.'s interests. Increased knowledge of Protogeometric and Early Geometric Greece (10th-9th centuries BC) provides a good chance to rethink the conventional date of Homer especially. The problem particularly concerns the dating of the first version of the *Iliad* and of the cycle around the Trojan War. Just as literary humanism in Italy preceded the renaissance in visual arts, Homer may well have played this role in Greece: there are also early parallels to the structure of the *Iliad* in the decorative principles of Late Protogeometric art. These parallels may be of use in reconsidering this problem. There seem now to be various reasons for reverting to the old tradition which placed the life of Homer, or at least 'Proto-Homer' (in the sense of K. Schefold, for example), around 900 BC,³ which would agree with Homer's *realia*. Another, half-literary, half-archaeological approach in C.'s book concerns the general problems of the transition from the Age of Heroes to the Age of Iron in Greek tradition. This was the path towards Greek philosophy, the philosophical mind, and was expressed in some qualities of the visual arts of the Geometric period, as in the characters of the Homeric heroes in the *Iliad*. The first steps towards Greek philosophy, the 'birth of *logos*', can also be studied in the structure and approach towards reality in Greek Geometric art. Several of these phenomena have been studied deeply, in the field of literary sources by J.-P. Vernant and B. Snell amongst others, and in the field of religion by W. Burkert, but the same changes were also reflected in the visual arts and in their perception by contemporaries, of which notably the description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* and of that of Heracles by Hesiod offer a useful bridge between the visual and literary arts.

These questions seem to have been much less at the centre of C.'s interest: the empirical study of archaeological finds, notably pottery, which is the major archaeological evidence for this period. On questions outwith C.'s main field of interest one finds less in the book than many readers may expect: in my case, as one who has concentrated for many years on it, this concerns questions of the relations of Geometric Greece with the north, a field where our opinions still differ. Otherwise one can agree with nearly everything. C. has written and congratulate him on this excellent survey based on his deep learning. Geometric Greece is brought up to date in a masterly way. This will certainly remain the main book of reference in this field of Greek archaeology for many years to come.

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Jan Bouzek

³ K. Schefold, 'Homer und der Erzählungsstil der archaischen Kunst'. In *Eidolopoia. Actes du colloque Lourmarin en Provence* (Rome 1985), 3-26.

D. Collon, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, The British Museum Press, London 2005, 208 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7141-1136-0

Comprehensive handbooks devoted to major classes of object, explaining them from all aspects – technical, historical, iconographic – are out of fashion; which may explain why so many new studies of more numinous subjects are often so sadly deficient when it comes to expertise with our only authentic sources of evidence for antiquity. It is easy to demonstrate that seal/gem-engraving is the longest-lived of ancient-to-modern crafts (pottery is the only obvious rival), the most likely then to reveal aspects of continuity and novelty, at various levels of society and social/religious behaviour, and yet to many archaeologists it is ‘not my subject’; the worse for them. Numismatics is in like case; and, of course, reverse isolationism is common, more with coins than seals, which have for the most part by now broken free from coin rooms.

Collon has lightly revised and updated her 1987 book, which deals with ancient Near Eastern seals under all possible aspects, including some one might not have anticipated (collections, forgeries, travelled items). And there are nearly a thousand pictures. It seems churlish to miss the stamp seals, but they are fewer and localised. It should be inconceivable that this book is not on the shelf of every archaeologist of the Near East and neighbouring areas, and well-thumbed.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

F. Cordano and M. Di Salvatore (eds.), *Il Guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa. Greci e Siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale*, Atti del Seminario – Milano, 15 maggio 2000, Hesperia 16, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, Rome 2002, 151 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 88-8265-163-0

In February 1999, an amazing chance find of sculpture was made during deep-ploughing in a field around the native Sicilian site at Castiglione di Ragusa (near Comiso) in the island’s south-east. The piece, sculpted in local limestone and inscribed with an inscription in Greek, has been dubbed the ‘Guerriero di Castiglione’ because it depicts a warrior with shield and spear mounting a horse flanked by a bull’s head and the hind section of a sphinx. A preliminary report quickly followed in a popular Italian archaeological magazine, intended as a first step to make the find as accessible as possible to a wider audience.¹ The volume under review collects the proceedings of a seminar devoted to studying further this important find and represents another crucial step forward.

M. Di Salvatore, one of the editors, initiates the proceedings with a brief Preface, in which he gives an overview of the volume’s questions and approaches (pp. 9-14). Here we learn that the relationship between ancient Castiglione and the region’s other settlements, particularly Camarina, as well as the origins and significance of the sculpture, are to be investigated. We also find in the Preface the clearest and most explicit statement concerning the model of culture contact operating in the background of most of the volume’s contributors:

¹ G. Di Stefano, G. Voza and F. Cordano, ‘Il Guerriero di Castiglione. Rapporto preliminare’. *Archeologia Viva* XVIII.77 (1999), 78-81. Readers can also consult an illustrated account of it in a more accessible publication: F. De Angelis, ‘Archaeology in Sicily 1996-2000’. *AR for 2000-2001*, 167-68.

... di fronte a due possibili modelli interpretative, uno—per così dire—riduzionista, in cui i Greci appaiono apportatori del nuovo che si innesta e permea di sé il mondo indigeno, ovvero analitico, in cui anche l'elemento indigeno funziona come motore veicolo, rielabora stimoli e reagisce a spinte esterne e diverse da sé, la lastra di Castiglione dovrebbe senz'altro indurci a pendere per il secondo (p. 10).

Di Salvatore's Preface is followed by the volume's two main parts: the first consists of four papers set specifically for the seminar, and the second of discussion on the points raised and not raised by these four papers.

G. Di Stefano, the archaeological superintendent to whose jurisdiction the sculpture belongs, launches Part 1 by discussing what is known of the native site at Castiglione di Ragusa and the immediate context of the find (pp. 17-49). The prime new development reported on here concerns a small excavation undertaken in the area of the sculpture's find-spot. These explorations revealed 18 tombs, all datable to the first quarter of the 6th century. Accordingly, Di Stefano dates the sculpture to the end of the 7th century—first quarter of the 6th century BC. Among these tombs was found a 'princely' burial surrounded by a circular perimeter wall containing a tumulus. The deceased was inhumed in a fossa tomb, his cranium to the east. On top of this inhumation were six other human crania all in a line, without accompanying body parts (the 'acefalia' burial rite in the words of the excavator known elsewhere in Sicily). Di Stefano hypothesises that the sculpture once decorated the architrave of a door of a tomb and belonged to an aristocratic individual, perhaps linked to the land (judging from the iconography), who may have emigrated from a neighbouring Greek settlement to the this native site in the Sicilian interior, whose native sites hereabouts are generally well known for their close ties with the Greeks and for their mixed ethnic make-up. In the next paper, F. Cordano takes a close look at the inscription on the sculpture's lower left-hand corner, which reads *toi Pytika Pyrinoi epoiese Skylos* (pp. 51-58). She notes that its writing style is indicative of its Archaic date, and that the alphabet itself finds parallels amongst the Doric cities of Sicily. Cordano pushes the onomastic investigation to its limits, concluding that the names of both the warrior himself, Pyrinos, and his father, Pytikas, mean 'The Red' and that the artist's name could mean 'spoil' or 'booty'. The inscription is dated on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the 7th century—early 6th century BC; Cordano makes the inscription's *terminus ante quem* the mid-6th century. This dating is closely associated with events in the history of Camarina, particularly its foundation and 'war of independence' from Syracuse. These and other matters are fully dealt with in the third paper of part one by P. Anello (pp. 59-76). In this contribution the author sketches out the history of the native populations in this part of Sicily before and after contact with the Greeks, seeing their relationship as involving inferiority versus superiority and little pacific co-existence, especially as the Greeks penetrated the Sicilian interior in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Anello suggests that Pyrinos was a Greek who was well integrated with the native community, so much so that he fought alongside them and was honoured with this monument on his death. In the fourth and final paper of Part 1, L. Agostiniani and F. Cordano review other known native inscriptions (under 20 in number) to the east and north of Castiglione di Ragusa (pp. 77-89). These inscriptions, which include two new ones from Terravecchia di Grammichele published here for the first time, are generally brief in length and inscribed on pottery. The authors

underline the lack of linguistic homogeneity in this group and the features that demonstrate linguistic contact between natives and Greeks.

Part 2 of the volume contains discussion by 19 different participants and is divided into three subsections: one on the monument (pp. 93-120), another on the inscription (pp. 120-25), and the third on the historical and geographical context (pp. 125-37). The salient points of this discussion will be reviewed here.

In the first subsection of Part 2, P. Orlandini notes the lack of Orientalising features on the sculpture, particularly in regard to the regality of the deceased (p. 93). He also stresses that the historical backdrop of the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' should also include Casmenae (p. 94). This is a point that the next discussant, Anello, accepts and amplifies by citing the connections between Gela and Camarina (p. 94). P. Pelagatti contributes by drawing attention to other instances of signing works of art in Sicily in this period, and she also weighs in regarding the monument's chronology, settling on a date of around 600 BC (pp. 96-97). M. Castoldi argues that the sculpture was meant to be viewed frontally, and not from below, owing to the position of the warrior's head (p. 97). She also comments on how the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' fits into the development of Sicilian art. Castoldi observes that it belongs to the formative period before the period of 'Ionic Mediterraneanism' of the late 6th century and emphasises the need to take the piece on its own terms:

E il linguaggio artistico originato da *un'altra Grecia*; esso ha quindi altre esigenze e deve rispondere ad un'altra committenza, composta sì da Greci, ma anche, ed è il nostro caso, da Siculi. E il linguaggio siceliota – un tempo definito, in termini fortemente riduttivi, 'provinciale' o 'periferico' – che stiamo tentando, finalmente, di capire e di ricostruire (p. 100).

M. Denti speculates that the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' may have been an agent of one of Syracuse's leading families in the interior, and that the signs of reworking visible on the monument may have been the result of *damnatio memoriae* inflicted on it following Camarina's freedom from Syracuse (pp. 109-12). S. Verger draws parallels between the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' and other 7th-century monumental sculpture from native sites in the Western Mediterranean, like Mailhac in Languedoc, noting that they, too, show signs of reworking (pp. 114-15). B. Rossignoli examines the meaning of the bull and sphinx in the context of warrior symbolism, making connections with the Theban legendary realm, and singling out Syracuse as the point of mediation (pp. 116-18). M.L. Lazzarini contributes by restating that the monument was placed up on high (p. 118). Di Stefano attempts to curb the temptation to date the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' to before 600 BC and stresses that the sculpture cannot at present be safely associated with any of the eighteen tombs he excavated shortly after its discovery (pp. 118-19). P.G. Guzzo wonders whether the monument ultimately represents Greeks ruling natives or natives dressing up as Greeks (p. 119), to which Di Stefano replies that it is too premature to speculate (p. 120).

The next subsection of the discussion is devoted to the inscription. Here T. Alfieri argues that the inscription is meant to be read from bottom to top (pp. 120-21), while L. Lehnus suggests that it is a hexameter (pp. 121-22). A.C. Cassio observes, on the other hand, that the inscription can be read from both bottom to top and top to bottom and reveals that the name 'Pytikas' is a *Kurzname* developed in a Cretan context (pp. 122-24). Lazzarini expresses her agreement with Cordano that the inscription cannot be later than 550 BC (p. 125), while

Cordano notes that the proposal to identify the inscription as a hexameter only really works if the inscription is read from bottom to top (p. 125).

In the third and final subsection of Part 2, we begin with contributions by G. Vanotti and M. Frasca commenting on Anello's historical outline in Part 1 (pp. 125-32). They, respectively, focus on Anello's interpretation of the historical and archaeological sources, to which there is a brief reply by Anello (pp. 131-32). M.C. Lentini provides an important update on native-Greek relations at Naxos, which differ most notably from the situation in south-eastern part of island in terms of the quantity of data (pp. 132-36). In this connection she takes the opportunity to draw attention to more hitherto unknown evidence for natives living at Naxos. L. Braccesi closes the discussion by rejecting Orlandini's higher 7th-century dating of the monument, preferring an earlier 6th-century one (p. 137).

The volume is rounded off with an appendix by Pelagatti on primary cremation at Camarina and Monte Casale, in which she publishes the sections from Paolo Orsi's excavation notebooks recording his excavations at Monte Casale in 1928 and 1929 (pp. 141-48).

To sum up, the 'Guerriero di Castiglione' is a remarkable new addition to the evidence for native-Greek relations in Archaic Sicily. This volume succeeds well in conveying the current state of play of this sculpture and is sure to provide ample fodder in future discussion of cultural contact and interaction in the ancient Mediterranean.

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Franco De Angelis

B. Costa and J.H. Fernández (eds.), *Contactos en el Extremo de La Oikouménē. Los Griegos en Occidente y sus Relaciones con los Fenicios*, XVII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica (Eivissa, 2002), Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera 51, Eivissa 2003, 143 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-87143-32-6/ISSN 1695-470X

To begin with, a comment on the chosen title of these *Jornadas* (Conferences) is called for, particularly the second half, 'El impacto fenicio púnico en las sociedades autóctonas de Occidente'. This means that these conferences are about the study of the influences of Phoenicio-Punic culture on indigenous occidental societies. But in reality the papers are based exclusively on models of interaction between this culture and indigenous society in the north and south-east of the Iberian Peninsula, always in coastal settlements. That is to suggest either that there were no indigenous societies in the hinterland of the Iberian Peninsula or that they were not influenced by Phoenicio-Punic culture. The picture is one-sided if these aspects are ignored or unexplained. It is necessary to show the results of actual archaeological work in the hinterland of the Peninsula and to clarify why such areas have been excluded from the discussion. In only two cases are inland areas examined.

First, Oliver Foix studies the Castellón and Valencia regions. He has examined more than 45 inland settlements in the two regions, and he verifies that these are almost devoid of material from the 9th-8th centuries BC (but this is usual in the coastal settlements in these regions). We must wait until the 7th century to find significant evidence of contact with the Phoenician world, mainly in houses with rectangular plan.

On the other hand, the study of Seville marks an advance in the approach to research of Phoenician signs in the interior. In reality this approach is based on study of the ancient coastline. In the first chapter ('Tartessos desorientado') the author deals the case of ancient

Seville, today inland but in the past set amidst extensive marshlands near the coast. We begin with an updated historiography on the origins and development of Tartessos. Escacena Carrasco revises the traditional theory that Tartessos flourished under the influence of Syro-Palestinian culture. He regards the cultural impact of the 'new arrivals' to be based on technological features, which do not modify the ideological content of the pre-existing society, using the latest archaeological discoveries to buttress his theory. He undertakes a broad review of the tradition interpretation, evident in the work of Almagro Gorbea, especially the supposedly strong differentiation, unproven archaeologically, between Phoenician and native communities, to arrive at a new interpretation of the Carambolo settlement. Current excavations demonstrate a direct connection between the settlement, right from its foundation, and the Phoenician colonial world. So one Tartessos myth collapses: that which considers this settlement the most emblematic of an indigenous Tartessian culture predating the Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula. Escacena maintains that Carambolo was not a settlement but a high cult place that was connected with the Spal (Seville) settlement, a commercial port in the low and marshy area.

Certain reflections of Avienus have great importance too. Through his writing it is possible to identify the rough location of many centres in the environs of Guadalquivir thanks to knowledge of their ancient names (p. 40). I would like to draw attention to an expression of Escacena's about the erroneous treatment of data by researchers both past and present: 'We start not to know how to distinguish between indigenes and Phoenicians, which was clear before or seemed to be so.'

The second author, Sala Sellés, begins with historiographical analysis as well, in this case dealing with the provinces of Almería, Murcia and Alicante. She reviews the traditional interpretation of the geographical uniformity of the Peninsula's south-east in the light of recent discoveries, especially at Baria and Abdera (both centres of Phoenician economic activity). In consequence, the idea of the complete homogeneity of the area must be discarded. It is now clear that there are geographical nuances between the different settlements. This interpretation strays from the traditional one, in which Carthage was considered to be the founder of these settlements.

Iberian culture in the east-central provinces is examined by Oliver Foix, who sees it as having had closer relations with the Phoenicio-Punic world than with the Greek. The area had received Phoenicio-Punic cultural influences on the island of Ibiza since the 5th century BC. This interpretation rejects the traditional line about Greek influence.

Turning to settlements of the north-east coastal region, the conclusions of Santana i Mestre and Belarte Franco are similar to those for the east-central territory: urban evolution and an increase in the number of indigenous settlements. This coincides with the beginnings of the sedentary life-style. The evidence dates from the middle of 7th century BC. The authors imagine that this process was related to the Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula, but they have no evidence. The following period, the 6th century BC, finally defined Iberian societies with regard to the colonial societies, and the 5th century introduces the 'state' model, characteristic of other Mediterranean societies at this time.

Finally, Guerrero Ayuso provides details of recent discoveries (2002-04) in the Balearics, some of it unpublished. He evaluates the maritime capacity of these communities during the Iron Age. In the recent past he stated that there was no evidence of regular relations between Sardinia and the Balearics; now he is convinced that their maritime technology was sufficiently

developed for such relations. The vertebrae of large fish have been found recently in a Talayot settlement. He also indicates a new dating for the origin of the Talayot culture: *post quem* 900-800 BC. The last part of this paper is a very interesting review of the origin and development of colonial influence in Balearic societies. This is a perfect conclusion to these papers because it tackles the question from every point of view. Moreover, it is especially rewarding to ancient historians for its strong foundation in ancient written sources, in contrast to many Spanish archaeological works.

Thanks are due to the authors for a publication which provides practical and clear information on the world of the pre-Roman colonies in the Iberian Peninsula. For specialists in this subject, it is a concise and unbeatable updating.

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María Hernández Martínez

L. de Ligt, E.A. Hemelrijk and H.W. Singor (eds.), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*, Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network 'Impact of Empire' (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 476), Leiden, June 25-28, 2003, Gieben, Amsterdam 2004, xii+448 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-5063-418-4

The book, a conference publication and the fourth in its series, consists of 23 papers grouped under four themes: (1) 'Instruments of imperial rule', (2) 'Conquest and its effects', (3) 'Romanization and its limits', and (4) 'Urban elites and civic life'. The intention of the conference was 'to come to terms with one of the widest topics possible', namely that of the title of the volume: *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*. This is, of course, not possible in one volume, if at all; however, the publication includes a wide span of themes concerning the topic and does so well.

There are five papers under the first heading, all of which are concerned with various aspects of Roman government in the provinces. In 'Lateinisch, Griechisch, Germanisch....? Wie sprach Rom mit seinen Untertanen?', W. Eck addresses the issue of actual use of languages, official or not, within the Roman empire. R. Talbert's 'Rome's provinces as framework for world-view' concerns the world-view of the Romans, their perception of space within the empire and how the various provinces, in his view, constituted important components in shaping the presentation and perception of space in the Roman world. 'Ruling, inducing, arguing: how to govern (and survive) a Greek province' by C. Kokkinia investigates the issue of Roman provincial government in the East and how Roman governors dealt with the Greeks of the Roman empire. D. Slootjes's 'The governor as benefactor in Late Antiquity' concentrates on benefactions from Roman governors in the period AD 284 to AD 500, how these were regulated and what mechanisms, societal and political, controlled the nature, number and size of these benefactions. The problem of taxation and of how taxes were paid is discussed by L. de Ligt in 'Direct taxation in western Asia Minor under the early Empire'. Going against the traditional view that many taxes in this period were collected in kind, de Ligt convincingly argues that direct taxes were collected in cash.

Under 'Conquest and its effect' four papers are presented, all concerned with military aspects of Roman rule. A. Birley's 'Britain 71-105: advance and retrenchment' discusses the Roman military presence in Britain and offers some reinterpretation of evidence from the time of Agricola onwards. 'The end of the Batavian auxiliaries as "national" units' by J.A. van Rossum

discusses the nature of the Batavian tribe which served in the Roman military. The essay seeks to explain the status of the Batavians and the development of this status until the Trajanic period. J.C.N. Coulston analyses and discusses military equipment and provincial military iconography in his 'Military identity and personal self-identity in the Roman army', giving a solid introduction to how these kinds of evidence can be used when addressing aspects of identity in the ancient world. The last paper under this heading is 'The legend of Decebalus', in which C. Bruun examines his topic through literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence to give his interpretation of how Decebalus was perceived in a wider Roman context.

The third heading 'Romanization and its limits' contains five essays. K. Lomas discusses funerary inscriptions from different areas of Italy in context with the location and iconography of the monuments in the period from the Social War to the end of the 1st century AD in 'Funerary epigraphy and the impact of Rome in Italy', providing us with a sensitive interpretation of inter-regional similarities and differences. 'Town and chôra of Thespieae in the imperial age' (J.L. Bintliff) is an introduction to, and summary of, the results of the extensive Boeotia Survey. Bintliff explains the methods and theories that are applied in the project as well as presenting his interpretation of these results. H. Elton addresses the question of whether epigraphic evidence can be used as an index of Romanisation in his paper 'Romanization and some Cilician cults'. H. von Hesberg gives an illuminating analysis and interpretation of funerary monuments in their local contexts in 'Grabmonumente als Zeichen des sozialen Aufstiegs der neuen Eliten in den germanischen Provinzen'. In the essay 'Living like the Romans? Some remarks on domestic architecture in North Africa and Britain', N. de Haan discusses the problem of domestic housing as a parameter for measuring Romanisation, concluding that the physical environment of each house played a role in the way that the houses were used.

Nine papers are grouped under the final heading 'Urban elites and civic life'. T. de Vries and W.J. Zwalve's 'Roman actuarial science and Ulpian's life expectancy table' addresses the problem of demographic calculation through epigraphic evidence from Rome. 'Duae patriae? C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus zwischen germana patria and urbs' by A. Kriekhaus tackles the question of how Roman senators divided their time and wealth between Rome and their home towns, where they often acted as benefactors. J.H.M. Strubbe discusses the practice of cities bestowing cultic honours on citizens who had acted as local benefactors, as well as addressing the reasons why this practice ended with the introduction of Roman imperial rule, in 'Cultic honours for benefactors in the cities of Asia Minor'. M. Horster examines the relationship between the local elites and the Roman imperial power in 'Substitutes for emperors and members of the imperial families as local magistrates'. 'Notables et élites dans les Trois Gaules' by M. Dondin-Payre highlights the importance of the local elite acting as a strong link and mediator between the Roman rulers and the locals. In 'Entre Amphion et Achille: réalité et mythologie de la défense Athènes du IIIe au IVe siècle', M. di Branco discusses how rhetoric and imagery were used in various manners by the elite to express how Athens defended itself towards invaders. In the last three essays issues concerning women in the Roman world are treated. 'L'élite, les femmes et l'argent dans les provinces hispaniques' by M. Navarro Caballero is a study of the economic roles of rich women in Spain. V. Hirschmann writes on female members of corporations and associations in 'Methodische Überlegungen zu Frauen in antiken Vereinen'. Lastly, E.A. Hemelrijk's paper, 'Patronage of cities: the role of women', introduces us to women as patronesses of western provincial cities.

The book provides an introduction to many central and important themes when studying the Roman empire, its civic, political and social structure, as well as the local and regional responses to being part of the empire. Some papers are most suited to experts within the respective fields, whereas others are of use to any interested reader who wants an introduction to a particular topic and its literature. The essays, which are of differing lengths, are well edited. The aims, methods and categories of evidence are presented in a clear manner, which allows the reader to seek out central information and arguments quickly. The papers are not meant to be read consecutively. Rather, they are intended to give the reader exactly what they are: experts' views on the topics that they research.

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Rubina Raja

C.M.A. De Micheli Schulthess, *Aspects of Roman Pottery in Canton Ticino (Switzerland)*, BAR International Series 1129, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2003, xii+452 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-330-9

Aspects of Roman Pottery in Canton Ticino traite de la classification et de l'étude des céramiques communes et à parois fines de la région de Locarno (Canton du Tessin, Suisse). Le matériel présenté provient principalement de tombes. Celles-ci contenaient des offrandes qui permettent de les dater relativement précisément. Leur chronologie s'étend du I^{er} siècle à la fin du IV^e siècle de notre ère. La majeure partie des sépultures peut être datée entre le I^{er} et le II^e siècle.

L'auteur s'est fixé comme objectif principal d'établir une typologie et une chronologie fiables pour les régions du Tessin et du nord de l'Italie. Elle exploite en outre son étude céramologique pour en tirer des informations dans différents domaines. En effet, par l'étude des productions locales et des importations et en effectuant des comparaisons pertinentes avec du matériel de la région du Verbano, de l'ouest de la Lombardie et de l'est du Piémont, elle tente de mieux cerner les relations commerciales qui existaient entre le Tessin et ses voisins du nord de l'Italie. Elle essaie également de rattacher ses conclusions à l'histoire de la région de Locarno.

L'ouvrage se compose de neuf chapitres et de six annexes. Le premier chapitre traite des buts et des limites du travail, ainsi que de la méthodologie utilisée. On y trouve également un historique des principales étapes de la recherche sur les céramiques communes et à parois fines.

Le Chapitre 2 fournit des renseignements concernant l'histoire, la géographie et la géologie du Tessin. Ceux-ci sont fort utiles pour comprendre les problèmes relatifs aux productions de céramique, à l'état de conservation de celles-ci, aux relations commerciales qu'entretenait cette région avec ses voisins proches et plus lointains.

Dans le Chapitre 3, l'auteur, après avoir explicité les critères adoptés pour la datation des contextes, propose, sous la forme d'un catalogue, une description du site, sa nature, sa chronologie, ainsi qu'un historique des recherches. Pour chaque site, on trouve la liste des tombes et des datations fournies par les monnaies qu'elles contenaient. La céramique est analysée dans son contexte et si seules les céramiques communes et à parois fines sont publiées et dessinées, l'auteur a tout de même tenu compte des autres offrandes qui leur étaient associées à l'intérieur d'un même contexte.

Au Chapitre 4, les céramiques communes et les céramiques à parois fines sont classées par types. Leur chronologie est discutée, de même que leurs rapports avec des formes similaires

retrouvées dans les environs. La fonction des récipients est également abordée, sur la base de témoignages littéraires et épigraphiques.

Le Chapitre 5 traite plus particulièrement des argiles utilisées; celles-ci sont décrites et classées selon des critères explicités par l'auteur, en pâtes foncées et en pâtes claires, réparties, à l'aide d'histogrammes et de graphiques, par formes et par dates.

Le Chapitre 6 s'intéresse aux décors et aux traitements de surface des céramiques. Il comporte une planche en couleur très utile (fig. 6.1, p. 144). Les décors sont présentés en relation avec la forme du récipient qu'ils ornent, ainsi que de manière diachronique à l'aide d'histogrammes.

Le Chapitre 7 est consacré aux aspects chronologiques. Dans la première partie, les formes sont classées par époque, selon des critères liés au contexte de découverte, à l'analyse des différentes associations de mobilier à l'intérieur de celui-ci, ainsi qu'à la confrontation de ce mobilier avec d'autres contextes de la zone considérée pour cette étude. Ensuite, une fourchette chronologique est proposée pour chaque forme sur la base des comparaisons effectuées avec d'autres formes similaires provenant de contextes bien datés mais plus éloignés (régions de la plaine du Po et du nord de l'Italie en général, Italie du Centre et régions de Méditerranée occidentale, nord des Alpes et provinces de l'Est).

Le tableau figurant aux pages 172-96 est extrêmement utile pour le chercheur qui trouve d'emblée les informations typo-chronologiques dont il a besoin.

Le Chapitre 8 traite des questions d'ordre économique: manufactures, commerce, relations et influences extérieures. Les productions locales sont passées en revue, de même que les formes supposées d'importation. A chaque fois, l'auteur tente d'attribuer ces productions à divers ateliers, sur la base d'observations et de comparaisons. Des analyses chimiques et pétrographiques n'ont pu être réalisées pour l'instant.

Dans le Chapitre 9, il est question de la présence des céramiques communes et à parois fines dans les diverses tombes prises en considération.

L'Annexe I comporte le catalogue des céramiques communes et à parois fines; celui-ci est malheureusement difficile à exploiter pour le lecteur qui voudrait, par le numéro de la planche et du dessin, y retrouver la description de l'objet. L'Annexe II correspond à 95 planches de dessins numérotés de 1 à 918 classés par groupes, puis par formes. Figurent également à la fin du volume une énumération des tombes et de leur contenu (principales offrandes datables) (Annexe IV), une liste des argiles utilisées en relation avec les types étudiés (Annexe V), ainsi qu'un tableau signalant la présence des différentes formes à l'intérieur des tombes (Annexe VI). On regrettera qu'il faille lire une demi page d'explications pour en comprendre la signification.

La bibliographie est abondante; elle ne comporte pas d'ouvrages publiés après 1999.

Cette publication est sans aucun doute d'un intérêt majeur pour la recherche archéologique non seulement pour le canton du Tessin mais également pour le nord de l'Italie et en partie aussi pour les provinces du nord des Alpes. Elle représente une contribution utile à l'histoire économique de toute une région.

Nous disposons désormais d'une typo-chronologie de valeur pour les céramiques communes, toujours difficiles à dater hors d'un contexte clos ou homogène, ainsi que pour les céramiques à parois fines, dont la chronologie est à ce jour encore largement déficiente.

V. Defente, *Les Celtes en Italie du Nord. Piémont oriental, Lombardie, Vénétie du VI^e siècle au III^e siècle Av. J.-C.*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 312, École française de Rome, Rome 2003, ii+188 pp., maps. Paperback. ISBN 2-7283-0607-9/ISSN 0223-5099

The Gallic invasion of northern Italy in the late 5th-early 4th century BC is taken as an historical given in most books on the Celts. Potentially it provides a test case against which the archaeological evidence for less well documented areas can be tested. The reality is somewhat different. The author discusses some of these problems, like the difference in the dates between the two main classical authors: Livy, who places the immigration around 600 BC; and Polybius, who places it just before the attack on Rome, which he dates to 387. But other problems she ignores. Did the invasion come from central France, as implied by Livy, or from northern France/southern Germany as assumed by most archaeologists? Was the speaking of what we call 'Celtic languages' confined to Celts in the ancient world, or shared in common with other peoples such as Ligurians? And, to what extent can we use material culture (brooches, for example) as ethnic indicators? The author belongs to the 'traditional' school which accepts the correlation between a 'La Tène' material culture and the historical Celts, though with the possibility that some Hallstatt finds in northern Italy (especially Hallstatt D) may also be 'Celtic', especially if we follow Livy's dating. She also looks in general to the Alps and upper Danube as the origin of the immigrants.

What this book provides is a very useful up-to-date listing of certain categories of La Tène ornaments, notably brooches and torques, from sites to the north of the Po, dating to the 4th century, and thus to the period post-dating the invasions. They come mainly from graves, but include some stray finds. As she rightly states, it is female graves which are potentially the most diagnostic. This is fine as far as it goes, but what does this evidence really tell us, and, if, as I would suggest, the archaeology is telling us the story is more complex than the limited historical sources relate, how do we progress?

First of all, the historical sources suggest a complex ethnic mix in northern Italy at the period; indigenous (both Italic, like the Veneti, and non-Italic speaking); peoples from further south (Etruscans, Greeks and, later, Romans); and people from the north-west (the Gauls). We should also assume that these groups themselves were not homogeneous (for example, differences between Attic and Sicilian Greeks, between Senones and Boii), and also that some groups were using other groups' material culture – Gauls using Greek pottery and Etruscan bronze vessels; Veneti and Etruscans using La Tène 'Celtic' swords, helmets and ornaments; though we may be able to define certain types of local characteristics (such as types of ornament and the mode of wearing them) we must also assume that individuals, like the Helvetian recorded in a graffito on a potsherd from Mantua, may be moving between communities, for instance through intermarriage (which may be patrilocal or matrilineal), as well as through military expansion, the favourite explanation of traditional archaeologists. And finally, we have the nature of the archaeological record itself, both ancient biases (how material was deposited, if at all), and the state of archaeological research – are the blanks on distribution maps due to lack of research, a lack of people, or to ancient groups which were doing something different?

It is this theoretical and methodological debate which is lacking in this volume, and so there is a failure to go beyond simple distribution maps to a discussion of the dynamics of

what was actually happening. The distribution of *Kopffibeln* and the related *Krebsschwanzenfibeln* are concentrated in two areas, in the Ticino valley north of Lakes Maggiore and Como, and in the upper Adige valley. What do these distributions mean? The activities of craftsmen trading their goods? A unitary population group with shared modes of female dress? Close links of marriage between the two groups (many years ago Werner Krämer suggested that the presence of three *Kopffibeln* found close together at Manching indicated the presence of a lady from the southern Alps)? What was the status of the women with these brooches within their respective communities? Are they a majority or minority, or a special class? This necessitates a more detailed analysis of the context of the finds rather than an ethnic interpretation based on a simple scanning of distribution maps.

Most of the finds listed in the catalogue are over a century old, and new excavations are desperately needed; the graffiti from the cemetery of Monte Bibele hint at the complex ethnic relationships within individual communities. Isotope analysis and perhaps DNA may be able to tell us more about individuals in these cemeteries. We must start moving on from the simplistic interpretations of the 20th century.

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M.-P. Detalle, *La Piraterie en Europe du Nord-Ouest à l'Époque Romaine*, BAR International Series 1086, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2002, 104 pp., 25 pls. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-318-X

This is a published version of the author's dissertation 'La piraterie sur les confins <océaniques> du Ier au Vème siècle' (Paris-IV Sorbonne 2000) examining the possible existence of pirates in north-western Europe in Roman times from the 1st to the beginning of the 5th century AD. After a general introduction (pp. 1-5), Detalle deals with questions of historiography (sources) and the ethnogenesis of the Franks and Saxons (pp. 6-28). The next part is research on the possible or supposed traces of piracy from the 1st to 4th centuries AD, placing its emphasis on the time of Marcus Aurelius and the 3rd century (pp. 29-54). The third section examines the evidence for ships, the shipbuilding techniques of the German tribes and nautical questions (pp. 55-87). The conclusion (pp. 88-90) summarises the results. A bibliography (pp. 91-100) and a nautical glossary (pp. 101-02) follow. The final pages reprint maps from several publications and illustrations of ships and models of ships; the photographs are of poor quality. At the end, a table with detailed information on several excavated ships is given (pl. 26).

It is unfortunate that the book shows weakness in the formal aspects of an academic work. The bibliography lacks uniformity of presentation; several titles are incomplete and there are some obvious mistakes in spelling, etc. Important and relevant literature on the history of the north-western part of the Roman empire is missing, as are more recent studies on the Roman material in the Barbaricum and on the so-called horizon of richness in southern Scandinavia (Denmark to southern Sweden). The transliteration of Greek words is often inadequate, revealing a lack of experience in epigraphy. The list of sources (pp. 91-92) shows that the author's work is based primarily on translations of ancient texts. Several pages consist simply of a series of direct and indirect quotations. This is a very worrisome trend, obviously related to the use of the computer, often to be noticed in dissertations and other

recent publications. D.'s discussions of ancient sources and Roman history are often disappointing, and important literature is missing.

The general introduction, where D. tries to give a general definition of piracy with poverty as its primary cause, is unsatisfying; so too is the first part of the study, especially when dealing with the 1st century. Sometimes D. discusses basic aspects of imperial history, the imperial titles, etc. Maritime operations during the so-called Batavian Revolt of Julius Civilis had nothing to do with piracy. Neither the coinage of Postumus nor that of Carausius reflects maritime problems caused by piracy (the discussion of the *Laetitia Provinciarum*-types on p. 31 is completely faulty). The whole chapter 'Les pirates continentaux aux Ier et IIème s.' (pp. 18-26) is utterly disappointing, also the comments on ethnology. The discussion about the Franks, Alamanni and Laeti in the following chapter is unnecessary and too superficial. Remarks on the Saxons reflect a failure to consult important more recent literature. The observations on Caledonia and Ireland in the next chapter are partly wrong and do not prove piracy at all. There should be a clear distinction between the naval operations of enemies of the empire and piracy. This is a weakness of the whole study, as it is of many French and Belgian contributions. The gravestone of Viatorinus, who was killed near Deutz, must not reflect any greater military action. The supposed attacks of Irish and Caledonian pirates on the coasts of Wales, Cornwall and even of Amorique are without proof.

The study is at its best when D. is dealing with ships, types of contemporary ships and nautical questions (pp. 68-77); this is reflected in the French glossary of nautical terms (pp. 101-02). The greatest problem is D.'s frequent and extensive quotation from the literature. The critical comments on theories about the early use of sails beyond the Roman frontier (pp. 78-87) show that there is no proof for the use of sails until the 5th-6th centuries, and that true sailing ships exist only from the 8th century. Rowing boats of the *Nydam* type (4th century) were able to travel at a greater distance from the coast when the sea was relatively calm, but until the 4th century, dugouts made of big oak trees and propelled by paddles were in use along the Frisian coast. A dugout of the *Hjortspring* type (AD 300) seems to have been the standard warship in the Jutland area in the 3rd and 4th centuries. D. discusses the routes between Jutland and the Rhine-Maas delta and through Schleswig on the Eider and Treene to the Schlei and the Baltic Sea. He also discusses the Dunkirk II Transgression (starting very slowly from the end of the 2nd century) and rightly rejects all theories about a catastrophic event or its causing piracy on a new scale. He emphasises that the maritime routes from Jutland to the Channel lay within the 'Watten', flats and lagoons between the belt of offshore islands and the coastal marshes and the various estuaries. Thus dugouts could be used for small-scale plundering attacks.

The really important contribution of this study is its criticism of widespread assumptions about piracy affecting large areas of the provinces, especially in the 3rd century (see the summary on pp. 89-90). D. stresses, with good reason, that there is no real archaeological evidence of piracy at all, and rightly rejects the totally exaggerated theories of J. Haywood.¹ D. supposes that only the 'Hacksilber' hoards of the Traprain hillfort near Edinburgh (*terminus post quem* AD 423) and of Coleraine in co. Londonderry, Northern Ireland (*terminus post quem* AD 411) can be seen as pirate booty (pp. 52-53). But these two hoards can be

¹ J. Haywood, *Dark Age Naval Power* (London/New York 1991).

better explained in a very different way. D. emphasises correctly that the *Notitia Dignitatum* cannot be used to show the danger of piracy in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and that no Roman goods in the Barbaricum can be used to prove pirate booty. He asks with good reason why many scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries have postulated the dangers of piracy and taken large-scale destruction by pirates on, even in the hinterland, as matters of fact. Neither Frankish pirates in AD 258 or 260 nor piracy coming from North Africa existed. There has been a strong tendency to impose the model of the Vikings on the 3rd century and late antiquity. D. rightly points to recent studies rejecting older interpretations of coin-hoards as direct reflections of military action, and the often-supposed existence of destruction levels, frequently dated to the 3rd century AD. But he too rarely expresses his opposing view when summarising the opinions of different scholars. The problems of the interpretation of coin-hoards in Britain should also be mentioned. But his scepticism about the theories of P. van Gansbeke, D. Gricourt, D. Hollard, J.J. Hatt, H. Koethe, F. Lot and H. Thoen, and also the picture drawn by E. Demougeot (see bibliography), is with good reason. The rejection of the totally exaggerated theories about the war against the Chauci under Marcus Aurelius could be strengthened (Haywood supposed attack down to Biscay in AD 170!). There is evidence that direct Roman rule was then extended over the whole of the northern Netherlands (new study of M. Erdrich).²

There is no doubt that, especially since the crisis in eastern Gaul in AD 275/6, attacks by ship were made against the sea traffic between Gaul and Britain and that insecurity also spread to the south-eastern shore of England. Such attacks were possible, as D. shows, with dugouts and rowing boats. But we should not suppose large-scale and far-reaching attacks of pirates. The Roman fleet in the Channel was strengthened and that gave Carausius the power base for his usurpation.

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J. Devreker, H. Thoen and F. Vermeule, with the collaboration of Bea De Cuyper, Morgan De Dapper, Geert Devos, Anton Eryvynck, Kathy Sas, Wim Van Neer and Marc Van Strydonck, *Excavations in Pessinus: the so-called Acropolis, from Hellenistic and Roman Cemetery to Byzantine Castle*, Archaeological Reports Ghent University (ARGU) 1, Ghent University, Academia Press, Ghent 2003, 417 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-382-0449-3

In this first volume of this new series, which replaces the *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses*, the excavations on the so-called *acropolis* in the north-west of the centre of the ancient town of Pessinus, situated in the valley of the River Gallos and today mostly buried under the village of Ballihisar, are published with the collaboration of several specialists (list of the authors p. 417). The excavations started in 1986 and were finished in 1991. They were restricted to some 18% of the area of the fortified plateau and formed two long cross-sections through the area bounded by deep slopes. The chosen strategy of digging with limited means revealed only the basic development of the structures and the buildings on

² M. Erdrich, *Rom und die Barbaren* (Mainz 2001).

the plateau, whilst the narrowness of the trenches limited the results not only for investigating the cemetery but also for studying the Byzantine fortress (whose analysis and interpretation remains cursory). The excavators are fully conscious of the problems (pp. 14, 349). The excavated area was chosen neither to investigate the cemetery to a larger extent nor to investigate the Byzantine structures in a more complete way; the aim was to get a clearer view of the spatial and stratigraphical development of the urban settlement by small-scale excavation.

The history of the site shows two periods: first, a Late Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman and Early Byzantine cemetery ending in the second half of the 5th century; second, a fortress probably built in the first half of the 6th century. All traces of the Phrygian and Hellenistic periods are missing, although a Late Phrygian and Early Hellenistic occupation of the site in the Gallos valley could be confirmed by new excavations (Devreker, p. 389).

After the history of research and general remarks on the planning and progress of the excavation (pp. 7-13), a chapter follows on the geology and geomorphology of the site and on the general stratigraphy (pp. 15-25).

The main part of the volume is dedicated to the detailed publication of the cemetery on the *acropolis*, being part of the northern necropolis of Pessinus (pp. 27-345). The great importance of this detailed description and analysis of the excavated graves is because published excavations of Roman and Late Roman to Byzantine cemeteries in Anatolia, especially in Central Anatolia, are almost absent.

The cemetery was heavily plundered in ancient times, particularly during Byzantine building activities. Only one of the later Roman collective cist graves was untouched. Because of this, many graves were without datable material and only 56% out of the total of 138 graves (60 cremations, 78 inhumations), i.e. 77 tombs, can be dated. Furthermore, the narrow trenches created problems for the investigation and graves only partially touched were not excavated as a whole. Thus, some criticism of the procedures may be allowed. The main periods of the cemetery are given: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman (100-25 BC) and Late Roman (AD 250-400), with the peak of the burials in the Augustan and Tiberian periods. Very low activity characterises the years AD 100-250 (pp. 126-134). Cremations are more numerous in the Early Roman period; inhumations in the Late Roman. Most of the investigated human remains belong to individuals 20 years old and more (pp. 134-47). Inscriptions and funeral sculptures (doorstones), especially those of the 2nd century AD, were reused in the late cist graves or in the Byzantine walls (pp. 117-26). A detailed catalogue of all graves with inventory, plans and pictures is given (pp. 149-337).

Several types of graves, characteristic of the burial customs in Central Anatolia from Late Hellenistic to Byzantine times, were analysed: a) cremations with a deposit of scattered bones and remains of the pyre in a simple pit, urned graves, bustum graves, cremation graves lined with mud bricks; b) inhumations in a simple pit, in a pit with a wooden coffin, in a pit lined with roof tiles, in a pit lined with bricks or tiles, in a pit covered with stones or spolia, in a cist built with new marble blocks, with marble spolia, with limestone blocks, or with large stones. Inhumations in sarcophagi form a special group. No traces of buildings or structures on the surface survived. The Early Byzantine cist graves were often built with spolia taken from older funeral architecture: Phrygian doorstones cut for reuse, parts of columns or architectural blocks.

This reviewer can confirm that most of these types are found in Tavium and its environs in eastern Galatia. But the rock-cut tombs found in Tavium in great number, varying from simple rock-cut chambers to complex arcosolia-graves, are missing in Pessinus, although rock-cut chamber-tombs are a typical tradition in Phrygia continuing into Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman times. A partially excavated Hellenistic-Roman cemetery immediately east of the town centre was published in 1984.¹ This cemetery seems to start earlier, but the chronology of the early graves must be revised (p. 340). And the supposed starting date of the cemetery on the *acropolis*, in the first half of the 1st century BC, is not certain: the only early grave-goods are a fragment of a Megarian bowl, imported pottery especially in grave 3.67a, a finger-ring and the two pre-Roman coins. A Late Hellenistic bowl was found in an Augustan cremation burial (5.33b). No material really proves a burial date earlier than the last quarter of the 1st century BC. It is more probable that the cemetery started in parallel with the growth of the town, organised in 25 BC as an autonomous *polis* and the metropolis of the Tolistobogioi. Town planning and building activity reached a peak in the Augustan-Tiberian period.

The second part of the publication is dedicated to the Byzantine fort built on the plateau (pp. 347-87). Its ruins were totally destroyed by stone robbing and plundering in the 19th and 20th centuries. The plateau, having steep slopes on three sides, was fortified by a massive wall with projecting rectangular towers; the southern part of the fortress was separated by an inner wall and formed a citadel.

The centre of the Roman town of Pessinus was inhabited and renovations were made also in the 4th and 5th centuries, but radical change occurred in the 6th century.² The whole area of the Augustan Temple changed into a residential area and the *agora* was covered with workshops and residential buildings, all constructed with material from the Roman public buildings. To protect the town no city wall was built, but a series of watchtowers and small fortifications around the settled area in the Gallos valley, centred upon the fortress of the so-called *acropolis*.

The small finds are described by H. Thoen (pp. 364-68), the pithoi by G. Devos (pp. 369-74),³ the animal bones by several authors (pp. 375-80). The characteristics of Early Byzantine storage vessels are evident: fingerprints on a ridge and rope-pattern decoration, which occur exclusively in the Early Byzantine period and are often combined with other decorative elements. Most of the vessels were produced locally, but quite a number were imported, showing trade and exchange in everyday life. The archaeo-zoological results are important for the reconstruction of the ancient landscape. The preponderance of cattle and a surprisingly low percentage of sheep and goats seem to show that there was considerable good

¹ J. Devreker and M. Waelkens (eds.), *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967-1973 I* (Bruges 1984), 55-76.

² See also J. Devreker, G. De Mulder and F. Vermeulen, 'Urban Developments in Early Byzantine Pessinus (Asia Minor)'. In E. Marin and N. Cambi (eds.), *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Porec, 25.9.-1.10.1994* (Vatican City/Split 1998), 332-41.

³ See P. De Pape, G. Devos and F. Vermeulen: 'Nouvelles données analytiques sur les pithoi du site de Pessinonte (Anatolie centrale)'. *Anatolia Antiqua* 8 (2000), 117-26 and 'Les pithoi de Pessinonte (Anatolie centrale). Données analytiques complémentaires (Annexe IV)'. *Anatolia Antiqua* 9 (2001), 89-100.

grazing in the vicinity. The herding of pigs and the presence of wild boars point to the existence of some wooded vegetation near the site. The Byzantine environment probably consisted of fields and pastures and some more wooded areas, in sharp contrast to the modern landscape: very little vegetation, having been severely degraded by soil erosion in consequence of the herding of sheep and especially of goats by Turkish farmers. The damage to vegetation and soil, especially on slopes, is palpable.

There is no firm evidence for when the fortress was erected, but the demise of the cemetery, the early 6th-century pottery and the architectural plan point to the time of the emperor Justinian I. The fortress is most convincingly seen as part of a larger fortification programme by the central administration of the empire, not as a work of the local population. The reuse of building material from earlier buildings had increased in Pessinus from the end of the 3rd century AD. The Byzantine fortifications show almost exclusively the use of spolia from the cemeteries; for the inner buildings there is also the reuse of blocks from the Roman city. There are signs of reconstruction and change only in the inner buildings of the citadel, but not in the inner buildings of the other part of the fortress. There are also no signs of destruction caused by any Arab incursion. The latest evidence of human presence on the *acropolis* is to be dated into the later 11th century (three coins of 1042/1080). It is not known if there was a late military presence or only some squatters. The ruin of the city and the end of the fortress occurred shortly after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and before the area was occupied by the Seljuks, although Pessinus is mentioned in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* until the 14th century as an episcopal metropolis.

As to chronology, there is a basic problem which can be noticed in other contemporary places as well, for example in Tavium where the reviewer undertakes research. Vermeulen stresses (p. 384) that 'hardly any finds from the acropolis clearly postdate the mid-7th century'. The material of the 6th and of the first half of the 7th century is well represented. The coin series end in the middle of the 7th century and start again only in the mid-11th century. But there is also the fundamental problem that we do not yet know most of the common types of Byzantine pottery in Central Anatolia between the 7th and 11th centuries, when glazed redwares appeared.⁴ Vermeulen's and Devreker's conclusions are correct without doubt (pp. 382-87 and 389-90 respectively): that the mid-7th century saw the onset of a deep crisis from the cities in Anatolia, lasting until the 9th century, and that the reign of Heraclius was a turning point for the history of urbanisation in Anatolia.⁵ The gap in the coin series of the *acropolis* has parallels in the finds from the town area.

Ankyra was conquered by the Islamic forces in AD 654 and in AD 838 Ankyra and Amorion shared the same fate. The whole area was suffering from Islamic attacks between

⁴ See also J.-P. Sodini, 'Production et échanges dans le monde protobyzantin (IVe-VIIIe s.): le cas de la céramique'. *Sitzungsberichte Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* vol. 283 (2000), 181-208.

⁵ In general, see C. Foss, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1996), especially 'The Cities of Pamphylia in the Byzantine Age', pp. 1-62; C.S. Lightfoot, 'The survival of cities in Byzantine Anatolia: the case of Amorion'. *Byzantion* 68 (1998), 56-71; now also the results presented at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 'Urban and Rural Settlement in Anatolia and the Levant, 500-1000 AD: New Evidence from Archaeology', 22-24 April 2005.

AD 641 and 931. For the history of Pessinus, it was without doubt of the greatest importance: Amorion became the regional centre and Pessinus lost this function, and it became the metropolis of the Thema Anatolikon and its military headquarters. Pessinus probably developed into a large village, as did many of the Middle Byzantine cities in Anatolia, differing only by the presence of the bishop. In the opinion of Vermeulen, the gap in the coin series cannot be explained by a break in coin circulation or in the use of coins, but that the fortress was used only sporadically and the population, at least in the lower town, had shrunk dramatically. The presence in full of the 'missing' coins in Amorion is no argument because it was home to an important military garrison and coins came there regularly. It looks as if the citadel of the fortress was permanently inhabited, probably the residence of the bishop, but new excavations would be necessary to solve these questions, as Vermeulen confirms (p. 386). As in other places, the fortress had not replaced the residential area in the lower town. One of the houses was inhabited into the 8th century, although there seems to be a gap in the material of the lower city parallel to that of the *acropolis* (p. 390). A similar development can be seen in Tavium. The pottery seems to stop in the 7th century although inscriptions continued into the time of the Crusades. A small citadel appears to have been erected on the Büyükkale, with a separate fortified area on the highest place. The church south of the former theatre had two late periods with bad walls. The single-inhumation cist graves below the floor of the church were built with reused gravestones of Early and early Middle Byzantine date or with tiles. The area of the Zeğrektepe was used as a cemetery, although it was near the centre of the Early Byzantine town. The area directly outside the Late Roman and Early Byzantine city walls below the northern slope of the Büyükkale was used for inhumations. The city must have shrunk to the small space between the Büyükkale and the 'East Church'. In the 12th century, the city was finally abandoned and some of the population moved into shelters in the mountain area.⁶

Appendix 1 lists the coin finds (pp. 391-400). The earliest coins were found in graves: a bronze coin of Deiotaros and a bronze coin of Pessinus minted before 25 BC (the attribution of this coin to Deiotaros is misleading). The C14-dating (Appendix 2, pp. 401-03) provides little information. The bibliography gives the full titles of cited publication, but it is a pity that some of abbreviated titles are missing here and that some of the titles are incomplete.

The detailed publication of the excavation on the *acropolis* of Pessinus is of great importance for research in Central Anatolia. Moreover, it is a model of how to publish excavations to the highest academic standard. The photographic documentation is dense and of the best quality and will be of great use in future research. Also important is the geo-archaeological methodology used by Vermeulen and his staff for their field-survey in the region (see literature on p. 413).

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⁶ K. Strobel and C. Gerber: 'Tavium (Büyüknemes, Provinz Yozgat) – Ein regionales Zentrum Anatoliens. Bericht über den Stand der Forschungen nach den ersten drei Kampagnen (1997-1999)'. *IstMitt* 50 (2000), 215-261 and 'Tavium (Büyüknemes, Provinz Yozgat). Bericht über die Kampagnen 2000-2002'. *IstMitt* 53 (2003), 131-95.

J.M. Dillon, *Salt and Olives. Morality and Custom in Ancient Greece*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2004, xviii+217 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-7486-1618-7

The recent trial of Michael Jackson not only demonstrates the contemporary fascination with celebrity; it also invites speculation on the state of society.¹ Drawing on extensive primary sources, notably law-court speeches, Dillon aims to piece together the world of the everyday Athenian citizen and comment on his attitudes and beliefs.

The book is divided into three. First, D. explores the cornerstone of Athenian society, the *oikos*; in the following two chapters he considers threats to it from without (for example from courtesans) and within (inheritance problems); Chapter 4 focuses on friends and enemies. Next D. examines institutions or practices 'which may seem particularly odd and even offensive for us' (p. xv): pederasty (Chapter 5), slavery (Chapter 6) and religion (Chapter 7). He concludes by pondering the role of the anecdote in the formation of the Athenian self-image.

D. brands his approach with the image of 'salt and olives' – the basic seasoning with which 'the Athenians attempted to liven up their rather dreary staple diet of bread' – using case histories 'to bring to life what can otherwise become a tedious catalogue of customs and regulations' (p. xiv). Indeed, D. musters an impressive range of witnesses through whose eyes he draws an entertaining account of Athenian life. He is particularly good at articulating various aspects of its foreign-ness, such as the paucity of written documents (pp. 37, 50–53), the importance of friendship and enmity (pp. 78, 100), and the absence of religious dogma (pp. 155–56). His willingness to give a hearing to voices from below – ordinary citizens, women, slaves, foreigners – is not only commendable but highly desirable as our own culture struggles with the problem of freedom and its limits.

Where the book is less successful has much to do with its origins. First, its lively style – D. labels, for example, Eratosthenes 'a gay young blade' (p. 1) – reflects its original undergraduate audience (p. xiii), but may not be to everybody's tastes. Second, the lengthy quotation of sources with few critical citations marks an effort to revise Dover's approach (p. xiv).² But one effect in allowing sources to 'speak for themselves' (for example pp. 1, 88, 91) is that at times D.'s language appears worryingly to corroborate the speaker's viewpoint.³ Moreover, the limited secondary references, while not fatal for the book's appeal to an undergraduate reader, do limit its utility for a wider audience.

To take two examples: D. is dismayed by the lack of clarity surrounding Athenian legal practice, which he considers leaves 'opportunities for mayhem' (p. 56); one may compare, however, Johnstone, who shows how speeches, precisely because of the open texture of the laws, *construct* a sense of Athenian civic identity and morality 'in and through the rhetoric

¹ What the lessons are, if indeed there are any, is harder to gauge: see J. Harris, 'Drowned in a pervasive moral murk'. *The Guardian* 15 June 2005, who comments, 'whether the freakish world into which [the Jackson trial] peered says anything about Main Street USA seems doubtful'.

² K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford 1974). As Dillon admits, 'This book, if anything, goes to the other extreme, dwelling at length on a limited number of works, while being comparatively light on the references' (p. xiv).

³ He glosses Lysias' speech as follows: 'It seems that Eratosthenes was at this juncture in between mistresses, since he was just in the process of disentangling himself from a lady whom he had seduced some time before, and whom he was now bored with' (p. 3).

of litigation'.⁴ Similarly, while D. recognises the value of anecdotes 'for revealing something of the mind' (p. 209) of the average Athenian, his thesis is hindered by problems in classification (for example pp. 191, 197, 198), and by his reliance on Lefkowitz's criticism of ancient biography; Graziosi's use of the biographical tradition of Homer to explore the meaningfulness of ancient attitudes could have greatly assisted his study.⁵

Overall, J. Davidson's courtesans and fishcakes may offer a tastier fare than salt and olives;⁶ yet, D.'s book is still to be welcomed for presenting much food for thought.

I found only one typographical error: a 'to' is missing from the clause 'where prosecution on all manner of charges was left up [to] the initiative of 'public-spirited' individuals' (p. 82). Though D. confronts the customary problem of transliterating Greek, the student may find the alternation between Plato's *Crito* and the character Kriton confusing (p. 80 n. 3). One may also wonder why the book's title refers to 'Ancient Greece' when D. acknowledges its Athenocentric bias (p. xiii).

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Elton T.E. Barker

S.L. Dudarev, *Belorechenskii 2-i mogil'nik – pamyatnik epokhi rannego zheleza Kavkazskikh Mineral'nykh Vod [Kavminvody]* (The Belorechenskii 2 Burial Ground – A Site of the Early Iron Age in the Region of the Caucasian Mineral Spas [Kavminvody]), in *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii Severnogo Kavkaza* (Materials and Investigations in the Archaeology of the Northern Caucasus) 3, Centre for Archaeological Investigations, Armavir State Pedagogical University, Armavir 2004, pp. 15-100, 37 figs. Summary in English. Paperback. ISBN 5-89971-177-9

In his monograph, published as a section of issue 3 of *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii Severnogo Kavkaza*, Dudarev investigates the artefacts found by him during archaeological excavations in the city of Kislovodsk in the Stavropol region of the northern Caucasus. The Introduction presents a brief history of the investigation of the burial ground and notes its importance for studying sites of the Caucasian Koban culture of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, to which it pertains.

Chapter I presents a detailed account of excavations of burial grounds by years (1977, 1978, 1980). (D.'s excavation reports for this burial ground are kept in the Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.)

Chapter II is devoted to funeral rites. Some graves were arranged in rows aligned from north-east to south-west, with a varying degree of deflection southward. The graveyard was apparently enclosed by a small stone wall. In excavation trench No. 2 (1978) there was a stone causeway of sacral purpose with a quern and slabs of red granite enclosed in it. The graves (41 in all) are represented by stone boxes (9) and pit graves (32). All the burials

⁴ S. Johnstone, *Disputes and Democracy: The Consequences of Litigation in Ancient Athens* (Austin 1999), 1. Dover (1974 [as in n. 2], xi) was himself attuned to the importance of studying 'the pre-suppositions (shared by speaker and jury) without which no argument, however technically ingenious in form, could have had persuasive effect'.

⁵ B. Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (Cambridge 2002).

⁶ J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London 1997).

were individual and crouched (as a rule, men lying on their right side, women on their left). There was no definite orientation: to the south-east in 12 cases, to the south (or south-south-east or south-south-west) in 8 cases, to the north-west in 6 cases, to the north-east in 3 cases, and to the east in 5 ones. This chapter also analyses the location of grave assemblage with respect to the bodies of the deceased.

Chapter III examines the material culture of the population which left the Belorechenskii 2 burial ground. The main categories of the tomb material – pottery, tools, weapons, items of horse-harnesses, decorations – are presented. The pottery includes basins, pots, cups and large earthenware vessels (*korchag*), mainly decorated with incised, drawn, died, as well as raised, ornament. The crockery is characterised by its relatively high quality, although it is not wheel-made. The tools comprised whetstones, iron knives, awls (male accessories), bronze needles, a ceramic spindle and a stone one. The weapons embrace bronze arrowheads, iron and bronze spearheads, stone maces, a hammer and an axe-hammer. The horse trappings are represented by a bronze bit with single-ringed terminals and a three-looped cheekpiece, as well as by a bone cheekpiece with two holes. The decorations include various products made of bronze, antimony and shell. Women's hair plaits are decorated with ornaments such as bronze badges and plates; these are a palaeo-ethnographic peculiarity of the ancient population of the Kislovodsk area.

The chronology of the burial ground is given in Chapter IV. Its burials are distributed between two main groups – early (burials 1-18, 20-23, 25-27, 29-34, 40), 9th-first half of the 7th century BC; late (burials 19, 24, 28, 35-39), second half of the 7th-5th century BC. Dating is ascertained on the basis of analogies in sites of south-eastern Europe, the northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

In the closing part of his work D. draws conclusions about the significance of the published materials for studying the social and economic life of the tribes of the Kavminvody area in the Early Iron Age, and whether the site belongs to the western group of the Koban culture. In his opinion, this group needs to be differentiated as a separate archaeological culture or component within that community.

D.'s monograph is an important work of research for the study of Early Iron Age monuments in the northern Caucasus.

Krasnodar, Russia

A.A. Sazonov

H.I. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, xv+405 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-521-00390-3

It is difficult to know what to make of this volume, which claims to be for the student and general reader. The cast is excellent, and the range of topics seemingly comprehensive. Flower's ambition, to create an introduction to the Roman Republic (a surprisingly rare beast), which incorporates contemporary American, British and European scholarship, is admirable. The execution is, however, more reminiscent of a conference proceedings: the quality is highly variable, and the coverage very uneven.

There are several excellent essays: D. Potter on 'The Roman Army and Navy'; K.J. Hölkamp's 'Under Roman Roofs: Family, House, and Household'; and A.L. Kuttner's 'Roman

Art during the Republic'. The papers on Rome and the Greek East, and Rome and Italy, by E. Gruen and K. Lomas also deserve mention as excellent syntheses of earlier work, as does M. Saller's 'coda' on the French and American, 18th-century reworking of republicanism. Potter's paper combines chronological sweep (4th to 1st century BC) with historical context, placing the evolution of army and navy firmly within the historical, social and political developments of the republic. This is a thoughtful study without obvious parallel, which may usefully be recommended to students. It is provocative, implying, counter-intuitively but accurately, for example, that Spain was the exception in Roman provincial development (p. 78). Hölkeskamp offers an impressive synthesis of modern work on the family and household, which will surely provide a useful entry point for students and others (although it is inevitably elite oriented, and makes little use of archaeological material). Kuttner, as she herself notes, attempts something novel (because she is walking on largely untrodden ground), and in surveying Republican art she challenges many preconceptions, not least how we should conceive of the relationships of 'Greek' and 'Roman', 'masterwork' and 'primitivist'. This essay deserves a wider audience than the student and general reader.

Some papers, however, deserve a health warning. In a Companion which claims to dispense with narrative and to embody lively current approaches, J.F. Lazenby's account of the Punic Wars seems rather out of place. Besides the fact that it ignores any wider consideration of Carthage, or the relationship between the two cities (what, for example, of Palmer's *Rome and Carthage at Peace* or Scardigli's *I Trattati Romano-Cartaginesi?*),¹ I simply do not know what to make of an essay that contains the sentence: 'Even if Hannibal was no Hitler, it is surely not just a coincidence that there was almost the same interval between the First and Second Punic Wars as between the two world wars of the last century' (p. 231).

J. von Ungern-Sternberg's 'The Crisis of the Republic' is a superficial canter through the narrative of the last 100 years of the republic. If Flower is concerned about periodisation ('Introduction', pp. 2-3), there is no sign of that caution here: the chapter unquestioningly begins the 'crisis' with Tiberius Gracchus' tribunate. Republican politics and the last century's scholarship on the subject are disposed of in three sentences of the first paragraph. The incorporation of 'European' scholarship is an admirable goal, but I am unconvinced about the value of an anglophone Companion for a general and student readership in which such a chapter on the core events of the last century of the republic has a bibliography in which less than half the items are in English, and from which core works by, for example, Rich, Richardson and Sherwin-White are omitted; works by Nicolet, David, Yavetz and Gelzer are all cited in their originals, when excellent English translations exist; and in which, for the sources on Gaius Gracchus, the reader is told to see Münzer in *RE*. As an account it is simply too hasty: Flaccus' citizenship proposal of 125 BC is omitted; the Social War is consigned to a paragraph under 'Further Attempts at Reform'; the narrative is structured around the direct succession of Marius, to Sulla, to Pompeius (the 'Cinnanum tempus' is ignored); the Catilinarian conspiracy has purely literary consequences; the 50s BC vanish in two paragraphs; and Caesar was first dictator in 46 BC. This will not do.

Granted coverage can never be complete, but many of the remaining essays (there are 15 in all) are overly narrow in their focus (notwithstanding Flower's defence on p. 10). So, for

¹ R.E.A. Palmer, *Rome and Carthage at Peace* (1996); B. Scardigli, *I Trattati Romano-Cartaginesi* (1991).

example, T.C. Brennan's 'Power and Process' contains a fine exposition of *imperium*, which may readily be recommended; but nowhere in this volume will the reader find any examination of the basic nature of the Roman political system so much debated in recent years by Millar and others. Fantham's survey of literature is good on plays and poetry, but rejects all historiography bar Sallust as being unworthy of discussion (because lost or fragmentary?). Indeed, historiography and the sources more generally are perhaps the greatest casualty (no dedicated discussion): the level of referencing is highly variable and the nature of the sources rarely discussed. Epigraphy is a rare guest, cited by corpus numbers but not translations, while material culture generally appears only where you would most expect it (Lomas on Italy, Kuttner on art).

Flower is keen to stress (p. 10) that the papers need not be read in the order presented. This is true enough, and indeed the variable nature and overlap between papers means that to construct a full account of many events, the reader will have to read and re-read the complete set. Sadly, the index will be of very little help in this process, being of a quality that one would not expect from Cambridge University Press. There are separate entries for 'Cassian Treaty' and '*Foedus Cassianum*', pointing to different pages (reflecting a wider indecision about whether to use English or Latin terms). The entry for '*dictator*' omits pp. 104-05 on Caesar (under the heading '*Dictator Perpetuus*'); that for 'economy' contains no reference to the chapter by Aubert. There is no entry for *provocatio*, despite several discussions (for example on pp. 17-18, 38, 94). The section for individual *leges* has a 'hit rate' of roughly 50%: the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* appears here, but without the reference picked up elsewhere in the index under 'Knidus inscription'; I count at least nine laws mentioned in the text which do not appear here; the *lex Hortensia* of 287 BC is cited for p. 90 but also appears on p. 62 and most importantly on pp. 18-21, where it is presumably missed by the index because Oakley leaves it anonymous throughout. There is no entry for *novus homo* (p. 221). 'Oscan' is listed for p. 97, but none of the occurrences in Lomas's chapter are referenced (pp. 211, 212, 220, 222; also 274). The entry for 'population' misses the one instance where a population estimate is actually offered (p. 67). I remain unclear to what the entry 'reforms of' alludes. The entry for Gaius Gracchus manages to omit the principal discussion on pp. 92-95. And so on.

In sum, there are several excellent essays in this volume, which one may recommend to students without hesitation. But teachers seeking a student text, or general readers in search of an introduction to the Republic should probably look elsewhere.

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Jonathan R.W. Prag

P. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T. Fiema and B. Hoffmann (eds.), *Limes XVIII - Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*. A conference held under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, The Council for British Research in the Levant and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, 2 vols., BAR International Series 1084 (I-II), Archaeopress, Oxford 2002, xxxviii+948 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-465-8

This unusually thick congress volume opens with the timetable of sessions and events and official addresses, of which the first was by Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan. The first

session was devoted to general subjects. A.R. Birley gave a survey of 50 years of Roman frontier studies and its congresses, L. de Blois discusses the reign of Septimius Severus; S. Hanson the question of why Roman expansion was stopped; F. Hunter the relations between Romans and natives; K. Strobel Augustus' legions; and W. Vetter and H. Zabełlicky the climate around AD 200 in various parts of the empire – this new climatological approach is especially welcome.

Of the session on the eastern frontier, the section on Jordan by S.T. Parker was especially informative for general problems, while a number of other contributions dealt with individual sites and sections of the *limes* in the Levant. Less attention was given to the relations between Romans and Parthians, but the fortification of Hatra was discussed and many problems of historical interpretations of political and military aspects were also addressed. Several papers were devoted to Anatolia, and one by O. Savelja to a Roman base near Balaklava in the Crimea, excavated in the 1990s. The contributions in the session on North Africa were mainly historical; the eastern desert of Egypt and the Red Sea route were discussed more intensely.

The two Germanies, Inferior and Superior, were the subject of a large number of papers. As might be expected, the early forts and cities and their history, including Varus' battlefield at Kalkwiese, were at the centre of interest of most of the speakers. Many reports on new or recent excavations were also presented by German and Dutch specialists from this area, but the later history of the provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior was less well represented.

A large part of the second volume is devoted to the Balkan provinces, with a subsection on Dacia. The remaining contributions are on Britain, Spain, the army and fortifications in general, on the Roman fleet, and on documents and archives.

First, the volumes make a good impression, especially from the point of view that participants came from so many different countries and brought their own new materials and ideas. The official support of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a good sign for the future studies in this field in the Near East, which desperately needs the support of all countries in which the Roman empire built its *limes* constructions and organised its defensive forts and networks and the attendant logistics. In most European countries the study of the Roman *limes* is quite well advanced, though much work remains to be done on its beginnings, which left little stone architecture, and on the end of the Roman military presence, stages which were long overshadowed by the well-built fortifications, camps and houses of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. From other parts of the world, the knowledge of North African *limes* in the Maghreb, Libya and Egypt has still many gaps, and the same is the case with the eastern border in what were the provinces of Armenia and Parthia. Let us hope that the outstanding questions will be answered by the joint efforts of archaeologists working in these countries and their colleagues from other parts of the world with more experience in these matters. Another important question, though not an immediate part of *limes* studies, concerns army outposts in client kingdoms and the organisation of supervised trade beyond the Roman empire in the East and in Africa. In addition, the logistical systems of roads and stations on them (*mansios*), built both for the army and for governmental purposes, should also be studied: they were an integral part of the defence policy of the Romans.

At a time of European integration, and of the struggle for a kind of special relationship with other Mediterranean countries and for better mutual understanding with the Moslem countries of North Africa and the Near East, collaboration in a field which is part of the

common history of all these countries may be profitable not only for the study of the past but also for understanding the present. Such a project was successfully organised by the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, and its successor *ThESCRA*, and the common interest in history of the Roman empire may play a similar role. In general, the organisers of the congress should be congratulated for their excellent work in Jordan, likewise the editors for their work on these two substantial volumes of Acts, and the publishers for seeing the work successfully through the press.

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Jan Bouzek

M.A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750*, BAR International Series 1135, Archaeopress, Oxford 2003, viii+244 pp. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-508-5

This is a revised version of a Cambridge PhD dissertation (1998). It explores the role of funerary inscriptions in asserting status and identity in Gaul and Spain between AD 300 and AD 750, working closely from a database of over 4000 inscriptions from these provinces, but turning occasionally to Italy, North Africa, the Balkans and Britain for comparanda. Overall, Handley demonstrates clearly the perils of assuming that patterns in epigraphic culture at Rome were replicated elsewhere in the West; instead, his work shows how crucial it is to examine regional patterns in epigraphy. The vast majority of the book focuses upon epitaphs, but in Chapter 8 it turns to evidence for the cult of saints, arguing that historians should look beyond hagiography and take account of a variety of epigraphic sources too for a wider picture of the local diversity of such cults.

H.'s work on late antique and early mediaeval epigraphic culture is firmly based upon an appreciation of the earlier imperial period, and offers thought-provoking reading for Roman historians as well as for specialists in the later periods, especially perhaps in the last two chapters, on literacy and the decline of the epigraphic habit in Spain and Gaul. In explaining both the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit, H. explores the implications for this later period of G. Woolf's analysis of the imperial period.¹ He suggests that social instability may have played a part in encouraging the setting up of monumental epitaphs (p. 14), whilst the emergence of more stable social conditions might explain the apparent decline in funerary epigraphy (pp. 183-84). Furthermore, Chapters 5 and 6 on the family and demography pick up on many themes debated in recent years by Roman historians, such as the extent to which children were commemorated in epitaphs.

Much of the book is negative in tone, showing what cannot be done with inscriptions. This seems to be the result of H.'s frustration with the ways in which other historians have tended to (mis)use inscriptions. This is particularly the case with Chapter 6 on demography, where he spends some time challenging the usefulness of epitaphs for studies of life expectancy and seasonal fertility. It is perhaps ironic that a book which often questions the value of statistics in reaching a meaningful analysis of inscriptions presents so many graphs enumerating inscriptions. H. often questions the validity of others' work, and presents

¹ G. Woolf, 'Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the Early Empire'. *JRS* 86 (1996), 22-39.

detailed evidence for his disquiet, but then fails to provide an alternative framework for debate. As he acknowledges several times, the book may in the future provide a sound evidential basis for a reassessment of important issues, but does not itself claim to have solved many thorny problems. By contrast, Chapter 7 presents some interesting conclusions about attitudes to time revealed in epitaphs, notably the way in which pagan names for days of the week continued to be used (contrary to the picture in patristic sources), and how epigraphic calendrical confusion in calculating days in a month may reflect a contrast between inscriptions trying to maintain the traditional Roman system alongside the emergence of the new cumulative system in everyday use. He argues that choices made about how to give an annual date – whether consular, regnal, indictional or by the Spanish *aera* – offer insights into different aspects of people's identity, whether political, regional, civic or religious.

Minor quibbles about the presentation of the book include a fair scattering of typographical errors, and the use of punctuation is not as clear as it might be, frequently requiring the reader to re-read a sentence in order to uncover its sense. On one technical matter, it is odd that H. has chosen to use [[]] rather than the more usual { } to indicate letters carved in error. More significant, however, is the lack of illustrations. This impairs the clarity of argument in Chapters 3 and 9 in particular. Several times, H. argues closely from the appearance of a stone or graffito, but has to rely upon verbal description of its key features. This is particularly true in Chapter 3 'Producing inscriptions'. His argument that we can trace workshop styles specific to particular cemeteries (looking at letter forms, decoration and layout), and that people's attachment to a particular saint and his associated cemetery was reflected by the emergence of 'house-styles', needs support from photographs of the inscriptions (pp. 27-34).

H.'s chief strength lies in his attention to detail, as revealed by the impressive database of inscriptions underlying the book, and in his ability to point out weaknesses in the evidential basis of other scholars' treatment of various themes. He provides a valuable appendix of 147 additions to the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Indexes are provided of people and places, but no thematic index is included. Extensive bibliographies cover epigraphic publications of the various regions discussed in the book, as well as primary and secondary works.

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Alison E. Cooley

W.V. Harris and G. Ruffini (eds.), *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 26, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, xviii+296 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14105-7/ISSN 0166-1302

Alexandria was the first and greatest of Alexander the Great's city foundations. For almost a millennium it was the political and cultural capital of Graeco-Roman Egypt and the premier city of the Greek world. It was the place where Greek, Egyptian and Jewish cultures met and interacted and where many of the key achievements of Greek science and Christianity originated. Yet, no ancient history of Alexandria survives, and, as M.I. Finley pointed out two decades ago,¹ the fullest modern study – P.M. Fraser's monumental three-volume

¹ M.I. Finley, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (New York 1986), 62-65.

Ptolemaic Alexandria (Oxford 1972) – is not a history but an antiquarian encyclopaedia that fails to address the most basic issues in the city's historical development.

Little has changed since Finley published his critique. The 13 papers contained in *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Alexandria* were delivered at a conference held at Columbia University in 2002 intended to begin the process of filling this fundamental gap in the historiography of Graeco-Roman Egypt. The range of these papers is impressive. They span the history of Alexandria from its foundation to the end of antiquity and include perceptive studies of various aspects of its administrative, social and cultural history.

The collection opens with a masterful article by W. Scheidel proposing a new model for reconstructing Alexandria's demographic history based on the hypothesis that its development most likely paralleled that of Edo in early modern Japan. According to this model, Alexandria's demographic history would have followed an S-shaped pattern, marked by rapid early growth in the 3rd century BC followed by a leveling off or slight decline in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC before rising again in the Roman period. Based on this model, Scheidel suggests that Alexandria had a maximum population of 300,000 persons under the Ptolemies and may have reached an absolute maximum of 500,000 persons in the Roman period.

Six articles on Ptolemaic Alexandria follow. The group opens with the Egyptologist J. Baines surveying the forms of Egyptian elite self-presentation in Ptolemaic Egypt, illustrating the radically innovative character of Hellenistic Egyptian sculpture with its creative incorporation of Greek influences into traditional forms. In the next two papers, S. Stephens perceptively analyses the new papyrus anthology of Posidippus' epigrams, arguing that it should be viewed as a unified whole focusing on themes of Ptolemaic imperial representation; while N. Bonacasa considers the tension between realism and eclecticism in art in 'Realismo ed eclettismo nell'arte alessandrina'. Two papyrological studies follow. F. Berkhalter argues that *hierothytes* were Alexandrian officials charged with registering testamentary property dispositions drawn up as supplements to marriage contracts; while L. Capponi suggests that the mysterious 'oikos of Alexandria' controlled property held throughout Egypt both by individual Alexandrians and the city of Alexandria. In the final paper in this section E. Birnbaum traces Jewish ideas concerning relations with non-Jews in Graeco-Jewish literature, maintaining that while Jewish views concerning interactions with non-Jews varied, a common theme in this literature was 'a general agreement about the differences between Jews and non-Jews' (p. 159) based on the Jews' unique worship of and obedience to the one true god.

The next five articles deal with Roman and Christian Egypt. In the first Mohammed Abdel-Ghani argues that relations between Alexandria and Middle Egypt were close throughout the Roman period. In 'Galen's Alexandria', H. von Staden offers a magisterial analysis of the references to Alexandria in Galen's works, demonstrating that the existence of a specifically Alexandrian school of anatomy during the first two centuries AD is a scholarly myth. C. Haas demonstrates ('Hellenism and Opposition to Christianity in Alexandria') that Egyptian elements were more prominent in late ancient paganism than is usually believed. M. Haggag publishes a number of wax magical figurines found in Upper Egypt in 'Some Unpublished Wax Figurines from Upper Egypt'; while G. Ruffini applies social network theory to analyse relations between Alexandrian and Athenian pagan intellectuals in 'Late Antique Pagan Networks from Athens to the Thebaid', maintaining that they formed a 'low density' network

in which ties between Alexandria and Athens were much closer than those between Athens and Alexandria's Egyptian hinterland. Mostafa el-Abbadi's lucid review of the development of Greek views of the island of Pharos concludes the volume.

The excellent papers in *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece* represent a good first step on the way to a real history of Alexandria. The problem facing all historians of Alexandria itself is the dearth of local sources. Scheidel's and Ruffini's papers well illustrate the potential of new methodologies to overcome this problem. The bulk of the papers in the volume, however, are excellent examples of the use of traditional philology to establish basic facts about the institutions and culture of Alexandria. While this fine volume will be essential reading for all scholars interested in the history of Alexandria, therefore, it also makes clear that producing a reliable history of the city still remains a distant goal.

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Stanley M. Burstein

J.C. Janssen, *Grain Transport in the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum vol. VIII, The British Museum Press, London 2004, xv+119 pp., 22 pls. Cased. ISBN 0-7147-1959-8

This small volume is a standard *editio princeps* of an important document dating to the Ramesside period (mid-Dynasty 20, ca. 1150 BC, from the reign of Ramses V, VII or VIII), known as P. Amiens/Baldwin. The text, presumably, comes from a tomb in the area of Asyut in Middle Egypt, although there is no confirmation of this in the text itself. Mr Baldwin's note to the British Museum is the only indication that the text derives from Asyut. Both halves of the text were acquired in the same year, 1882.

P. Amiens/Baldwin is essentially an accounting text, dealing mainly with grain payments from various locations in the Nile valley in and around the modern town of Qâw el-Kebir (the Xth Upper Egyptian *nome*, ancient Tjebu) in Middle Egypt. The production and taxation of grain were, of course, at the heart of the ancient Egyptian economy, and while there were certainly institutional changes over the course of Pharaonic history, the basic fact remained that the ability of the state to collect and distribute grain tax revenue was the main measure of economic power. The document published here is an important source for understanding the operations, to some extent, of the collection of grain, and the connection between land holding, social hierarchy and state finance, in late Ramesside times. The temple institution, here it is that of Amun-Re at Karnak, is of central importance in the New Kingdom agricultural economy, and the text reminds us, as we know from many other documentary sources, how much economic power this one temple wielded in Middle Egypt. Beyond the reach of this one temple, the text also provides additional evidence for just how complex interests in land were, making the simplistic claim of 'ownership' of land, either state or private, a far too simplistic bifurcation of the actual complexities of ancient rural Egypt. The social hierarchy on the land is relatively clear here – from the cultivators themselves (in itself containing a wide range of persons, including priests) to middling officials 'in charge of' temple domain lands, to higher officials under whose 'authority' the land lay.

The book is divided into three parts: an Introduction, and a translation and commentary of the recto and the verso of the text. Appendix I lists the correspondence between the entries in the text, Appendix II treats diacritical signs, and Appendix III briefly discusses

writings of the preposition 'under the authority of'. Indexes, a hieroglyphic transcription of the complete text and excellent photographs conclude the volume.

This book is primarily a publication of Papyrus Baldwin because the upper half of the text (P. Amiens) has been well known since its discussion by Gardiner in 1941.¹ P. Baldwin was recently 'discovered' in the British Museum. And therein lies a tale. After an exhibition of the papyrus, the text, at some point early in the 20th century, was moved to the Student Rooms of the Western Asiatic Department. And there it remained, unknown to Egyptologists until Janssen saw it in the Papyrus room of the Museum in 1993. The whole text was part of an exhibition in the British Museum in 1999-2000, and this reviewer saw the text in a small museum in southern Belgium in the Summer of 2003. The addition of Papyrus Baldwin to the Amiens text (now in the Musée de Picardie) adds new information on specific cargoes, and allows J. to reject some of Gardiner's suppositions on the accounting methods (and accuracy) in the text.

Part I is a brief introduction to the papyrus, some recent research on the text, and a discussion of the date of the text. Part II is devoted to the recto of the papyrus. The text in J.'s view forms a 'single unit' and concerns the collection of grain from temple ships from a variety of sites in the Xth Upper Egyptian *nome*. The verso of the text, discussed in Part III, is more diverse in its contents. Among other things, it concerns an account of small amounts of grain coming from individuals and households, loaded onto a ship, and an account of garments from various villages. In contrast to the recto, grain mentioned on the verso as being 'delivered' comes from households and individuals, without mention of a 'threshing floor', giving rise to the speculation that a different category of land (what has been called 'apportioning land') is involved.

There is very little to add to J.'s economical edition, and his very reliable transcription and translation. His treatment of the difficult hieratic writing is masterful. Many questions are raised by J., and some solutions are suggested for some of the interpretive problems of the text. It is interesting from an historical point of view to note that the temple of Amun appears to control much 'island land', (surely the terms *iw n m3wt* and *iw* are the same term, and become *m3y* land, i.e. land nearer the river in later demotic texts), a phenomenon paralleled later in texts such as the Edfu donation text.² New vocabulary for types of grain, known previously from a literary source, are discussed briefly on p. 62, but exactly what the two terms discussed mean is unresolved.

Beyond the important vocabulary and toponyms in the text, the real value of it lies in our understanding of the Pharaonic economy. The author is one of the foremost authorities on the ancient Egyptian economy, particularly during the New Kingdom, but nowhere in this edition is the economy mentioned nor is the historical context treated. This is something of a shame. An individual document such as Papyrus Amiens/Baldwin taken in isolation is not always easy to understand. But some amount of contextualisation is surely important. There has been considerable discussion about the nature and structure of the New Kingdom economy recently, and since the 20th dynasty is one of the better-documented periods for ancient Egyptian economic history, J.'s opinions would have added considerable value to

¹ A.H. Gardiner, 'Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn'. *JEA* 27 (1941), 19-73. The text is reprinted in Gardiner's *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford 1948).

² D. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou* (Cairo 1972).

the edition.³ The mid-20th Dynasty is well known for its social and economic problems, reflected *inter alia* in the high price of grain at times. No hint of unrest may be found in the papyrus – does this indicate business as usual, or does an account such as we have here reflect unusual, that is to say stressful circumstances? The document certainly reflects the economic and geographic reach of the great temple of Amun at Karnak, and it hints also at the extensive social networks, and methods of control, involved in the storage and movement of grain, used as wages as well as basic food supply.

This is an important edition, and we should be grateful to J. for bringing both halves of the text together in this superbly produced volume. His hesitation to interpret will, I hope, be offset by discussion among those interested in the Pharaonic economy, and will provide some motivation for Egyptologists to move beyond the ‘primitivist-modernist’ debate that has become sterile in most historical circles now.

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J.G. Manning

Journal of Georgian Archaeology 1, The Journal of the Otar Lordkipanidze Centre for Archaeological Studies, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Archaeological Studies, Tbilisi 2004, 243 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 1512-2565

This is the first volume of a journal, produced by the Centre for Archaeological Studies in Tbilisi, much associated with the late Prof. O.D. Lordkipanidze, and named after him since 2002. All 16 articles are by members of the Centre, and all are in English, except the first, on an early Palaeolithic site, which is in German. The policy of the Centre is to make all its productions accessible to scholars in the West, which is achieved by the translation, arranged and honed, by the two English members of the editorial team (volume editors: D. Braund, V. Japaridze, D. Kacharava, G. Kvirkvelia and M. Vickers); there are abstracts in Georgian at the head of each article.

The contributions are of varying length; one of the longest is the first one (by A. Justus and M. Nioradze) on the Palaeolithic site at Dmanisi near the Armenian border, which is illustrated with 18 pages of figures, mainly graphs, but also of worked stone artefacts (pp. 7-38). There follows a short article on ornaments (amulets) from the Palaeolithic to the Late Bronze Age, found in a cave at Sagvarjile in western Georgia (L. Nebieridze, pp. 39-48). Next comes a lengthy discussion, by L. Lida Chelidze and D. Gogelia, of an early farming site on the River Khrami in eastern Georgia at Arukhlo I, profusely illustrated with text figures and 38 plates (pp. 46-92). There is a short paper on a series of hearths, and horn- and horse-shoe-shaped andirons, belonging to the Kura-Araxes culture (best known from Trialeti) of ca. 3000-2500 BC (A. Orjonikidze, pp. 93-101). Three papers at the centre of the volume cover the Early-Late Bronze Age, the last being a posthumous work by Lordkipanidze himself on the interpretation to be put on the finds of hoards of bronze utensils of the Late Bronze Age (pp. 134-51) found throughout Georgia.

³ For a good summary of the structure of the New Kingdom temple economy, I recommend B. Haring, *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (Leiden 1997).

The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age is represented by the publication of a burial pit from Ergeta in western Georgia (R. Papuashvili, pp. 152-59), in which a rich collection of axes and daggers was found. A useful compilation is the list of Greek, Persian and other coins found on the territory of Colchis/Georgia (*ca.* 350 BC-AD 450) (G. Dundua, pp. 160-69). The royal palace of the kings of Iberia (1st century BC-1st century AD), which was excavated between 1972 and 1977, and again in 1985-93, is characterised in a paper (I. Gago-shidze, pp. 170-85) showing a partial plan and numerous artefacts – pottery, tools, gemstones, and a series of bone plaques bearing scenes of hunter-riders and stags. The fortress of Shorapani, up the Phasis river, receives due consideration. Various phases of this border-post of eastern Colchis have been detected (6th-4th centuries BC, and 2nd century BC-1st century AD), and it flourished also during the Byzantine-Lazic wars against the Persian kings in the 5th-6th centuries AD (V. Japaridze, pp. 186-202). The final substantial article on the successive periods is on the church of King Mirion and St Nino of the first half of the 4th century AD; the complicated plan of this church at Mtskheta is presented and commented on (G. Bolkvadze, pp. 203-07). The main contributions close with the first half of a paper by G. Gamkrelidze (pp. 208-17) on the course of development of archaeology in Georgia down to 1921; the concluding part is promised for the future. Two short tailpieces follow, one on a burial of Bronze Age date excavated in 2002 at Atsquri (V. Licheli, pp. 218-24); the other publishes a bronze figurine found also in 2002 in the closing phases of the excavation of a sanctuary at Vani (D. Kacharava, pp. 225-27). A list in English of publications (in Georgian) by the 'collective' in the year 2001 closes the volume (pp. 228-41).

There is something here for scholars of all periods, drawn from this richly heritaged land, though a 'hole' is left into which to insert in future volumes the Greek communities in the coastal lands of Colchis (at Phasis, Dioskurias, Pichvnari and Tsikhisdziri) and the Colchian 'capital' of 'Aeetes' and his dynasty at Kutaisi.

Leeds, UK

J.G.F. Hind

S. Kane (ed.), *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context*, Colloquia and Conference Papers 7, Archaeological Institute of America, Boston 2003, ix+171 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-931909-04-0

This volume is another valuable addition to the growing corpus of literature exploring the complex subject of the interrelationship between archaeology, nationalist sentiments, ethnic identities and political agendas. It opens with an Introduction by the editor underlining some of the major themes explored in papers, including the ways archaeology has been used to create and revise cultural history and how archaeology can promote more balanced reconstructions of the past by fostering multivocality and pluralism. After the Introduction, eight papers follow.

W. Edwards ('Monuments to an Unbroken Line: The Imperial Tombs and the Emergence of Modern Japanese Nationalism') explores how care for the earthenworks assumed to be tombs of ancient emperors of Japan witnessed a resurgence with the rise of Japanese nationalism following Japan's opening of her ports from 1850s, under American pressure, to foreigners. O. Gilkes, in 'The Voyage of Aeneas: Myth, Archaeology, and Identity in Interwar Albania', investigates the role of archaeological research by the Italian expedition in Albania

in 1920s and 1930s in advancing Italian imperialist ambitions. Y. Hamilakis ('Lives in Ruins: Antiquities and National Imagination in Modern Greece') studies the role of Classical remains, especially the Parthenon, in promoting nationalism in several episodes in recent Greek history, including the civil war following the Second World War. R. Joyce, in 'Archaeology and Nation Building: A View from Central America', looks at how the ancient Maya civilisation and its monumental sites, such as Copan, were used in constructing national identities in the Central American republics of Guatemala and Honduras, and explores how, in recent decades, attempts at 'Mayanisation' of the entire population has given way to a more pluralistic approach, allowing for other ancient ethnicities, other than the Maya, to claim a place in the social mosaic that was (and is) Mesoamerica. S. Herbert ('Excavating Ethnic Strata: The Search for Hellenistic Phoenicians in the Upper Galilee of Israel') points out the differences in ancient versus our modern notions of ethnicity and explores the thorny question of how to identify various ethnicities in the archaeological record. F. McManamon, in 'Archaeology, Nationalism, and Ancient America', investigates the gradual inclusion of pre-Columbian monuments in emerging American nationalism in the 19th century and continues with an exploration of changing notions of 'American-ness' and the place of native Americans in national character of the United States, emphasising a dire need for more attention to pre-Columbian history in education curricula of various levels, and more effort in preservation and presentation of archaeological remains of pre-Columbian times as part of the national heritage of America. I. Hodder ('Sustainable Time Travel: Toward a Global Politics of the Past') studies the complex interrelation between archaeological expeditions, their research objectives and discoveries and visitors they attract, and local communities, commenting on potential impacts the latter may have on the former and how this has been a neglected topic in setting up archaeological projects. L. Mesckell, in 'Pharaonic Legacies: Postcolonialism, Heritage, and Hyperreality', explores the Western claims on the Pharaonic civilisation and its use by Egyptians in constructing a post-colonial national identity. She then offers a review of commercialisation of ancient Egypt in recent years in conjunction with recreation of a sanitised version of modern Egypt that average Western tourists would find enjoyable.

The editor and the contributors to the volume seem to subscribe to the idea of the integral political nature of archaeological research, from 'trowel's edge' to grand interpretations. But this seems to be somewhat of a generalisation. As examples in this volume clearly demonstrate, archaeological evidence has been used to promote political agendas mostly in cases dealing with cultures of historical periods. It seems that the further back in time one goes, the potential for abuse or misuse of the archaeological evidence is diminished. Furthermore, the culprits are seldom (if ever) archaeologists, but a whole host of other interest groups who only have a trivial concern with archaeology as a scientific field of inquiry. Examples mentioned in papers in the volume include politicians (Japan, Italy, Albania, Greece), various organisations for promoting tourism (Honduras, Egypt), the intelligentsia (the United States), learned organisations (UNESCO, the National Geographic Society), and the general public. In fact, the only academically trained archaeologist discussed in some length in the volume, Luigi Maria Ugolini, the head of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Albania was, according to Gilkes, 'a sound archaeological practitioner, with his own clear intellectual agenda' (p. 40) who produced considerable amount of reliable information on ancient Albania, regardless of the circumstances within which his expedition was set up and his research was sponsored.

One can also question the argument put forward by Hodder that interpreting ancient cultures in frameworks derived from modern Western science (regardless of where they fit in the modernist-post-modernist spectrum) is yet another form of appropriation in service of a particular theoretical approach. First, what used to be known as 'Western science' has now acquired a global character, practised around the world by researchers from many diverse ethnic, national and religious backgrounds. Second, and many would disagree that, scientific approach is still our most reliable way of learning, including learning about the past. What need to be expanded and enhanced are the kinds of questions we ask in a scientific framework, and this is what archaeologist ought to be working on in the years to come.

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Kamyar Abdi

M. Kazanski and A. Mastikova, *Les peuples du Caucase du Nord. Le début de l'histoire (I^{er}-VII^e siècle apr. J.-C.)*, Collection des Hesperides, Editions Errance, Paris 2003, 214 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-87772-242-2

The recently published book by M. Kazanski and A. Mastikova offers an historical panorama of ethnic movements that occurred at the beginning of our era in one of the key areas of western Eurasia, the northern Caucasus. Public interest in this area is whipped up by the bloody conflicts that flared up there in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the long-lasting war in Chechnya being the gloomiest example. In this sense, the book under review may raise the interest of a large audience. Based on the large scope of archaeological and historical evidence, it offers an insight into the origins and early history of North Caucasian nations.

In accordance with a long-established tradition in Russian and Soviet archaeology, the ethnic history of the area is reconstructed, based on a mixture of archaeological evidence and written sources. The book includes numerous boxes with long quotations from Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Ammianus Marcellinus, Jordanes and Procopius, as well as Syrian, Armenian and Georgian ancient writers.

The complicated history of the northern Caucasus is portrayed as a chain of conflicts, in the course of which the nomadic groups of the steppe confronted either each other or the sedentary people to the south, or embarked on conflict with the ancient superpowers (Rome, Parthia, Sasanian Persia, Byzantium and the Caliphate), or became pawns in the conflicts of these powers.

The reader will find a new vision of the historical destinies of the nomadic peoples that greatly shaped the early history of Europe: the Huns, Alans, Bulgars and Khazars. Even more illuminating is the history of lesser-known nations: the Zikhs, Savirs and others.

The authors' methodology consists in scrupulous analysis of the ethnonyms mentioned in ancient written sources and in identifying these ethnicities with archaeological sites. In accordance with Russo-Soviet scholarly tradition, the utterances of ancient writers are uncritically accepted; what they write is deemed an absolute truth that needs only to be illustrated by archaeological evidence. Recent studies often question the accuracy of such documents which, according to post-modernist discourse, need reinterpretation and deconstruction, taking into account their socio-political context. The same applies to archaeological sources. The post-processual school convincingly argued against the ethno-cultural paradigm (shared

by the writers) that directly identifies archaeological entities ('archaeological cultures') with ethnicities. In reality, archaeological evidence is polysemantic, and various social groups may acquire (for political reasons or otherwise) alien group-symbols, thus hiding their true origins. Implicitly, the writers acknowledge this when they write about the 'Sarmatisation' of the Meothes' war aristocracy (p. 29). Nonetheless, they usually associate the diffusion of certain styles with large-scale migration. Thus, the spread of the 'Animal Style' acknowledged in the rich Sarmatian tombs is viewed as an indication of a migration of this people during the 1st century AD (p. 22). Ignoring the polysemantic character of archaeological sources, the writers tend to identify the ethno-relevant features in the assemblages of material culture. Thus, one may read (p. 40): '...as is widely accepted, T-shaped burial chambers are typical of Iranian-speaking nomads of the Roman era'.

Not all aspects of North Caucasian nations are adequately examined in the book. Discussing the origins of the Armenians, Georgians and Caucasian Albanians (p. 6), the writers offer a purely mythological Georgian text, and fail even to mention any scientific evidence (linguistic, anthropological or genetic) on this important issue. In addressing the linguistic affiliations of the North Caucasian nations, the most authoritative references are ignored.¹ The lack of proper references leaves the reader puzzled: when is something a quotation, and when are the words those of the writers themselves? Still more frustrating is the lack of references to the illustrations. Numerous plates with archaeological material are unnumbered, and it is difficult to link them to the appropriate part of the text (and *vice versa*).

The book contains a curious geographical assertion. On p. 5 one can read that 'Transcaucasian nations, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, belong, *bel et bien*, to the Near East'. The writers offer no justification for this brave new statement. So far there has been no doubt that the Caucasus, geographically, culturally and historically, formed an entity quite distinct from the Near East!

Despite the deficiencies mentioned, this book is of a considerable interest for both specialists and the larger public, as it bridges a gap in our knowledge on the early history of this troublesome area.

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Pavel Dolukhanov

A. Koch (ed.), *Das Persische Weltreich*, Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer, Theiss Verlag, Stuttgart 2006, 260 pp., numerous illustrations (mainly in colour). Cased. ISBN 3-00-019088-0

This handsome volume accompanies an exhibition of 2006, inevitably bidding for comparison with the British Museum exhibition ('Forgotten Empire') of 2005. The exhibition at Speyer had less of the monumental but was well stocked with other material largely from German museums (but also London) and the catalogue has appropriate archaeological and historical essays by a range of scholars, including studies on Anatolian portrait coinage (Weisser), women (Brosius), metal techniques (Born), Persians in Greek art (Raeck), literature

¹ I.M. Diakonoff, *Yazyki drevnei Perednei Azii* (Moscow 1967); T. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov, *Indoevropskii yazyk i indoevropetsy* (Tbilisi 1984).

(Metzler), the Bible (Albertz), dress (Rehm), script (Huyse) – to cite the less obvious but rewarding. An important feature of the book is the wealth of colour reconstructions of buildings and details, as well as of views of sites and maps.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

La Syrie Hellénistique. TOPOI, Orient-Occident suppl. 4, Lyons 2003, 541 pp, illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 1161-9473

This supplement to *TOPOI, Orient-Occident* contains the proceedings of a colloquium organised by Maurice Sartre in Tours, 6-8 October 2000. The reader, however, would not learn this date from the volume, which (apart from the cover's colour) could as well have been a regular issue of the journal. There is, for example, no index. There are 25 papers, nearly all in French, with four in English and one in Italian. It is the first time that a whole volume has been dedicated solely to the lands of Syria from Alexander to Pompey, a period whose remains are meagre compared with those of the Ancient Near East or those of Roman times, and which has often been characterised by modern scholars as one of the 'dark ages'. In the Introduction Sartre emphasises that these relative limitations are no excuse for the lack of interest often shown: so-called dark ages 'ne sont obscurs que pour nous!' (p. 5), and sufficient progress has now been made in Syrian archaeology to legitimise an undertaking which would have been considered 'comme une pure provocation' half a century ago (p. 6). It is clear that the volume in its conception intends to counter the attitude (of emphasising the limitations of the available evidence) of the classic paper by F. Millar, 'The problem of Hellenistic Syria',¹ a notion which also lay behind Sartre's decision to set the Roman period against the Hellenistic heritage in his 2001 monograph *D'Alexandre à Zénobie*.² It is therefore rather surprising that Millar's paper seems to have been used only by two contributors (of papers in English).

The collection itself is divided in three main sections, 'recherches sur les villes', 'l'Arabie et les Arabes' and 'production et échanges', and is concluded by a paper dealing with processes of Hellenisation in the neighbouring region of Cilicia (Salmeri). The first section opens with considerations on Levantine toponymy (Bousdroukis), with consequences for our understanding of the urbanisation of the Hellenistic Near East, reassessing Seleucus' role in favour of Antigonus Monophthalmos. The cities themselves are subdivided in sections dealing with the coast, the Euphrates region and interior Syria, mostly covered by the expected specialists, for example Duyrat on Arados (numismatics), Leriche on Dura-Europos, the Baltys on Apamea, Seigne on the temple of Zeus at Gerasa and Schmidt-Colinet on Palmyra. These individual contributions all show the progress which has been made in recent years, and make clear – as is stressed especially by Yon, in a paper on the Euphrates region with particular attention

¹ F. Millar, 'The problem of Hellenistic Syria'. In A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East: the Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (London/Berkeley 1987).

² M. Sartre, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie: histoire du Levant antique IV^e siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 2001), cf. p. 13 n. 6; although the Hellenistic chapters have been sacrificed in the new English-language edition, *The Middle East under Rome* (Cambridge, MA/London 2005).

to Dura – that the often applied division of the Hellenistic Levant between Greek cities on the one hand and Arab and other nomadic principalities on the other is certainly too simplistic. At the start of the second section are two very different papers which both attempt to tackle the question of what was actually meant in antiquity by words we now translate with 'Arab'. Macdonald's careful study shows a healthy awareness of the limitations and an innate scepticism, combined with great one-liners such as 'ethnicity is a messy subject' (p. 304). His paper makes clear that the ancient labelling of someone or something as 'Arab' shines no light – no matter how much we would like it to – on life-style or origins. I find Graf's paper a bit more confusing, probably because he wants to start from too many certainties and is keener on presenting solutions. In any case, it provides a good test case for Macdonald's methodological considerations. Other papers in this section include Bowersock's evaluation of the sources for the area known as the Leja, 'a cultural unity of its own' (p. 348) which does not seem to have too much in common with, for example, modern assumptions of a robbers' den, two contributions on the Wadi Rum, and the proposed reconstruction of a statuary group at the temple of Sahr by Weber, who argues that it was an important monument of the Herodian rulers, set up either by Agrippa I or by his son Agrippa II in what had previously been hostile territory. The latter is the French translation of a German original which has now appeared in a volume of similar interest.³ The final section deals with architectural decoration (Dentzer-Feydy), Seleucid administration (Finkielsztejn), stamped amphora handles (Attalah), showing the presence of 'une population grecque qui ne se satisfaisait pas de la production viticole locale de moindre qualité' (p. 485), and the production of glass (Dussart).

Sartre's initiative has now placed the Levant in the three centuries following Alexander on the map as a serious field of research, and despite the relative limitations of the available evidence (which remain in force, although the borders are gradually shifting), further progress on the subject is eagerly anticipated.

University of Durham

Ted Kaizer

- I. Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades. Les peuples nomades de la steppe des origines aux invasions mongoles (IX^e siècle av. J.-C. – XIII^e siècle apr. J.-C.)*, Editions Errance, Paris 2003, 272 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-87772-254-6

The book by Lebedynsky is a unique attempt to construct a comprehensive encyclopaedia of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe, from Central Europe to China. It includes a theoretical chapter, where general questions are discussed (the origins of the nomadic life-style, the geographical setting, socio-economic structures, warfare, religion, oral and written traditions).

The greater part of the book is taken up with the description of concrete nomadic ethno-linguistic entities, following a uniform pattern: name, ethno-linguistic characteristics, history, archaeology, culture. These entities are divided into eight groups, each one discussed

³ T.M. Weber, 'Ein Denkmal der Herodier in der syrischen Basaltwüste'. In K.S. Freyberger, A. Henning and H. von Hesberg (eds.), *Kulturkonflikte im Vorderen Orient an der Wende vom Hellenismus zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Rahden 2003), 257-75. Cf. my review in <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/id=3847>.

a separate chapter: 'The Scythians of Europe'; 'The Scythians of Asia'; 'Nomads and Founders of Dynasties at China's Frontiers'; 'The Huns and Avars'; 'First Dominant Empires of the Turks of Central Asia'; 'Bulgars, Khazars and Magyars'; 'Great Turcophone Federations of the Middle Ages'; 'The Mongols'.

This compendium is based on analysis of an impressive body of evidence, which includes written sources (mostly Greek, Latin and Chinese), as well as numerous publications on archaeology, physical anthropology, ethnology and linguistics. Such a rich and informative book cannot escape certain shortcomings, but in no way do they diminish its incontestable value.

The theoretical chapter starts with an important statement that 'there is no direct connection between (physical) anthropological appearance and language' (p. 16). Yet the statements concerning the origins of the nomadic life-style based on obsolete archaeological evidence are completely undermined by recent research. L.'s statement that 'Neolithic and Chalcolithic Kurgan cultures' were 'globally sedentary... had villages... [and] were practising agriculture' (p. 17) is wrong. It is equally wrong that the shift towards pastoralism is discernible only from 1500 BC (p. 17).

As the radiocarbon dates show, the Pit-Grave culture, appeared in the steppe around 3000 cal. BC. A predominant characteristic of it was pastoral stock-breeding, with herds consisting of cattle, sheep or goats, and horses. Recently available archaeobotanical evidence indicates that this cultural area included also a limited sedentary agricultural component (such as Mikhailovka) in the areas sufficiently rich in agricultural resources.¹ Still earlier nomadic stock-breeding appeared in the Middle Volga area. Available radiocarbon dates for Khvalynsk cemetery suggest a date of 5000-4500 cal. BC.²

L. affirms (p. 29) that there is little evidence that 'Indo-European' late Neolithic societies were strongly hierarchical (*fortement hiérarchisées*). Yet archaeological records of the Chalcolithic Tripolye culture provide little evidence of social stratification (not to mention that their Indo-European allegiance is not proven). By contrast, social hierarchies are strongly signalled in the Pit-Grave societies which replaced the Tripolye on the Ukrainian steppe.

The book includes detailed descriptions of ethno-linguistic entities well attested by written sources and archaeology (such as Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, Sacae, Bulgars, Khazars, etc.). At the same time, it also includes minor ethnic groups whose localisation and archaeological characteristics are less certain (Yuedhi, Wusun, etc.); unfortunately, the book does not reflect current scholarly debate concerning the identification of these groups. The lack of bibliographical references in the text prevents the reader from distinguishing between the writer's own views and those of other scholars. The bibliography is rather concise and does not fully reflect existing publications.

These relatively small deficiencies do not reduce the book's importance. It may be recommended both to scholars and students and to all those interested in the history and life of the early Eurasian nomads.

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Pavel Dolukhanov

¹ G.A. Pashkevich, 'Early Farming in the Ukraine'. In J. Chapman and P. Dolukhanov (eds.), *Landscape in Flux. Central and Eastern Europe in Antiquity* (Oxford 1997), 263-74.

² E.N. Chernykh and L.B. Orlovskaya, 'Radiouglerodnaya khronologiya eneoliticheskikh kul'tur yugo-vostochnoi Evropy: resul'taty i problemy issledovaniya'. *RosA* 4 (2004), 24-37.

K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, Mnemosyne suppl. 246, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, xxii+504 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13300-3/ISSN 0169-8958

Die Problematik von – eigener und fremder – Identität hat die europäische Öffentlichkeit in den letzten Jahren in zunehmendem Maße beschäftigt, wie die rezente Diskussion um die "Leitkultur" des Landes etwa in Deutschland zeigt. Gesellschaften im Umbruch, die sich ihrer alten Werte nicht mehr sicher sind, suchen nach Orientierungen für neue, die sich erst herausbilden müssen. In diesem Kontext ist die Frage nach der Identität auch zu einem viel diskutierten Thema der Altertumsforschung geworden, das in einer beachtlichen Reihe von Publikationen seinen Niederschlag gefunden hat. Nicht immer paßt der Begriff so gut wie im Fall der vorliegenden Akten einer Tagung zu Ehren von Brian Shefton zu seinem 80. Geburtstag, dessen verschiedene Forschungsinteressen mit der Frage nach der Identität der Griechen im westlichen Mittelmeer treffend umrissen werden.

Die Beiträge werden chronologisch beziehungsweise thematisch gegliedert vorgelegt. Auf zwei Beiträge zur Frühzeit der westlichen Kolonisation ('Early Western Colonisation') folgen zwei umfangreichere Abschnitte, von denen sich der erste mit den Möglichkeiten der Darstellung beziehungsweise des Erkennens einer spezifischen Identität beschäftigt ('Representations of identity'), der zweite auf spezifische Fallstudien konzentriert ist. An den Schluß gestellt sind zwei Arbeiten über die Zeit des Hellenismus und der römischen Herrschaft ('Greek Identity in the Hellenistic and Roman West'). Sieht man von dieser redaktionellen Gliederung ab, so läßt sich – wie auch von Lomas selbst in ihrer Einleitung angedeutet – die Konzentration auf zwei große, durch die verwendeten Quellen charakterisierten Themenkreise erkennen: Eine größere Zahl von Beiträgen befaßt sich mit der Aussage der historischen und linguistisch-epigraphischen Überlieferung, insgesamt neun Arbeiten stützen sich vor allem auf Keramikfunde. Studien von anderen Kleinfundgruppen, aber auch zur Architektur fehlen fast völlig. Überraschend gering ist auch die Beachtung, die Heiligtümer als Ausdruck griechischer Identität im Westen erfahren haben; auf sie wird nur von M. Torelli und M. Rausch näher eingegangen.

Wie üblich steht am Anfang des Buches eine kurze Biographie sowie eine Auswahl der umfangreichen Bibliographie des Jubilars. In der folgenden Einleitung präsentiert die Herausgeberin Kathryn Lomas die aktuellen Tendenzen in der Beschäftigung mit dem Thema Identität, wobei sie besonders den Auffassungswandel im Bereich der ethnischen Identität ausführt. Als eines der Hauptanliegen der Tagung sieht sie die Frage, inwieweit sich die griechische Identität im westlichen Mittelmeerraum von jenen des Mutterlandes unterscheidet. Dieser Problematik wird in den folgenden Beiträgen in unterschiedlicher Weise nachgegangen.

D. Ridgway, 'Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenean Seaboard in the 8th century B.C.' (S. 15–34) beleuchtet die ersten Kontakte zwischen Griechen und dem Westen im Lichte der revidierten Chronologie der italischen Eisenzeit nach Peroni, die einen nicht unerheblich früheren zeitlichen Ansatz vorsieht und damit auch für die Anfangszeit der griechischen Kolonisation im Westen Fragen aufwirft. Der ethnischen Zusammensetzung der frühen Kolonien wird – nicht ganz unerwartet – am Beispiel von Pithekoussai nachgegangen, wobei der Autor klar gegen die Thesen von S. Morris und J. Papadopoulos¹ Stellung bezieht. Besondere

¹ S.P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton 1992); J.K. Papadopoulos, 'Phantom Euboians'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10.2 (1997), 191–219; S.P. Morris und J.K. Papadopoulos,

Aufmerksamkeit in der Diskussion legt Ridgway auf das Vorhandensein von lokalen Imitationen von euböischer Keramik in Pithekoussai, da diese nicht als Handelsware, sondern als Zeichen von kultureller Identität zu werten sind.

In J. Hall, 'How "Greek" were the Early Western Greeks?' (S. 35-54) steht hingegen die Frage nach dem ethnischen Selbstverständnis der Westgriechen im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Hall stützt sich quellenmäßig vor allem auf historische Quellen, bei denen er Beweise für einen verbreiteten Bilingualismus in Sizilien und Großgriechenland findet, der auf eine stark gemischte Bevölkerung hinweist. Hall plädiert daher auch für eine verstärkte Bedeutung der Polis-Identität in archaischer Zeit, die – wie im Mutterland – erst ab dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. durch die großen Auseinandersetzungen mit Karthago beziehungsweise den Persern einer sogenannten oppositionalen Identität weicht.

Der Artikel von C. Antonaccio, 'Siculo-geometric and the Sikels: Ceramics and identity in eastern Sicily' (S. 55-81) ist der erste in der Reihe jener, die sich vor allem auf Keramikfunde stützen. Eingebettet in ein breites Resumé der möglichen methodischen Ansätze zur Interpretation materieller Hinterlassenschaft versucht Antonaccio anhand des sogenannten Euthymedes-Kraters aus Morgantina die Bedeutung von indigener Keramik, wie der siculo-geometrischen Keramik, zur Bestimmung der lokalen Identität zu definieren.

Der folgende Beitrag von R. Jones und J. Buxeda i Garrigós, 'The identity of early Greek pottery in Italy and Spain: an archaeometric perspective' (S. 83-114) bietet eine nützliche Zusammenstellung moderner archäometrischer Analyseverfahren und ihrer Anwendung im Bereich des westlichen Mittelmeer, die die Autoren mit der ernüchternden, zweifellos aber korrekten Feststellung schließen: "the field is still at the data gathering stage" (S. 109).

Eine mögliche Anwendung entsprechender archäometrischer Studien bietet M. Kerschner, 'Phokäische Thalassokratie oder Phantom-Phokäer? Die frühgriechischen Keramikfunde im Süden der Iberischen Halbinsel aus der ägäischen Perspektive' (S. 115-48). Als ausgewiesener Spezialist der ostägäischen Keramik der Frühzeit unterzieht er die als ostägäisch angesehenen Keramikfunde im iberischen Bereich einer kritischen Revision, die ergibt, daß der Prozentsatz der tatsächlich ostägäischen Importe wesentlich kleiner gewesen sein dürfte als dies gemeinhin angenommen wird. Er geht weiters auf die fragwürdige Gleichsetzung dieser Importe mit dem phokäischen Handel ein, für die Herodot die Hauptquelle ist, die jedoch – angesichts unserer Unkenntnis der Keramikproduktion der Mutterstadt Phokaia selbst – archäologisch nur schwach oder gar nicht gestützt ist. Bedauerlicherweise wurden die für seine Argumentation wichtigen Diagramme Abb. 2 und Abb. 3. vertauscht.

Wie der Titel schon andeutet, nimmt J. Boardman, 'Copies of pottery: by and for whom?' (S. 149-62) Bezug auf die (noch immer) aktuelle Euböer-Diskussion² und konstatiert die Tendenz "to dissociate pots from people" (S. 149). Seine Ausführungen konzentrieren sich auf lokal hergestellte Trinkschalen griechischer Form im levantinischen Bereich und den Zusammenhang zwischen Form, Funktion und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit ihrer Benutzer.

M. Harari, 'A short history of pygmies in Greece and Italy' (S. 163-90) verfolgt in einer umfangreichen Darstellung die Entwicklung der Ikonographie der Pygmäen in der

'Phoenicians and the Corinthian pottery industry'. In R. Rolle und K. Schmidt (Hrsg.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen 1998), 251-63.

² Siehe Anmerkung 1.

griechischen Vasenmalerei von ihren Anfängen bis ins 4. Jh. v. Chr. und versucht, ihre Bedeutung im kolonialen Kontext als Ausdruck griechischer Xenophobie aufzuzeigen.

V. Izzet, 'Purloined Letters: the Aristonothos inscription and krater' (S. 191-210) gibt eine kohärente und ausgesprochen komplexe Deutung eines der bedeutendsten Gefäße des westlichen Mittelmeers, die sich ganz wesentlich auf die Analyse der Beischrift stützt. In der Argumentation in sich logisch, hinterläßt sie beim Leser dennoch den Verdacht, daß wir hier mehr "sehen" als dies die antiken Benutzer taten.

Mit dem Beitrag von M. Torelli, 'Un dono per gli dei: *kantharoi* e gigantomachie. A proposito di un *kantharos* a figure nere da Gravisca' (S. 211-28) tritt erstmals in diesem Band ein großes Heiligtum des westlichen Mittelmeers ins Blickfeld. Torelli zeigt überzeugend, daß es sich bei der Gruppe der schwarzfigurigen Kantharoi ausschließlich um singuläre Meisterwerke handelte, die vorwiegend in den großen Heiligtümern, etwa von Athen, Delphi oder Naukratis, geweiht wurden. Das an der Westküste Etruriens gelegene Gravisca reiht sich hier problemlos ein und zeigt, daß der Westen in dieser Hinsicht keine Sonderstellung hatte.

Auch der Beitrag von M. Rausch, 'Neben- und Miteinander in archaischer Zeit: Die Beziehungen von Italikern und Etruskern zum griechischen Poseidonia' (S. 229-58) beschäftigt sich ausführlich mit der Rolle eines Heiligtums, nämlich jenes von Poseidonia. Der umfangreiche, aber wenig originäre Beitrag³ versucht, eine Zusammenfassung des Forschungsstands zu geben, wobei tendentiell die Bedeutung der etruskischen Einflüsse in diesem Grenzbereich betont wird. Umso ärgerlicher ist es, daß die Literatur, die laut Autor mit dem Jahr 1998 endet (Anm. 103), ganz entscheidende Lücken aufweist, von denen hier nur als ein Beispiel unter vielen die nicht rezipierte, auf neuen Grabungsergebnissen beruhende Neu-deutung des sogenannten archaischen Thesauros von Poseidonia als römisches Sacellum anzuführen ist.⁴ Auch die Schilderung der Verwendung der an der ganzen tyrrhenischen Küste verbreiteten kampanischen Dachziegel als spezielle Art des über Pompeii laufenden Kulturkontakts (S. 243 f.) zeigt bedauerliche Lücken in der Kenntnis des Autors.⁵

J. Barron, 'Go West, Go Native' (S. 259-66) untersucht die Rolle von Samos und seine Kontakte mit Etrurien anhand einer fundierten Studie von epigraphisch überliefertem Namensmaterial des 4. und 3. Jhs. v. Chr.

³ Das selbe Thema wurde mit einer etwas anderen Reihenfolge der Unterkapitel bereits publiziert: M. Rausch, 'Grenze, Handel, Heiligtum – die Bedeutung ethnisch übergreifender Kultstätten Südkampaniens in archaischer Zeit'. *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 135 (2000), 61-88.

⁴ J. de La Genière und G. Greco: 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Hera au Sele'. *CRAI* 1994, 305-14; 'Riflessioni intorno al c.d. Thesauros nel santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele'. In C. Montepaone (Hrsg.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in Memoria di Ettore Lepore III* (Neapel 1996) 455-67. J. de La Genière: 'Premiers résultats de nouvelles fouilles de l'Heraion de Foce Sele'. In *Hera: Images, Espaces, Cultes. Actes du colloque international, Lille, 29-30 novembre 1993* (Neapel 1997), 173-79; 'À la recherche du "temple des métopes archaïques" du Sele'. In O. de Cazanove und J. Scheid (Hrsg.), *Sanctuaires et Sources dans l'antiquité. Actes de la Table ronde Naples 30 novembre 2001* (Neapel 2003), 97-102. G. Greco: *Il santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele* (Salerno 2001); 'Der archaische Thesauros im Heraion am Sele – Ein archäologisches Phantom'. *ÖJh* 72 (2003), 97-109. G. Greco und B. Ferrara (Hrsg.), *Il Museo narrante del Santuario di Hera Argiva alla foce del Sele* (Salerno 2002).

⁵ C. Rescigno, *Tetti campani, età arcaica, Cuma, Pitecusa e gli altri contesti* (Rom 1998).

Interessante Aufschlüsse bietet die Untersuchung von A. Small, 'Some Greek inscriptions on native vases from South East Italy' (S. 267-86), der zwei griechische Aufschriften auf indigenen Gefäßen von Santo Mola und Pisticci analysiert, die nach Small eine enge Vertrautheit der lokalen Bevölkerung mit der griechischen Kultur belegen.

Der sehr umfangreiche Beitrag von Th. Braun, 'Hecataeus' knowledge of the Western Mediterranean' (S. 287-347) versucht einen vollständigen Überblick über die in den Fragmenten von Hekataios überlieferten griechischen Siedlungen im westlichen Bereich des Mittelmeers zu geben. Die Arbeit sprengt den Rahmen eines Festschriftbeitrags, auch weil Braun den Versuch unternimmt, zu allen erwähnten Orten den aktuellen archäologischen Forschungsstand beizusteuern – ein Unterfangen, an dem er kläglich scheitert, was besonders bei der spanischen und italienischen Literatur deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt.⁶

Bei den folgenden Beispielen handelt es sich um Detailstudien zu einzelnen Orten: L. Braccisi, 'The Greeks on the Venetian Lagoon' (S. 349-61) schildert die Entwicklung Venetiens von der mykenischen bis zur römischen Zeit. Die detaillierte Studie würde durch entsprechendes Kartenmaterial auch für den Nicht-Ortskundigen stark an Verständlichkeit gewinnen.

D.W.J. Gill, 'Euesperides: Cyrenaika and its contacts with the Greek world' (S. 391-409) gibt einen Überblick über die Entwicklung und den Charakter der kyrenischen Kolonie.

Der Beitrag J.C. Carter, 'The Greek Identity at Metaponto' (S. 363-90) geht von einzelnen Orten in der Chora von Metapont wie der Siedlung von Incoronata aus, für die er in Übereinstimmung mit A. De Siena eine neue, von jener Orlandinis abweichende Deutung der Hausarchitektur vorschlägt sowie auf den relativ hoch entwickelten kulturellen Stand der indigenen Bevölkerung vor der Ankunft der Griechen hinweist. Bedauerlicherweise ist die Druckqualität der reichlich gegebenen Abbildungen so unzureichend, daß Details und Beschriftung nicht wirklich zu erkennen sind.

Der folgende Artikel von J. De Hoz, 'The Greek man in the Iberian street: non-colonial Greek identity in Spain and Southern France' (S. 411-28) wendet sich wieder der Epigraphik zu und untersucht anhand von griechischen Inschriften im iberischen Bereich die Frage, wo, wie und warum Griechen im indigenen Milieu Iberiens lebten. Obwohl die quantitative Ausgangsbasis gering ist, gelingt es durch Heranziehung von Vergleichsbeispielen ein anschauliches und realistisch scheinendes Bild der antiken Realitäten zu entwerfen.

Mit 'Greek identity in the Phocaean colonies' (S. 429-55) nimmt A.J. Domínguez das von ihm schon früher in zahlreichen Artikeln behandelte Thema einer übergreifenden phokäischen Identität wieder auf, ohne entscheidende neue Impulse setzen zu können. Da die Rezensentin an anderer Stelle zu zeigen versuchte, daß die simple Vorstellung einer kohärenten Identität in allen phokäischen Kolonien vorrangig ein modernen Konstrukt ist, kann sie dem Autor auch hier in vielen Punkten nicht folgen.⁷

Die letzten beiden Beiträge setzten sich schon in der späten Zeitstellung deutlich von den anderen ab, wobei die komplexe Studie von E. Zambon, "Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἦσαν τύραννοι": Notes on tyrannies in Sicily between the death of Agathocles and the coming of Pyrrhus

⁶ Aus den vielen möglichen Beispielen sei etwa nur Anm. 32 und 33 zu Huelva genannt, in dem die gesamte spanische Literatur fehlt.

⁷ V. Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität in Elea in spätarchaischer Zeit* (Wien 2003).

(289-279 B.C.)' (S. 457-74) nur mehr wenig Zusammenhang mit dem Tagungsthema erkennen läßt.

K. Lomas' Arbeit über 'Romanization and cultural identity in Massalia' (S. 475-98) versucht, von einer eher unbefriedigenden Materialbasis ausgehend, die kulturelle Identität Massalias in römischer Zeit nachzuzeichnen, wobei die Autorin dort, wo sie den Vergleich mit der griechischen Zeit herstellt, die Annahme einer speziellen phokäischen Identität mehr oder minder unreflektiert übernimmt. Das so entstandene Bild bleibt relativ blaß und unbefriedigend.

Zusammenfassend ist anzumerken, daß die gediegene Aufmachung des Bandes im Widerspruch zur geringen Zahl und schlechten Qualität der Abbildungen steht. In formaler Hinsicht ärgerlich ist weiters der Umstand, daß die sonst so genaue Redaktion bei den deutschsprachigen Beiträgen auffallend fehlerhaft ist. Dies fällt naturgemäß vor allem den deutschsprachigen Lesern – damit aber auch dem Geehrten – auf. Die Beiträge spiegeln vor allem den Stand und den methodischen Ansatz der anglophonen Wissenschaft unter weitgehender Ausschließung der italienischen Magna Grecia-Forschung wider, was vermutlich durch den Charakter der Tagung bedingt ist. Wie bei einer Festschrift nicht anders zu erwarten, variiert die Qualität und der Neuheitswert der Beiträge, doch entsteht insgesamt ein weit gespanntes, anregendes Bild der griechischen Identität im Westen, das als Gradmesser der aktuellen Forschungsmeinung eine würdige Festgabe für Brian Shefton darstellt.

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G.R. Mack and J.C. Carter (eds.), *Crimean Chersonesos: City, Chora, Museum, and Environs*, National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos and Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Texas at Austin, Austin 2003, xx+232 pp., many illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9708879-2-2

This is a joint publication of the two bodies under the general editorship of Carter, and the fruit of teams, drawn from the Ukraine and the United States. The 'collective' of the National Preserve presents the results of excavations, field studies and architectural reconstructions carried out since 1827, and the American contingent incorporate into the text their findings of the ten-year period of their collaboration since 1992.

The book, an expanded guidebook, is lavishly equipped with maps, schematic plans, and reconstructions of buildings and of selected areas of the city. It commences with a table of events from prehistoric times to the year 2000 (pp. xviii-xix) and proceeds with a general description of the Crimea, and with brief surveys of the history of the city from the 5th century BC to the 12th century AD. The development of Crimea as a province of Russia after its conquest by Catherine the Great in 1783 follows. There is a description of the growing interest in the remains of Chersonesos since 1827, including the consecration of Volodymyr's church on the site in 1888, and the opening of an embryo-museum ('Repository of Local Antiquities') three years later. Thereafter the volume reverts to the format of a guidebook to the major monuments and classes of object. The city walls (curtains and towers), Hellenistic houses, theatre, mint, necropoleis, mediaeval basilicas and reliquary churches all receive good coverage, and to these are added, for good measure, the uniquely preserved land-allotments, which covered the city's 'near territory', the Heracleian and Mayachny peninsulas

in the 4th century and the Hellenistic period. All manner of finds of artistic or economic significance are duly pointed up and illustrated – especially mosaic and tessellated pavements, fine pottery, trade amphorae, glassware, small pieces of marble sculpture and terracottas, a unique group of painted burial stelai, coins and steatite icons. The chronological and geographical span is enlarged in the last sections, one on Sebastopol, the adjacent and increasingly encroaching modern city, and the final one on crag-top fortified eyries (Cembalo fortress of Genoese times), the delightful palace of the Tatar dynasty at Bahci Sarai, and the rock-cut towns, such as Eski Kermen in the wider foothill and mountainous parts of Crimea. A fairly full ‘select bibliography’ for each of the individual chapters closes the book, and it is here, and only here, that authorship of the sections is provided. Brief references to ancient literary sources, and to modern works, with dates, appear at the end of each chapter or portion of one.

This is an attractive book, suited to the general reader, including the archaeological specialist, who may also be a general reader in his non-specialist periods. The city had times when it flourished greatly in the 4th-3rd centuries BC, the time contemporary with the Roman Principate, and the 6th and 9th-10th centuries of the Byzantine period. In total it lasted for some 1600 years, from the late 5th/early 4th century BC into the early 13th, as an outpost of the Trapezountian empire of the Comneni. The authors are justly proud of its remains still upstanding and in the museums, and quote with approval the common saying in Eastern Europe that it is a ‘Slavic Pompeii’ (p. 4).

This reviewer might have wished for more discussion of the city’s foundation by settlers from Heracleia on the north coast of modern-day Turkey, and of the purpose of the parallel walls built across the narrow neck of Mayachny (Lighthouse Point). But these are contentious issues in the earliest history of the city, and are left to the relative safety of the bibliography. It can in fairness be said that the contributors have succeeded in producing a rounded picture of ‘their’ Crimean Chersonesos, fulfilling all four aspects promised in the title.

Leeds, UK

J.G.F. Hind

A.M. Maeir, with contributions by N. Panitz-Cohen, D. Barag, O. Keel, N. Applbaum and Y.H. Applbaum, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tel Gezer, Israel. Finds from Raymond-Charles Weill’s Excavations in 1914 and 1921*, BAR International Series 1206, Archaeopress, Oxford 2004, viii+65 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-569-7

The 19th-century British archaeologist Pitt-Rivers stated that ‘a discovery dates only from the time of the record of it, and not from the time of its being found in the soil’.¹ This is certainly true of the volume under review, in which A.M. Maier rediscovers a forgotten assemblage of artefacts excavated by the archaeologist and Egyptologist Weill in central Palestine in the years 1914 and 1921. Weill excavated nine tombs at Tel Gezer (located halfway between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem), but unfortunately his results went unpublished during his own lifetime. A scarcity of published references meant that few archaeologists were even aware of these excavations, including the subsequent excavators of this important Bronze and

¹ Cited in M. Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth* (Oxford 1954), 182.

Iron Age site. This publication is therefore welcomed, as it adds to the existing corpus of material from Gezer excavated and published by Macalister, Rowe, Wright and Dever.²

Chapter 1 details the background to Weill's excavations, asserting his historical position as 'the first Jewish archaeologist to excavate in modern day Palestine' (p. 3). Sadly, the post-excavation history highlights an insurmountable problem. The original field records are lost, and no contextual record survives except for occasional tomb number marks on objects. M.'s study therefore focuses primarily on existing museum collections in both Paris and Jerusalem. The surviving assemblage includes mainly pottery vessels (186 in total), the presentation of which is followed by the description of a small assemblage of stone, bone, faience and metal objects. An Egyptian-style glass vessel is of special interest considering the rarity of such high quality objects in Late Bronze Age Palestine. Four stamp-seal amulets from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages are also presented, and the digital x-ray analysis of several pottery vessels demonstrates how non-destructive methods can provide new insights into pottery fabrics and manufacturing techniques.

This report does not claim to offer any major new insights into the Bronze and Iron Ages at Gezer, although this understates its cumulative importance and contribution to southern Levantine archaeology. The findings supplement the rich and diverse tomb material already published from Gezer, and also widen the quantity and range of material available from the site for future study and regional comparison. Finds from the Late Bronze Age (particularly the 14th-13th centuries BC) dominate M.'s published assemblage. Alongside local pottery (mostly bowls and juglets), ceramic imports and luxury goods – including the glass vessel – attest to Cypriote, Aegean and Egyptian contacts in this period. Also of note is the presence of both imported Cypriote vessels and their local imitations (pls. 8-9). A possible clay sarcophagus lid could be seen as evidence for Aegean influences in burial customs (pp. 31-32, pl.10.212). Periods represented to a lesser degree include the Middle Bronze Age IIB/C, Iron I and later Iron II, such that the material presented in this volume spans the 18th to the 7th centuries BC. Of particular interest is the late Iron II pottery, which M. suggests is evidence for the reuse of burial caves in a brief period of Judean control at Gezer in the late 7th century BC (p. 63). Although reliant on historical interpretation (and not directly supported by the pottery which has a broad 8th-7th century date range), M.'s proposal would extend the latest known Iron II phase of cave burials at Gezer by at least a century.

This volume is not without errors and omissions. An obvious inconsistency is the citing of Weill's excavation dates as 1914 and 1924 in the text (p. 3), compared with the dates 1914 and 1921 in the title. Plates 8 and 14 have some missing labels. Although the finds from the Hebrew University collections in Jerusalem are both well illustrated and photographed, only photographs are presented for the Paris objects, meaning that several diagnostic Iron Age vessel types are not recorded as line drawings. An inventory of the material in the various collections would have been useful for future researchers. M.'s research nevertheless affirms the benefits of investigating and publishing finds 'buried' in museum collections.

J.D.M. Green

The British Museum

² See W.G. Dever's summary of excavations and previous research: 'Gezer'. In E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1993), 496-507.

J.G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Structure of Land Tenure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, xviii+335 pp., 2 maps. Cased. ISBN 0-521-81924-5

Manning's study of Ptolemaic economic history offers a new approach to the subject. Although there was a considerable interest in the economic history of Ptolemaic Egypt in the early part of the 20th century, when Ptolemaic Egypt was seen as an example of a Royal economy or an Oriental economy, more recent studies of the economy have tended to be on a small scale and to examine particular issues and documents. This has meant that the models have become progressively out-dated and generally recognised as being so. M.'s study is long overdue and promises to move the discipline on and generate considerable debate. Yet, the book is about more than economic history and M. provides a new framework for understanding Ptolemaic institutions and the economic history of the period.

M. has been influenced by the Chicago School of economics and what is called New Institutionalism. New Institutionalism focuses on transaction costs within an economy, those costs additional to the most basic labour and manufacturing costs which influence pricing. Examples would include packaging, transport, taxes, banking, legal fees, marketing, etc. The theory argues that these transaction costs make up a very high proportion of a final price. New Institutionalism studies the institutions which facilitate or hamper transactions. For example, money is an efficient means of facilitating transactions and reduces costs, but money requires institutional support, which requires some kind of taxation, state and legal apparatus by which the value and standard of coin is fixed. All these institutions come at a cost. Prosperity will be best ensured by low transaction costs. Irrespective of the virtues of this school, the emphasis on institutions changes the nature of the history that can be written. Ancient economic history has not traditionally focused on institutions and those used to the current obsession of this field may be rather surprised to discover the argument centred on temples, legal tenure, scribal traditions and local politics. This means that the agenda of M.'s study is rather broader than some conventional economic histories. In some ways, what results seems rather old-fashioned. The intellectual antecedents lie in the first half of the 20th century and in the debates influenced (directly or indirectly) by Marx, Weber and Polanyi. This is, of course, no coincidence, for the papyri abound with detailed evidence for the workings of economic and political institutions, whereas they are remarkably resistant to quantification and what one might call 'top-level' modelling of which Finley and Hopkins were such influential exponents. Yet, M.'s ideological drive is very different from that which defined the historiographical context of Rostovtzeff or Préaux. M. is not interested in categorising the Ptolemaic economy against some great teleological model and, as a result, is able to fully explore the variety and complexity of economic institutions in Egypt.

M. demonstrates the regional diversity of the economy of Egypt. In the South, the economy was somewhat more traditional. The temples had been major economic institutions and the Ptolemies worked with the temples to exercise influence and control. Priests continued to influence locales and to hold quasi-private land (granted on very long leases), but this pre-existing system came under indirect Royal control. Yet, far from being able to command the economy, the Ptolemies negotiated with local agents, be they temples, scribes or tax collectors, to ensure that royal income was maintained. Ptolemaic investment in temples is thus given a new context.

In the North, especially in the Fayum, the Ptolemies could exercise more direct control, but even here royal rule had its limitations, and the Ptolemaic state had difficulty ensuring that its agents followed instructions and did not abuse their power. The development of state banks and royal granaries extended direct state power into areas which had previously been heavily influenced (to put it weakly) by temples. The Ptolemies may have laid some claim to all the land in Egypt, in the same way that a feudal monarch might, but giving force to that claim was difficult, pointless, and probably never attempted. Private land of all types did exist and would pass through generations of the same family. That land could be used as security for loans, leased, or sold. The land could be of all types and held either individually or collectively. There were limitations. Some land at least was held on almost perpetual leases and in many cases land may have 'belonged' to the state or to a temple, but M. minimises the effect of these restrictions. Nevertheless, M. believes that Egypt had a fully developed land market only in the Roman period, sales in the Ptolemaic period being largely used to offset the difficulties of a partible inheritance system.

M. modestly describes this book as 'a prolegomenon to the study of the Ptolemaic economy'. It is also an essential contribution to the study of the Ptolemaic state and politics.

Royal Holloway, University of London

R. Alston

A. Mastrocinque, *Studie sulle guerre Mitridatiche*, Historia-Einzelschrift 124, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1999, 129 pp. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-07418-X

The bibliography on Mithridates VI Eupator is as scant as the interest that he excites is great. Despite recent works, such as that of F. de Callatäy,¹ many questions on the history of the great king of Pontus remain unresolved. In this sense, the publication of Mastrocinque's book represents an important contribution that enriches the study of a difficult and interesting subject. In this book we do not face a history of the Mithridatic Wars, although, as the title points out, the book deals with some aspects of the conflict, mainly related to the historiographical background of some episodes. Its main focus is on the foreign relations of Pontus, above all with Rome, before the First Mithridatic War, and on the story of this conflict. M. proposes several hypotheses that differ from the main trends of scholarship. They are, at the same time, valiant and intuitive. For example, he argues that Ariarathes IX of Cappadocia was the same person as Arcathias, the Pontic prince who died in Thrace (pp. 44-47); and that Athenion and Aristion, the pro-Pontic tyrants of Athens, are the same person (pp. 77-79).

M. tries to identify the interrelationships of the different remaining accounts of the story of Mithridates. Discussion of the sources for the Mithridatic Wars is undoubtedly an amazing challenge for scholars. Aside from Appian's *Mithridateios*, we have no other biography of the king. Appian, however, was not a contemporary of Mithridates, and so it is difficult to trace what sources he used. In consequence, it is necessary that a scholar aiming to study the Mithridatic Wars should have a wide knowledge of all aspects of ancient historiography, but above all of Appian's work. This is the case with M. Not only has he written important

¹ F. de Callatäy, *L'Histoire de les Guerres Mithridatiques vue par les monnaies* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1997).

studies devoted to Appian and the historiographical background of traditions regarding the Seleucid dynasty,² but he has published an Italian edition of Appian's *Mithridateios* (Milan 1999).

M. presents a review of authors who might have influenced Appian, who is unlikely to have limited himself to copying just a single source. Thus, he traces the influences from Livy, Rutilius Rufus, Sisenna, Poseidonius and the memoirs of Sulla. M. has doubts about Poseidonius' influence (pp. 72-75); on the other hand, he considers that Appian's account of the First Mithridatic War derived in great part from Sulla's memoirs (pp. 64-69). It is true that Appian appears hostile towards the Marian faction, to which Aquillius belonged. Aquillius headed the Roman delegation sent to Pontus in 89 BC, and was accused of having promoted the war out of personal ambition. M.'s comments on the exaltation of Sulla's role in the war against Mithridates are also accurate. But here we are faced again with the blending of sources present in Appian's *Mithridateios*: as Goukowsky has affirmed, this work reflects some positive aspects of Mithridates, and we must have no doubt of its sincerity.³

Another of the more interesting hypotheses presented by M. proposes Strabo as one of the main sources of Appian's *Mithridateios*, above all for the passages especially critical of Rome (pp. 103-109). It is an idea both original in his presentation and difficult to demonstrate: original, because hitherto scholars have consistently pointed the finger at Metrodorus of Scepsis, a close friend of Mithridates and a source for Timagenes, as the origin of the hostile interpretation. From that influence of Timagenes, echoes would have reached us through both Pompeius Trogus and Appian himself. But, until now, no other actual author had been proposed. It is sometimes forgotten that Livy (9. 18. 6) spoke in the plural about the *levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent* – about more than one Greek writer who would have minimised Rome's glory. On the other hand, we must keep in mind the almost unknown 'Historians of the Pontic Wars', mentioned by Strabo (11. 2. 14). Of these authors we know, at best, little more than their name and the title of their works. It is true that Strabo's bias towards Roman imperialism does not appear openly, because he was extremely careful about how he presented his opinions. It is also the case that Strabo did not ignore negative aspects of the behaviour of certain important Roman or pro-Roman leaders, such as L. Lucullus (12. 3. 11), Pompey (12. 3. 33), Agrippa (13. 1. 19) or Mithridates of Pergamum (11. 2. 17). He also made it clear that the Parthians had represented hegemonic power in the East, against Roman aspirations towards universal rule (11. 6. 4; cf. 11. 9. 2). In the same way, there are other fascinating aspects in Strabo's work. One of these, in my opinion, is his veiled defence of the legitimacy of Nicomedes IV's son, who disputed the Bithynian throne in Rome for some months (Sallust *Historiae* fr. 4.69.9M; fr. 2.71M): Strabo (6. 3. 2) keeps silent about Bithynia in his list of the kingdoms acquired by Rome when their royal line failed. The problem with Strabo, as with many other Greek writers of the Roman empire, is that he cannot be considered properly as anti-Roman, but rather as an intellectual critic of some aspects of Roman power, his criticism more implicit than evident.

² See, in particular, his *Manipolazione della storia in età ellenistica* (Rome 1983).

³ P. Goukowsky, *Appien. Histoire Romaine. Livre XII. La guerre de Mithridate* (Paris 2001), 153-54 n. 226.

Another point to highlight is Strabo's silence about the so-called Second Mithridatic War. M. (p. 95) rightly affirms that Appian's source for the description of Mithridates' sacrifice to Zeus Stratius in this war (*Mithridateios* 66) may have not been Nicolaus of Damascus. With this statement M. rebuts Reinach, who identified Nicolaus' account of Mithridates' participation in an eating contest (fr. 73J) with the banquet at the end of the Second Mithridatic War described by Appian (*Mithridateios* 66). But this does not necessarily mean, as M. proposes, that Strabo would have been the source of Appian for this sacrifice (pp. 104-05). One of the sources of the *Mithridateios* may have been well informed about the Persian roots of the Pontic royal house (Appian *Mithridateios* 9, 66, 112, 115, 116). But it must be remembered that Strabo makes no mention of the magi of Ahura Mazda in Pontus, whereas he does tell us about the Cappadocian magi (15. 3. 4) and the worship of Zeus Stratius in Caria (14. 2. 23). With regard to Strabo's silence, we must not forget that this war was the sole conflict against Rome in which Mithridates emerged victorious, just as we should be mindful of some lack of precision and omissions on his part in describing his homeland. As R. Syme has remarked: 'As a historical authority Strabo fails far below perfection; his account of Pontus is peculiarly inadequate for one who was citizen of Amasia.'⁴

It is also difficult to know what may have been contained in Strabo's *Historikà Hypomnemata*, and what may have been their influence on the works of other ancient authors. Strabo makes some references in his *Geography* to historical aspects addressed in his *Stories*, but these occasions are too few to allow us to reconstruct this lost work. Furthermore, we do not know which parts of Strabo's *Stories* are repeated in his *Geography*. It is true that Plutarch used Strabo for the campaigns of Lucullus, not just, as M. notes (pp. 107-08), in the textual quotation about the Roman victory at Tigranocerta (Strabo *Historikà* fr. 9J=Plutarch *Lucullus* 28. 7). Both authors also make allusions to the meeting place between Lucullus and Pompeius (Strabo 12. 5. 2=Plutarch *Lucullus* 36. 2), and to the honours granted by Lucullus to some rulers and generals (Strabo 12. 3. 33=Plutarch *Lucullus* 36. 4; *Pompey* 31.1). There is also some parallelism between Justin (38. 3. 5) and Strabo (11. 14. 15; 12. 2. 9), but this does not clarify what may have been the common source of these passages.

This book of M.'s presents questions that will be a challenge to scholars. The bibliography on Mithridates, so limited but a short time ago, increases daily. Thus, the debate about Mithridates and the sources concerning him is becoming more and more subtle and, for that reason, more interesting.

University of Seville

Luis Ballesteros Pastor

R. Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia. Theories and Approaches*, Approaching the Ancient World, Routledge, London/New York 2003, xiv+253 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-415-25317-9

Matthews has set himself the task of exploring how archaeologists who attempt 'to capture the essence of a moment in time' actually make those attempts 'by considering the theories, approaches and mechanisms that are the currency of Mesopotamian archaeology at the start

⁴ R. Syme, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo* (Oxford 1995), 171.

of the twenty-first century AD' (p. xi). Noting that Mesopotamian and South West Asian archaeology 'has not been renowned for its critical awareness or self-reflexivity' (p. xi) he has written a book which is virtually unique in the genre of what might be broadly called Mesopotamian archaeology generalist literature. It is indeed refreshing to read a book which does not present a strictly chronological overview of a region, but it is of course necessary for less informed readers to be aware that much of that sort of background knowledge is assumed in the present case.

M. thus begins with a look at the 'chequered past' of Mesopotamian archaeology as a discipline, without presuming to give a detailed history of the subject (Chapter 1). He then moves on to a discussion of the 'tools of the trade', considering research agendas and archaeology's relationship with Assyriology (Chapter 2). From there he tackles the hunting to farming transformation (Chapter 3), approaches to the study of complexity in Mesopotamian society (Chapter 4), the archaeologies of empire (Chapter 5), people in the archaeological record, whether nomads or sedentaries (Chapter 6), and the future of Mesopotamian archaeology (Chapter 7).

Along the way, the reader finds that M. is not so much an interlocutor as someone over whose shoulder he can lean, or on whose conversations and comments he can eavesdrop, as numerous points of view, expressed in the specialist literature, whether as articles or monographs, are dropped into the conversation which is this book. It is a ramble, a reflection on matters Mesopotamian, which is extremely erudite, literate and considered, and M. emerges as a latter-day Lamb, an essayist of considerable talent.

Scholars concerned with Mesopotamia will probably not pick this book up and read it cover to cover, for the simple fact that so much is covered in an almost anecdotal fashion, albeit fully referenced. But when working on a particular proposition, whether a theory, an approach, or a vague set of 'feelings' about a particular period, M.'s work will be well worth a consultation. M. is a judicious student of his colleagues' opinions and foibles, and is not one to engage in polemics. His is a sophisticated, knowledgeable and eminently readable voice and his book is all the more unique in that it never descends to the level of acrimonious debate on chronology, the utility of a particular approach, or the necessity of following a specific practice in the field. It is a refreshing work and one which all of us concerned with ancient Mesopotamia may consult with profit.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

S. Mithen, *After the Ice. A Global Human History, 20,000-5000 BC*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2004, xiii+622 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-674-01570-3

Resulting from several years of research by the acclaimed archaeologist S. Mithen, *After the Ice* provides a diverse but concise review of an extensive period of human history. Outlining 15,000 years of human existence before the advent of recorded history, the chronological and geographical scope of the book is vast, extending from the end of the Pleistocene through to the end of the Neolithic period, and including all continents. Major changes took place between 20,000 and 5000 BC with the end of the Last Glacial Maximum and subsequent affects of global warming. By around 5000 BC, some of the most significant human advances, including the domestication of animals and plants, and the origins of agriculture

and towns, were clearly evident. According to M., it was essentially these developments that laid the foundations of the modern world. Many parallels may be drawn between our own lives and those living in the distant past. Without giving too much away, the author has to some extent elaborated on the phenomenon of global warming and the close relationship with present-day and future climatic circumstances. M. has brought together a wide range of scholarship from a variety of disciplines apart from archaeology, ranging from environmental and evolutionary sciences to palaeontology and genetics. In this way he delivers a broad and thorough account of people and their environment during a vital stage of human life on the planet.

One of the most interesting features of the book is the unusual narrative style employed. Serving primarily to take the reader on a journey around the world between 20,000 and 5000 BC, M. invents the time-travelling guide 'John Lubbock'. He names the character after the Victorian author of *Prehistoric Times* – a standard textbook on the subject at the time it was written. In this way the literary device provides the opportunity for M. to explain the advances in scholarship and changes in ideology since end of the 19th century, and is achieved as the modern-day Lubbock reassesses his copy of *Prehistoric Times* in light of today's progress in archaeological research. Starting in western Asia and voyaging on through Europe, the Americas, Australasia, South and East Asia and Africa, the reader follows Lubbock's intimate experience of the fluctuating climate and diverse nature of daily life. Lubbock witnesses everything from the origins of towns in Mesopotamia and the initial colonisation of the Americas, to the development of agricultural innovations, extinction of mega-fauna and the consequences of a rising sea-level in a number of regions. Lubbock may be found observing craftsmen or rock artists, learning survival skills or trying his luck at flint knapping and is regularly fishing or hunting and gathering. Lubbock effectively takes the reader closer to life in the past by directly placing the archaeological evidence back into its original context. Although the switch between commentaries is rather sudden at times, Lubbock's journey and experiences are coupled with M.'s own account of the discoveries, excavation, and interpretation of archaeological sites and their associated material culture. In this way, the narrative style successfully combines the imagination with archaeological data. Overall, the device is generally effective, although some inconsistencies are apparent in Lubbock's rather ambiguous nature. For example, M. intended Lubbock to be an invisible and unnoticed observer, but in some instances he meets and interacts with people and takes part in cultural practices. Although Lubbock is a fictional character, M. could have explained the qualities of his imaginary guide in more detail to account for these discrepancies. The literary device is inventive, and provides an interesting way of presenting archaeological evidence. It results ultimately in a new method of writing about the past, bringing prehistory to life with detailed and vivid descriptions of experiences in carefully reconstructed scenes and environments.

In achieving the author's intentions, the book is highly readable and succeeds in making knowledge of this period of human history more accessible and suitable for wider readership. A lack of scientific jargon makes the text suitable for non-specialists, and assists in presenting often obscure, but important information to the layman. Anyone with an interest in human history and the past will find the book highly stimulating.

The experience is enhanced by the inclusion of colour photographs and clear, black-and-white illustrations of archaeological sites, digs and artefacts. The use of detailed regional maps including site locations is also particularly useful. Students and specialists will also

benefit from the inclusion of recent research, and the added authority of M.'s personal experience in the field, such as his excavations of Neolithic and Mesolithic sites at Wadi Faynan in southern Jordan and on the Western Isles of Scotland. A reader with particular research interests can easily find specific data, and although the text may seem lengthy, the index and clearly structured table of contents (including a descriptive subtitle for each chapter) allow for quick and easy navigation. Comprehensive notes and references provide a background to M.'s research and allow for further reading or following up on specific sites or themes. The book not only provides a credible and informative resource on the period discussed, but also the basis for a wide range of further study and discussion; containing a wealth of information and covering a wide range of themes, it would make an excellent textbook for undergraduate coursework in prehistoric archaeology. The book provides a comprehensible view of a poorly understood period of human existence. Considering the quality and originality of the work, it is particularly important in furthering an accurate understanding of the past. Although M. has taken a somewhat informal approach and aimed the text at a wide audience, he has done so without jeopardising the quality of academic scholarship. *After the Ice* is a major accomplishment, and justifiably listed for the 2004 British Academy and Aventis science book prizes. A superb read, and highly recommended.

University of Melbourne

Ben Watson

C. Mossé, *Alexander: Destiny and Myth*, translated by J. Lloyd, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2004, xi+244 pp., maps. Paperback. ISBN 0-7486-1765-5

With such an enormous literature on Alexander – and one that has recently been swelled by many popular books capitalising on the interest inspired by Oliver Stone's film – one must ask what value yet another general book on this subject can have. But C. Mossé's book makes a useful and interesting contribution, one which is at its best when she examines the legacy and subsequent conceptions of Alexander.

M. is emeritus professor at the University of Paris VIII, and has published very widely indeed on Greek social and political history. There has certainly been some neglect of French scholarship on Alexander in the Anglophone world (particularly the excellent work of Pierre Briant and Paul Goukowsky), but M.'s book, first published in 2001 as *Alexandre: La destinée d'un mythe* (Paris), is now available in this English translation. Paul Cartledge provides a short introduction and supplementary bibliography.

The work is thematic and divided into five parts. Part I is a short but serviceable account of the events of Alexander's reign and his campaigns in Asia. Part II examines the 'Different "Faces"' of Alexander – his role as a Macedonian king, the heir of the Achaemenids, and heroic son of Zeus. Part III looks at Alexander's personality. The fourth part concentrates on the political, economic and social legacy of Alexander's conquests in the Hellenistic world. The final part, 'Alexander the Mythical Hero', the most interesting in my view, deals with the image of Alexander in literature, not only of the ancient world but also in the modern times. Chapter 16 is based on Goukowsky's *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre*,¹ and gives us an introduction

¹ P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre (336-270 av. J.C.)* (Nancy 1978-81), 2 vols.

to the ancient 'Alexander' historiography. M. then looks at the mediaeval image of the king, which was based largely on the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The chapter 'The historians and Alexander's image', short though it is, deals with modern historiography: here we are reminded of Droysen's invention of the term 'Hellenistic age' to describe the period following Alexander's death – a period which previous European scholars had looked upon with some scorn as mere 'centuries of "decline" for Greek civilization' (p. 197). The 19th-century German view of Alexander as the 'model leader' (p. 199) preceded F. Schachermeyr's vision in *Indogermanen und Orient*² of Alexander the leader of a 'pure, Nordic race' whom Schachermeyr took to task for his mixing of races (p. 199) – Schachermeyr, it should be noted, later repudiated this extremism. We also see the gentlemanly Alexander of W.W. Tarn, and E. Badian's contributions to modern Alexander scholarship (though strangely nothing is said about Badian's role in rehabilitating the Vulgate tradition). But M. does us a service in this chapter by raising a subject that could easily take up an entire volume by itself.

M. eschews footnotes or endnotes and places her ancient and occasional modern references in the text. A brief bibliography ends the book, which is supplemented by Cartledge's list of more recent works, particularly of English scholarship.

Inevitably, a few minor errors or questionable assertions are present. Some scholars thought that Ptolemy's histories were based on the *Ephemerides* (Royal journals), but these were supposedly kept by Eumenes: they were not a 'diary kept by Callisthenes', as Mossé says (p. 168). The diadem is said to be one of the 'distinctive signs' of Persian monarchy (p. 67), but this is questionable.

Overall, this book provides the reader with a sound introduction to the many aspects of Alexander's reign, but will be of more use, I suspect, to undergraduates and the general reader than to specialist scholars.

University of Otago

Andrew Collins

P. Noelke, F. Naumann-Steckner and B. Schneider (eds.), *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Neue Funde und Forschungen*, Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des Provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Köln 2. bis 6. Mai 2001, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2003, xii+722 pp., illustrations. Cased ISBN 3-8053-3089-8

The work reviewed here features the papers delivered at the 7th International Colloquium on Problems in Provincial Roman Art. The book is organised by geographical region, starting with Britain and moving through Gaul, Germany, the Danubian provinces, Greece, Syria, Palestine, North Africa, Spain and Italy. There are 60 papers altogether, including three introductory papers by D. Boschung, C. Ertel and M. Reuter, which establish the main themes of the conference and outline some of the overarching problems in understanding Roman sculpture in provincial settings. Most of the papers are written in German, with a handful in English and French.

The book's central theme is how we contextualise and make meaning of visual (mostly figural) media from those areas of the Roman empire whose artistic products have not always

² F. Schachermeyr's, *Indogermanen und Orient: ihre kulturelle und macht politische Auseinandersetzung im Altertum* (Stuttgart 1944).

been seen as attractive or promising. As its title suggests, 'Romanisation' and 'resistance' to Romanisation are central questions for most of the papers. At the core of the collected essays are Gaul, Germany and the Danube: 38 of the 60 papers deal with this region of the Empire. But as the book's primary editor, P. Noelke, says in the Foreword, the aim of the conference was to highlight recent research on northern and central Roman Europe whilst at the same time opening a conversation with researchers of western and eastern provinces so as to offer each other new methods and themes. Noelke offers a brief summary of the conference papers and their thematic links then introduces some questions about 'Romanisation' as raised by recent research. Noelke is himself a renowned scholar of Roman art in Germany, and has a keen sense of the methodological problems we face in trying to study provincial art works as emblems of local peoples' discontent with, or 'resistance to', Roman practices.

Boschung's paper kicks off the collection (pp. 1-12). Entitled 'Die stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus und ihre Rezeption im Reich', it concerns itself with marble portraits of Augustus and their variations in provincial settings. Boschung explains Augustus' portrait series as 'politically motivated' and deliberately designed to convey to viewers the importance and power of Roman imperial rule. In light of this, provincial portraits become especially interesting: it is unlikely that the residents of El Djem (Tunisia), Pergamon and Cologne ever saw Augustus in person; much more likely that their only visual contact with their emperor was through coins and statues. Boschung demonstrates that the dissemination of typologically accurate imperial portraits throughout the empire was a complicated process that resulted in numerous forms of reception, sometimes at the initiation of the local recipients. His paper is followed by contributions from Ertel (pp. 13-29) and Reuter (pp. 30-36), who likewise examine big themes in Roman provincial art (funerary monuments; the Celtic 'renaissance' in the North-West) as a means of introducing the more specific studies that follow in the general body of the book.

Constraints of space do not allow for comprehensive discussion of each individual paper. What follows are some highlights and representative arguments from the collection as a whole.

Britain is discussed over the course of four papers, touching on Romano-British sculpture, cult imagery, funerary art and the 'classical form' more generally. F. Hunter (pp. 59-65) offers a very interesting study of funerary lions in provincial art, in which he focuses on a recently discovered (and heretofore little-known) statue of a lioness and her prey at Cramond, near Edinburgh in Scotland. The statue is unusually complicated monument: though leonine sculptures are documented abundantly in other Roman provinces, none of them seems to represent death, the transcendence of the soul and the power of Rome at once. The Cramond lioness is a dynamic example of Romano-British innovation in the statue realm.

Gaul and Germany are well served with 21 studies of statues, funerary art, grave chambers and cult images. G. Woolf (pp. 131-38) and P. Herz (pp. 139-48) examine the cult of the *Matronae*, mainly through grave reliefs. This cult makes for particularly fruitful discussion in the context of Roman provincial art because it is one of the best-documented regional cults from Rome's north-western provinces. Woolf dispels the misconception that the German provinces were cultural backwaters: indeed, they were 'extremely cosmopolitan', with thriving cities, markets and cult centres. In light of the cosmopolitan nature of the provinces, there were many deities and cults in circulation and local people had a choice about whom to worship. Woolf asks why the *Matronae* were particularly popular, and how they essentially beat out competing deities for dedications and adherents.

The 16 papers devoted to the Danubian provinces include inscriptions, cult statuettes, funerary monuments, rider statues and imperial portraits. I. Lazar (pp. 469-74) shares new finds from Celje (Roman Celeia) in Slovenia, which include high quality marble reliefs carved with *bucrania*, griffins, Greek meander patterns and the heads of Jupiter Amon and Acheloos. These are illuminating discoveries, helping to locate the probable position of the Roman forum in Celje (not yet excavated) and demonstrating that canonical Roman visual elements were amply employed in the service of public monumental art in this part of the empire. D. Gabler (pp. 385-93) offers a highly stimulating discussion of 2nd-century grave reliefs in north-west Pannonia, in which he posits their mix of Roman and native Celtic visual elements and Latinised nomenclature to a form of early Romanisation in this region.

The Greek East is represented by nine papers covering a range of media and locations. O. Palagia (pp. 537-48) writes with characteristic incisiveness about an imperial portrait from the temple of Artemis at Aulis in Boeotia. The statue was identified as Artemis from its discovery in 1956 but, Palagia argues, it actually wears the costume of a Roman matron and should instead be identified with an empress. The presence of a Roman imperial statue in a Greek sanctuary makes for an interesting analysis of how this statue type found its way to Aulis. Palagia carefully documents the transmission with other provincial imperial statues. Another fascinating paper from this series is J. Bergemann's 'Klassizismus im kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland' (pp. 559-62), in which 'classical' visual elements from Greek repertoires are understood to be somewhere between Romanisation and resistance. Bergemann interprets the persistence of classical Greek forms into Roman art not as Roman classicism so much as a harkening back to local traditions.

The final two sections touch upon Spain and Italy. W. Trillmich (pp. 619-34) focuses on Roman imperial coins from Spanish cities, using them to think about the shift from Iberian languages to Latin, the adoption of Roman ruler iconography, and the deft combining of indigenous and Roman numismatic images (in central Spain particularly) to introduce local people to the new ruling order. F. Braemer's paper (pp. 695-706) assesses the influences of history, geography and geology on the sculpture of the Roman world, concluding that this sort of interdisciplinary approach is highly useful in understanding the problems posed by the complexities of Roman provincial art. It is a stimulating end point for the collection, challenging readers to consider new methodologies in studying visual media from Rome's provinces.

The book is meticulously edited, generously illustrated and, as expected with a von Zabern publication, solidly and attractively bound. With its wide range of regions, media and questions posed, it makes a fine contribution to the wider study of the reception of 'Roman' forms in non-central settings.

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Fiona Greenland

A. Oddy and S. Smith (eds.), *Past Practice – Future Prospects*, British Museum Occasional Papers 145, The British Museum Press, London 2001, viii+210 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-86159-145-3/ISSN 0142-4815

This volume contains 32 papers presented at the international conference held by the British Museum in 2001 and devoted to the history, present problems and future of conservation practice and the conservation profession in different countries, museums and institutions.

Several papers highlight the role of particular individuals in developing conservation techniques, thus filling considerable gaps in the history of this profession. A. Ballantyne shows the contribution of Clive Rouse in the development of English wall-painting conservation (pp. 1-4). I. Brajer demonstrates the notable improvement achieved by Elof Risebye in remedying the wrong technique in the transfer of wall-painting in Denmark (pp. 25-32). T. Jakobsen and H. Madsen describe the pioneering role of C.V. Thomsen, the inventor of the three-age system in archaeology, in establishing the scientific principles of conservation and restoration at National Museum of Denmark (pp. 128-36). C. Sease is able to throw new light on hitherto lesser known aspect in the activities of Sir William Flinders Petrie, the famous archaeologist, originator of stratigraphic excavations, sequence-dating and cross-dating of Middle Eastern sites. In the late 1880s and early 1900s Petrie developed a surprisingly advanced philosophy of field conservation of artefacts (pp. 183-88).

Several papers discuss the contribution of various institutions in the field of conservation. F. Bewer writes about the Fogg Art Museum, its technical research and the care of works of art (pp. 13-18). The history of conservation at the Ashmolean Museum in Britain 'since before 1686' is reviewed by M. Norman (pp. 150-59). C. Weyer gives a brief account of the early history of the restoration centre in Düsseldorf (pp. 201-20).

A number of papers discuss the historical destinies of various conservation techniques and concepts. R. Bertholon, examining the cleaning of metal archaeological objects, has followed up the emergence of the concept of 'original surface'. He concludes that 'microscopic examination and x-ray diffraction analysis revealed interesting features within the corrosion products which could be connected with former metallurgical structures' (p. 11).

H. Brinch Madsen and co-authors (pp. 33-38) describe the historical circumstances of the alum method that enabled to preserve many thousands of organic Iron Age votive objects in Denmark that had been found in a waterlogged environment. Ruin or replacement? Discussing the future of badly worn outdoor stone-carved monuments in Northern Ireland, M. Fry and A. Martine take the line that 'being moved indoors' is often the 'lesser evil' (pp. 81-85).

Several papers raise fundamental problems faced by the conservation profession. B. Federspiel writes that 'international cultural policies in recent years appear to reassess the meaning and function of cultural heritage in new development strategies' (p. 75). This leads the writer to a controversial statement that conservation is in need of a 'fundamental change from a passive technical service aimed at only the physical aspects of the objects... to an active role in the current discussion on humanity and values' (p. 78). Unfortunately, she fails to suggest any practical means of realising this aim.

E. Pye raises an important issue concerning the human remains in museum collections. Public sensitivity in this area has been whipped up by the campaign of several indigenous groups in North America and Australia aimed at taking control of the heritage which they consider as their own. This has resulted in changes in legislation, which has considerably affected museum practice and research into human remains. As she states, this has circumscribed research particularly in the United States, with a deplorable loss of knowledge concerning the human origins, diet, diseases, lives and beliefs of past peoples. The possible remedy to this situation is seen in 'moving... towards more openness and more accountability by all public institutions' (p. 175). Professional conservators should enlarge their practical skills, involving 'sensitivity to [other cultural groups'] views, effective communication, and negotiation' (p. 175).

This richly illustrated volume (with several colour plates) provides valuable insights into the history of conservation and restoration methods and the perspectives of current and past conservators. It will be of interest to a wide range of historians and others interested in archaeology and the history of art.

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Pavel Dolukhanov

L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds.), *Fortificazioni antiche in Italia. Età Republicanica*, Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica 9 (2000), "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rome 2001, 252 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 88-8265-158-4

This ninth volume in the *ATTA* Series, edited by L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, contains 16 studies of ancient fortifications in Italy dating from the republican period. Each paper deals with a particular city or site and provides a systematic study of the location, size, extent, the construction of the walls and associated structures, as well as dating evidence and a discussion of the chronology of the various phases of construction. The level of scholarship and the documentation provided is impressive, and alongside the review of earlier research and scholarship the papers report new knowledge obtained by recent reanalysis of the remains as well as by new excavations. Extensive photographs, plans and maps accompany the text.

It would be impossible in this short review to do justice to all of the papers and the complexity of each site; therefore I will only highlight some of the major conclusions. At Ravenna (V. Manzelli, pp. 7-24; U. Costa, E. Gotti and G. Tognon, pp. 25-28) recent excavations have revealed Republican fortifications built at the end of the 3rd century BC that shed light on the 'Romanisation' of northern Italy during this period. The construction with local brick according to a Greek module, stamps with Greek lettering, and binding material found through archaeometric testing to have come from Latium shows the complexity of the building materials used. At Osimo (ancient Auximum) (V. Baldoni, pp. 29-38) the walls have been found to date to the 2nd century BC, corresponding to Livy's reference to the work of the censors of 174 and attesting to Roman activity in the area at this time. The sites of Volterra (M. Pasquinucci and S. Menchelli, pp. 39-54) and Bettona (P. Battelli, pp. 55-68) provide examples of the fortification of Etruscan settlements, particularly during the late 4th-early 3rd century BC in response to Roman expansion. At Musarna (F. Bérard, H. Broise and V. Jolivet, pp. 69-80) a very complex defensive system, to a large degree derived from Greek models, has also been brought to light, perhaps built as part of a new line of defence of the Etruscan cities against the Romans after the expedition of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus in 310 BC. At Nepi (A. Guzzetti, pp. 81-90), the walls have been found to date to the second or third quarter of the 4th century BC, probably tied to the foundation of the Latin colony in 383 or 373 BC. At Cori (D. Palombi, pp. 91-102) the dating of earliest phase of the walls is still under debate, with a restoration taking place in the Mid-Republic, and a later phase redated from the Sullan period to the 2nd century, which fits with urban development in Latium at this time. Also at the colony of Setia (E.-C. Bruckner, pp. 103-26) a reanalysis of the remains of the walls have identified an earlier phase datable to the 2nd century BC or at the latest the beginning of the 1st, which relates to the urban development of the city. A number of pre-Roman Samnitic sites are also discussed. At Monte S. Croce (P.C. Innico, pp. 127-34) the fortified site may be identified with the Samnitic centre of Duronia destroyed

in 293 BC. At Alfedena, Castel di Sangro and Roccacinquemiglia in the Sangro valley (S. Di Stefano, pp. 135-54) and Ferrazzono (M. Roccia, pp. 155-70), a centre of the Pentri, the study of the fortifications provides new evidence for their function within the territorial organisation as well as more understanding of construction techniques. New excavations at Monte S. Angelo Palomba (P. Carfora, pp. 171-80) have also identified a fortified site in the strategic position between Capua and the Caudine region, similar in its layout to other fortifications in the Samnitic area. The longest discussion in this collection, on the fortifications at Norba (L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, pp. 181-244, L. Quilici and G. Tognon, pp. 245-50), could almost stand alone as a monograph. A detailed analysis of the fortifications and the phases of construction in relation to the monuments and urban plan of the city is presented, suggesting a date of the last decades of the 4th century BC followed by a restoration in the first half of the 3rd.

The value of this volume is that it brings together material from various sites into one collection. It is an important resource for any scholar interested in the development of fortifications in Italy during the republic as it makes available detailed documentation of the remains of the walls themselves. The geographical range of the sites discussed and the various phases of development also offer insight into Roman expansion and the urbanisation and 'Romanisation' of Italy.

A criticism of this compilation, however, is the lack of any overall synthesis. There is a general map at the beginning of the volume that refers to all the sites discussed, but there is no guidance concerning the interrelationship between the papers. There is no introduction that states why these various sites were chosen for this collection, nor is there a concluding chapter that draws all of the information together. While each individual paper contains a wealth of material, the inclusion of an overview of the collection would have been useful in providing a framework for the reader, particularly the non-specialist.

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C. Gorrie

R. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, Debates and Documents in Ancient History, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2004, xv+219 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-7486-1661-6

As the first volume in its series, this book furnishes the paradigm. After a brief overview of sources and a summary narrative (pp. 3-12), there follow six thematic chapters (pp. 13-85: The Military; Administration; Economics; Ceremonial; Religion; Unity, Succession, Legitimacy) with a Conclusion (pp. 86-90). These use plentiful cross-references to the longer second section (pp. 93-196), a selection of the principal ancient sources, not just translations of texts (which include papyri and inscriptions), but also images (manuscripts, buildings, coins, sculpture). The presence of a bibliographic essay (pp. 199-202), suggested essay questions (pp. 203-05) and Internet links (pp. 216-17; some now altered or vanished!) confirm the unstated aim of this as primarily an undergraduate course-book.

Rees provides good coverage of the principal issues, illustrating the conflicts and uncertainties of the ancient sources and modern interpretations (citing primarily works in English). Emblematic is Diocletian himself, who remains difficult to characterise and pin down, 'inscrutable', with even the Massachusetts porphyry head lacking firm identification (pp. ix,

194). All the major reforms in the army, finance and tax, and imperial ceremonial are considered, plus religious policy. For instance, there is the vexed question of using limited late sources (Zosimus, Malalas) to understand Diocletian's frontier policy against the background of continuing modern reactions to Luttwak's defence-in-depth model (pp. 20-23), or of deciding if the *Notitia Dignitatum* preserves a Tetrarchic layer (pp. 16-17; a specific case study from this latter would have been useful). Many of the sources from Part II are given detailed discussion, including the Panopolis papyri (pp. 33-36); the Panegyrics (pp. 51-54); comparison of Lactantius, Eusebius and martyr acts on the Great Persecution (pp. 58-71); the Currency Decree(s) and Prices Edict (pp. 41-45), although I would no longer argue for precise dating of the latter to November-December 301, making their order and so interpretation more fluid; and the Verona list of provinces (pp. 24-28).¹ A prime difficulty is assessing which changes are Tetrarchic, as opposed to mid-3rd-century or Constantinian. Thus R. suggests Aurelian as key in the elaboration of imperial style and ceremonial (pp. 51, 56), contrary to the general trend of the ancient sources, although I think a case can also be made for the victory over Narses (297/8) as a catalyst.

Running through all this is the most important thread – the very nature of the Tetrarchy itself. Was it carefully planned or made up on the hoof? Was Diocletian really in control of the imperial college or was this a crafted illusion? Was the system consciously anti-dynastic? For instance, the interpretation of the exclusion of Constantine and Maxentius in 305 is vexed and ultimately unsolvable (pp. 8-10, 76-80). Lactantius is especially difficult, full of good facts, but also giving suspiciously detailed 'insider information'. In contrast to R., I tend to see the Tetrarchy as essentially dynastic, hampered by lack of sons at critical junctures, but also by too many marriages, heirs and rivals (making logical Licinius's ruthless elimination of Tetrarchic family members in 313/4). What would have happened had the father/son-in-law axis of Galerius/Maxentius actually worked? Lactantius' descriptions of Galerius' intentions (especially his retirement plans, not quoted in the source section) read to me as Galerius playing Tiberius to Diocletian's Augustus. Difference of opinion on this, as on most other Tetrarchic issues, is inevitable, and the key point of R.'s discussion is that he exposes the reader to the controversy and its sources.

One lack is the issue of city 'decline' or change, perhaps excluded as not narrowly 'Tetrarchic', but which could be well-illustrated from the sources: selected private rescripts from Justinian Code Book 10, a sample petition (*P. Oxy.* IX 1204 of 299),² some Hermogenian or Charisius as preserved in the Digest (50. 4. 1, 18), and the inscribed grant of civic status to Tymandus from (probably) the Tetrarchs (*CIL* III 6866, *ILS* 6090). There is now the similar but clearly dated grant to Heracleia Sintica by Galerius from 308, too recent for this volume.³ By contrast, R.'s use of the Justinian Code is weak, especially as intended to illustrate private rescripts (pp. 32-33, 175-76). Of the four texts translated, the first is an edict. R. misses a trick here for source criticism, since this extract on incest actually differs

¹ Note T.D. Barnes's reversion to a unified date for it of 314 in his review article 'Emperors, panegyrics, prefects, provinces and palaces (284-317)'. *JRA* 9 (1996), 532-52, at 548-50.

² F. Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East 2: Government, Society and Culture in the Roman Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC/London 2004), chapter 16.

³ G. Mitrev, 'Civitas Heracleotarum: Heracleia Sintica or the ancient city at the village of Rupite (Bulgaria)'. *ZPE* 145 (2003), 263-72.

crucially from the full authentic text in the *Collation of Mosaic and Roman Laws* 6. 4 (cf. Manichees rescript discussed at pp. 58-59, 174-75). There are also two letters to officials, but only one rather unusual private rescript addressed to a courtier (the imperial doctor), and unfortunately mistranslated, the crucial point being that service *at court* has prevented him defending his case at home.

Aside from scattered misspellings (for example Musirillo for Musurillo), there are some infelicities: p. 25, the division under the Principate is not between 'senatorial' (better 'public') provinces under senators and imperial provinces under equestrians, since most imperial provinces are also under senators; p. 26, my 'suggestion' of only two praetorian prefects in fact derived from Chastagnol⁴ and means that Constantius and Galerius can hardly have been prefects before becoming Caesars (p. 7); p. 37, the panegyric of 311 refers to Autun (although delivered at Trier); pp. 68-69: omitted is 'Iovius' Maximinus' letter to Sabinus (Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 9. 9a), his response to the meeting of Licinius and Constantine in Milan; p. 147, *ILS* 646 should read 'fathers of the emperors and Caesars'; p. 202, Birks and McLeod translate Justinian's Institutes not the Code.

Negatives, however, should not be exaggerated. In general, R. gives good coverage to the important themes and controversies. The section of sources is justified, even if many are readily available elsewhere (p. 202). But while Nixon and Rodgers's otherwise excellent Panegyrics volume⁵ is almost a Tetrarchic course-book by itself, it remains available only and expensively in hardback. This volume, however, should enable the cash-strapped student access to a handy one-stop-shop for the Tetrarchy.

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M. Rorison, *Vici in Roman Gaul*, BAR International Series 933, Archaeopress, Oxford 2001, vi+269 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-227-2

Rorison's volume is an interesting and effective attempt to produce a synthesis of the data available for *vici*-type settlements from Roman Gaul, defined as those below *civitas* centres in the administrative hierarchy, to draw out general themes rather than focus on the detail of data from a few individual sites. At the core of the book is a catalogue of 192 sites, located in a sample of ten modern administrative areas of France, namely Aquitaine, Auvergne, Bourgogne, Bretagne, Centre, Franche-Comté, Limousin, Lorraine, Pays-de-la-Loire, Poitou-Charentes, excluding the Mediterranean and extreme northern parts of the country. The range of settlements covered is considerable, covering the breadth of communities that may have been known by the term *vici*, from small hamlets to substantial towns comparable to the *civitas* administrative centres that formed the lowest category of 'true' towns. By far the majority of evidence considered is, of course, archaeological, although epigraphic material is discussed when it is available. R. draws on the admittedly uneven data available for her sample to consider criteria previously applied to 'small towns' in Roman Britain;

⁴ A. Chastagnol, 'Un nouveau préfet du prétoire de Dioclétien: Aurelius Hermogenianus'. *ZPE* 78 (1989), 165-68; Barnes 1996 (as in n. 1), 546-48.

⁵ C.E.V. Nixon and B.S. Rodgers (eds.), *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley 1995).

spatial organisation, focal points (*fora*, etc.), diversity and range of building types, evidence for economic activity, and specialised and official functions. Besides the catalogue itself is a series of six chapters in which R. evaluates broader themes, including location and distribution of the *vici*, settlement and building layout, function, chronology and development and the society of the *vici*. It is difficult to single out any particular conclusions of the book as novel or surprising, but the discussions of particular themes, based as they are on a substantial body of data, are convincing and valuable, and potentially the book provides a model for the basic analysis of communities below 'true' city level in other parts of the Graeco-Roman world.

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Nigel Pollard

C. Sagona, *Punic Antiquities of Malta and Other Ancient Artefacts Held in Ecclesiastic and Private Collections*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies suppl. 10, Peeters Press, Louvain/Dudley, MA 2003, xxiv+374 pp., 101 figs. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1353-3

This study is devoted a nucleus of material (over 1000 finds) held in various ecclesiastical and private collections on the island of Malta. It should be seen primarily, as the author herself points out, as a companion to her *The Archaeology of Punic Malta*,¹ which examined material from the National Museum of Archaeology.

In spite of the meagre information about the provenance of the material, pottery shapes and the state of preservation of the majority of items allow them to be attributed to necropoleis (on Malta and, to a lesser extent, Gozo) and to the sanctuary at Tas Silg. Accordingly, it must be pointed out that 'any date suggested for individual items is tentative and based on similar examples from well-recorded tombs' (p. 21), for which it is essential to refer to the collections of the National Museum on whose cultural sequence this study is based. The majority of pottery in these private collections is Punic: the small numbers of imported Greek vases or related wares are likely to have been luxury items from the tombs of the more cosmopolitan and affluent Punic families.

In the Introduction, Sagona talks briefly about the beginnings of archaeological activity in Malta and Gozo, up to the time of Sir Themistocles Zammit at the start of the 20th century, the first person to apply scientific methods and techniques to the investigation of ancient sites on the islands. She then provides a general picture of cultural change in Malta through three broad periods: the transition from the prehistoric to the historical, the Phoenicio-Punic period and the Romano-Punic.

For the first period, S. points to the scarceness in these collections of prehistoric vessels (usually from the Late Borg in-Nadur or Late Bronze Age of Malta: ca. 1100-900 BC). Pottery of this time is handmade and generally thick, with red-slipped surfaces. The people then had ceased to build monumental temples or fortified settlements and occupied humble dwellings. A problem of this period is the lack of evidence: key locations are inaccessible beneath modern urban centres. A crucial moment comes in 850 BC when, through the

¹ C. Sagona, *The Archaeology of Punic Malta* (Leuven/Paris/Sterling, VA 2002). See my review in AWE 4.2 (2005), 503-06

arrival of Phoenician migrants, Malta opens out onto the Mediterranean world. The process of settlement appears peaceable, suggesting that the Phoenicians were not newcomers to Malta and that their speedy acceptance by the islanders was linked to prospects for economic advancement. One of the important innovations brought by the colonists was the potter's wheel: this is clear in a number of tombs at Ghajn Qajjied, in which imported pottery too, notably Greek kylikes, is not uncommon. This underpins the chronological framework for the Maltese early Phoenicio-Punic period.

The period as a whole is well represented in the collections through pottery whose conservatism suggests 'that Malta was culturally stable throughout the first millennium B.C. to around the second century A.D.' (p. 10). The characteristics of tomb structures (rock-cut, entered by a vertical shaft) are summarised to show a gradual development from round floor plans to rectangular.² The presence of some amphorae with broken tops, probably used for jar burials of infants, enables S. to address briefly the problem of the existence on Malta of sites of human sacrifice. At the same time, the scarcity of evidence from habitation sites compared with that from necropoleis is pointed out. On the other hand, the account of Diodorus Siculus (5. 12. 2-3), writing in the 1st century BC, 'depicts life in Punic Malta as comfortable with some degree of opulence' (p. 12).

A large quantity of pottery exhibiting some differences in shape from tomb finds, especially bowls and plates, is evidence of the long-standing sanctuary of Tas Silg, the most important Punic site in Malta and very well known in antiquity.

Using funerary evidence, S. shows the gradual transition into the Roman economic sphere in the Romano-Punic period, reflected in particular in the pottery repertory. It must be emphasised, however, that 'despite the Romanisation of Malta, the local population would appear to have remained Punic in their beliefs' (p. 14), showing a strong attachment to Punic identity by reusing early Phoenician/Punic tomb chambers and maintaining basically unchanged funeral rites. In this period a problem remains unsolved: was Malta a production centre of high quality Roman thin wares, and to what extent were clays imported? It is certain, however, that Malta prospered thanks to olive oil production and to the exploitation of marine resources.

Using clay types to analyse the characteristics of ceramics (local, Punic and imported) from burials and from Tas Silg in the collections for all three periods, she identifies 14 groups. Pottery is divided into three broad categories: closed shapes, open shapes and other forms. In this analysis, which includes imported forms, attention is paid to the shift from handmade to wheel-made, changes in the sources and preparation of clay, and changing fashions in which 'local market pressure as well as contact with foreign markets played their part' (p. 21).

A brief note is devoted to other objects, such as figurines (animals, males and seated deities) and small luxury items (jewellery, ivories, coins, amulets, glass, etc.), which are poorly represented not just in the collections but in the tombs. This probably reflects the development in Malta of 'funerary practices that did not require signs of personal wealth to be buried with the deceased' (p. 32), although it might have been an inheritance from prehistoric times and of indigenous beliefs.

² Sagona 2002 (as in n. 1), 237-62.

In the following chapter, S. outlines briefly the history of the collections she has examined.

The main part of the book is the Catalogue. Each collection is considered individually, and the pottery is grouped by period and shape.

The work is completed by an extensive bibliography, a corpus of figures, an appendix and a well-organised index of Punic pottery shapes. Together with its predecessor (dedicated to material housed in the National Museum), this volume forms a fundamental point of reference for knowledge of the archaeological heritage of the Maltese archipelago.

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Alessia Termini

R. Seaford, *Money and the Early Greek Mind. Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, xii+370 pp. Paperback. ISBN 0-521-53992-7

This new book by R. Seaford has one peculiar feature, which, no doubt, will guarantee its popularity: it covers such a broad spectrum of problems and intersects with so many different fields of research that it will inevitably draw interested attention from an unusually wide range of specialists. Classical philologists, philosophers, historians, economists, archaeologists and numismatists will all find S.'s book interesting in one way or another. As S. states in the Preface, in the broadest sense 'this book argues that the monetisation of the Greek polis in the sixth and fifth centuries BC contributed to a radical transformation in thought that is, in a sense, still with us' (p. xi). This at first glance rather provocative thesis is confirmed, however, by a thorough and refined analysis of various data, which in future simply cannot be ignored by scholars investigating the possible impact of the invention and spread of coinage on the social, political and cultural development of ancient Greek society.

S.'s approach to the matter is characterised, it seems to me, by a deliberately pointed polemical emphasis on the connection between the monetisation of Greek society and the formation of the political and juridical system of the *polis* or of Presocratic cosmology. Nevertheless, such an approach turns out to justify itself. After reading this book one gets a strong (in my opinion correct) impression that the economic and monetary factors on which S. constantly focuses add an important and helpful shaft of light on our understanding of the complicated picture of early Greek society.

Thorough clarification of the terminology used is one of the book's undoubted merits. 'Money', 'coins', 'reciprocity', 'exchange', 'trade' and other terms receive detailed and unambiguous explanation. This practice is something to be welcomed, especially in an interdisciplinary work, although unfortunately not as common as it might be.

In the seven chapters of Part I, 'The Genesis of Coined Money', S. investigates in detail the origin and evolution of money and coined money in Archaic Greece and the ancient Near East. By analysing the different forms money took in that time, S. manages to establish a link between the distribution of sacrificial meat, which took place in early Greek *poleis*, and the later distribution of coined silver among the citizenry. The former turned out to be precondition of the latter inasmuch as it created some sort of mental basis and practical tradition for subsequent distribution and general acceptance of coins as the communally agreed embodiment of abstract value. In this sense the apparent link between the name of small silver coins (*obeloi*) and that of iron spits used for roasting meat during sacrifices is instructive. The absence of such sacrificial distribution as well as the centralised (re)distributive

character of the Near Eastern economy impaired the monetisation of this region. The evolution of temple offerings pursued a parallel path along which real dedications (such as animals, cauldrons, tripods, etc.) were replaced by small images of them made of durable material and, as portable, durable substitutions embodying communal confidence, paved the way for monetary offerings. Greek temples and sanctuaries thus gradually became places of storage of communal wealth and later functioned as banks or sites of tax-free trading. Nothing like this ever happened in the Near East.

S. rejects the attempts of some scholars to consider coinage not so much as an invention as a development of long-established Near Eastern tradition of using metal pieces with seal marks as a means of payment. He shows quite clearly the functional differences between coin marks and seal marks, identifying the novelty of the former. S.'s essays on the chronology and development of the earliest coinage demonstrate the solid archaeological, numismatic and historical background one expects to find rather in specialist studies.

The final chapter of Part I deals with the detailed characteristics of money as seen through the prism of Greek classical tragedy. Money appears there as homogenous, impersonal, unlimited, both concrete and abstract, uniting opposites, universal in aim and means at the same time. To each of these features the book devotes a special section.

In Part II, 'The Making of Metaphysics', S. makes an attempt to consider the genesis of early Greek philosophical cosmology from the point of view not only of political evolution of the *polis* but also of the economic development and spread of coinage which were important features of such development. He manages to show that most of the ideas of Ionian Presocratics find striking parallels among the properties and attributes of coined money. In S.'s opinion this is no accident but an indication of a complicated process involving projection of the familiar onto the unfamiliar. Trying to understand and explain the cosmos, 'presocratic philosophy attempts to discover order and uniformity underlying apparent chaos' (p. 224). In this respect, monetary value is 'especially apt for cosmic projection because it is itself a projection... by virtue of being abstracted from all the various commodities and monetary units... it provide a uniform unchanged standard for numerous and various transactions and thereby imposes order and control on multifarious social relations' (p. 224). This citation is only a small extract from the complicated and refined system of proofs and arguments to which S. resorts in the second part of his book.

This new book is a well thought through, carefully organised, well structured and competently balanced work. It promises a fascinating and stimulating read.

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V. Soupault, *Les éléments métalliques du costume masculin dans les provinces romaines de la mer Noire, III^e-V^e s. ap. J.-C.*, BAR International Series 1167, Archaeopress, Oxford 2003, ii+310 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-535-2

1997 reichte Vanessa Soupault an der Universität Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne ihre Dissertation mit dem Thema "Die Bestandteile der Männerkleidung aus Metall im östlichen Teil des römischen Reiches vom 3. bis zum 5. Jahrhundert" ein. Für die vorliegende gedruckte Version hat sie sich auf die römischen Provinzen am Schwarzen Meer konzentriert. Der Schwerpunkt der Arbeit liegt eindeutig in den Bereichen Typologie und Chronologie. Das Arbeitsgebiet ist

durch moderne Staatsgrenzen beschrieben und umfasst Bulgarien und die Dobrogea in Rumänien. Im Katalog werden allerdings auch die Türkei, Syrien, Jordanien, Israel, der Libanon und Ägypten einbezogen. Damit schließt die Arbeit eine große Lücke, denn im Vergleich zu den westlichen Provinzen spielten die Kleinfunde aus den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches bislang eher eine untergeordnete Rolle.

Chronologisch deckt die Arbeit ungefähr Zeitraum von 250–450 ab. Dabei liegen aus den ersten Jahrzehnten wenige Funde vor, denn bei der Materialauswahl wurden anscheinend zwei Schwerpunkte gewählt, nämlich die Zwiebelknopffibeln und die unterschiedlichen Formen der spätrömischen (Militär-)Gürtel. Cloisonnierte Gürtelbeschläge, die spätestens in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts im östlichen Reichsteil auftreten, sind nicht mehr erfasst. Die wenigen "Spätausläufer" der Zwiebelknopffibeln ("Typ 7") kommen im behandelten Gebiet nicht vor.

S. hatte den Vorteil, dass sie gerade bei der typologischen Einordnung ihres Materials weitgehend Ergebnisse aus dem Westen zugrunde legen konnte. Auch bei der Chronologie greift sie zunächst auf Forschungen aus der westlichen Reichshälfte zurück. Sie erstellt aber zusätzlich eine Datierung anhand der geschlossenen Funde aus dem Osten und kommt dabei teilweise zu abweichenden Ergebnissen. Die Zwiebelknopffibeln vom Typ Keller 1/Pröttel 1 werden im Westen zwischen 280 und 320 datiert. S. bestimmt das Einsetzen dieses Typs anhand einiger Münzschatzfunde deutlich früher. Auch wenn es sich bei der Fibel aus dem Fund von Causewo (Gordian III, 238–244) eher um eine "spätimeszeitliche" Scharnierarmfibel, eine Vorform der Zwiebelknopffibeln handelt,¹ so bleibt der altbekannte Schatz aus Nicolaevo mit 933 Silberprägungen (t.p. Philippus Arabs, 244–249) ein wichtiges Argument. Allerdings wurden dieser und weitere Münzschatze mit Zwiebelknopffibeln bereits von Pröttel² zusammengestellt und in ihrer Bedeutung für die Chronologie erkannt, so dass eigentlich keine Lücke zwischen dem östlichen und dem westlichen Material klafft. Allerdings belegt ein Ziegelplattengrab der Nekropole Kapitan Dimitriewo, dass die Fibeln vom Typ 1 im Osten länger in Gebrauch waren, denn die Münzen liefern einen t.p. von 337 (Constantin II).

Für die Fibeln vom Typ Keller 2/Pröttel 2 hält S. – entgegen der im Westen favorisierten Datierung zwischen 300 und 370 – ein Einsetzen bereits um 280 für möglich. Im Katalog der Verfasserin konnte ich allerdings nur münzdatierte Befunde entdecken, die durch Prägungen Constantins II datiert sind. Neben dem Grab 32 aus Sucidava handelt es sich noch um eine Siedlungsschicht aus Buridava, die zusätzlich Probus- und Constantin I-Münzen enthält. Somit werden die im Westen üblichen zeitlichen Einordnungen der Zwiebelknopffibeln nicht erschüttert.

Die zweite große Materialgruppe, die die Autorin behandelt, bilden die Gürtelbeschläge. Bei einigen Formen hätte eine feinere Typologie präzisere Ergebnisse gebracht, z.B. bei den propellerförmigen Beschlägen (Applique Ia), deren größere Exemplare ("Form Trier-Muri") anscheinend noch in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts hineinreichen.³

¹ Th. Fischer, 'Zur römischen Offizierausrüstung im 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr.'. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 53 (1988), 174–76.

² Ph. M. Pröttel, 'Zur Chronologie der Zwiebelknopffibeln'. *JRGZM* 35 (1988), 350–51.

³ H.W. Böhme, 'Das Ende der Römerherrschaft in Britannien und die angelsächsische Besiedlung Englands im 5. Jahrhundert'. *JRGZM* 33 (1986), 501 mit Anm. 79 sowie Abb. 24.

Anhand mehrerer Verbreitungskarten gelingt es der Autorin regionale Besonderheiten in ihrem Arbeitsgebiet herauszustellen. Diese Karten umfassen aber nur den von ihr behandelten Raum, und so bleibt die Frage offen, wie ihre Ergebnisse im Rahmen der Gesamtverbreitung der jeweiligen Typen zu bewerten sind. Zu bemängeln sind auf den Kartierungen leider mehrere Fehler: Auf fig. 1 und fig. 8 ist der Fundort Kailaka an unterschiedlichen Stellen markiert, auf fig. 4 und fig. 8 der Fundort Durostorum. In der fig. 3 geht der Fundstellennachweis komplett durcheinander und auf fig. 13 ist Piatra Frecatei nicht in der Dobrogea kartiert sondern in Bulgarien.

Die Karten verdeutlichen, dass einige der in der Arbeit behandelten Funde nur schwer mit dem Thema in Verbindung bringen sind, etwa die Gürtelbestandteile mit einzeln gefassten Steinen. Sie sind nach Verbreitung und Zeitstellung wohl eher in den griechischen Städten am Schwarzen Meer entstanden, teilweise wohl auch durch sarmatische Verzierungs-elemente beeinflusst, wie die Schnalle aus Gorgippa (vgl. z.B. den Gürtel aus dem Grab von Datchi),⁴ die zudem sehr wahrscheinlich bereits aus dem dritten Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts stammt.⁵

Im letzten Abschnitt stellt Verf. ihre anhand der archäologischen Quellen erarbeiteten Ergebnisse den unterschiedlichen Bildquellen gegenüber und versucht anschließend Aussagen zum sozialen Status der Grabfunde mit Trachtzubehör zu machen. Dabei muß sich letzteres aufgrund der schon stark eingeschränkten Beigabensitte im römischen Reich auf grobe Gruppieren beschränken ("Gräber mit Fibel und Gürtel", "nur mit Fibel", "nur mit Gürtel" innerhalb derer nach Material sortiert wird). Den Abschluß der Publikation bilden die 91 Tafeln, von denen die ersten 61 das Material typologisch gegliedert in Strichzeichnungen dokumentieren. Zusätzlich wurden auch die geschlossenen Funde abgebildet (Taf. 62-67), allerdings nur deren Kleidungsbestandteile, wie sich bei genaueren Hinsehen zeigt, und auch diese oft unvollständig (Taf. 66,2: für das Grab von Kailaka z.B. fehlen die propellerförmigen Beschläge; vgl. Taf. 17,5).

Es bleibt aber festzuhalten, dass die hier vorgetragenen, marginalen Kritikpunkte den Wert dieser gelungenen zusammenfassenden Materialvorlage in keiner Weise schmälern. Sie wird zweifellos über Jahre hinweg das Standwerk zu diesem Thema bleiben.

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Dieter Quast

C.M. Stibbe, *Agalmata. Studien zur griechisch-archaischen Bronzekunst*, BABesch suppl. 11, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA, 2006, vii+342 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 90-429-1708-3/13: 9789042917088/ISSN 0165-9367

This volume was published in honour of Stibbe's 80th birthday (in 2005). It reprints many (by no means all) of his articles on bronzes and bronze vessels, but is more than this since it includes a new and long article by him on Laconian bronze kouros statuettes, and a long review article of Rolley's 'Final Report' on the Vix krater (cf. AWE 4.1 [2005], 215). The former is the first detailed study and classification of a distinctive series of figures and,

⁴ *L'or des Amazones. Peuples nomades entre Asie et Europe VIe siècle av. J.-C. – IVe siècle apr. J.-C.* (Ausstellungskatalog Musée Cernuschi) (Paris 2001), 213.

⁵ M. Treister, 'The Date and Significance of Tomb II at Gorgippia (1975 excavations)'. *ACSS* 9.1-2 (2003), 72.

like much else from S.'s pen, will be the *locus classicus* for the subject. The review article adds the right dash of spice for such a volume. It sets out to expose Rolley's method of handling the evidence (much of it worked out by S.) about details of the Vix krater, especially those which affect its date (for Rolley, late) and origin (for Rolley, West Greek, not Spartan). This is certainly a matter on which there will never be a last word, but S.'s mastery of the subject, which has been displayed in far more than the essays reprinted here, places him in pole position for a win. It is interesting to reflect, in the light of current anxieties, that the excavated context of the krater told us nothing whatsoever about its date or origin, or even about its ultimate use.

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R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, 330 pp. Paperback. ISBN 0-521-01241-4

Thomas's wide-reaching study challenges traditional archaising views of Herodotus with extensive parallels from the Hippocratics, natural philosophers and sophists in order to reveal the author of the *Histories* to be an intellectual thoroughly engaged with the debates of his time. Her methodology steps back from the strictures of traditional source criticism, and instead employs the obvious intertextuality between these authors as a means of reconstructing the cultural and intellectual contexts (and contests) that such parallels presuppose. The overall argument and its execution deserve great praise.

Despite the implications of her bold thesis, T.'s Introduction, with its deceptively traditional tone, is itself a demonstration of the art of persuasion. As it deftly winds its way through the approaches she intimates have less than helpfully characterised Herodotean studies, its cautious and conservative tone rarely lets slip the extent to which the following chapters will successfully jettison these approaches as so much unwanted baggage. Her strategy is to disengage, gently, from scholarly associations of Herodotus with early Ionian thinkers and traditions of story-telling in order to demonstrate how strong his affinity is to her chosen group of intellectuals. Overall the approach is a sound one, though at times it does lead to a downplaying of the sophistication of Herodotus' predecessors: Xenophanes, for instance, displays only a 'hint of cultural relativism' (p. 7), when the stronger position would have been to underscore how sophisticated one should have expected Herodotus to be when such observations as those of Xenophanes' had already circulated for some seven decades. But T.'s positioning is understandable as the unfortunate consequence of her having had to reclaim so much ground for Herodotus as late 5th-century intellectual: if Herodotus should be found guilty, as T. at times argues, of letting his theoretical frameworks distort his observations, his would be a failing to which his modern counterparts prove no less immune.

The body of the work falls into seven chapters, with an Epilogue. Chapters 2-4 deal with the interrelationship between ethnography and natural science apparent in both Herodotus and the Hippocratics: the effect of climate on health, the competing models of how to divide the world into continents, and the prominence of *nomos* in defining ethnic character. She explores contemporary contests to explain variation in ethnic character, showing that despite superficial similarities with such medical texts as *Airs, Waters, Places*, Herodotus eschews those explanations derived straightforwardly from geographical and biological determinism

in favour of *nomos*, a factor that for him is at best only indirectly a function of environment and entirely changeable. This position allows Herodotus to deconstruct the Greek-barbarian antithesis apparent from so many other 5th-century texts, and also to demonstrate a different kind of universalism than that implicit or advocated by contemporary medical writers and sophists.

Chapter 5, 'Wonders and the natural world: natural philosophy and *historie*', may be seen as a transition from the chapters focused on content to those concerned with style as the claim to authority inherent in *historie* is inevitably also a rhetoric stance. Here T.'s discussion becomes too enmeshed in the details of the wonders T. selects and ultimately leaves much about Herodotus' use of *thaumata* and *historie* unexplored. I missed any discussion about the possible self-conscious use of 'wonder' by Herodotus to reflect back onto his audience the interpretive frameworks they may bring to bear when encountering that which the text has flagged as beyond normal experience.¹ I also found that separating *historie* from the following chapters side-stepped Fehling's challenge that such claims to investigation might function as a powerful rhetorical stance. It would have been important at least to ask whether Herodotus might be testing the levels of his audience's credibility and taste for current intellectual trends by exploiting contemporary scientific discourse and the rhetoric of *historie*: the flying Arabian snakes might be one such example as it is an element unparalleled in the medical texts on *polygonia* to which this section of the histories shows so much affinity. Here his explanation of prolific birth as governed by divine providence illustrates the complexity of assessing Herodotus in relation to his contemporaries. If despite his preference for an explanation of *polygonia* that seems traditional and religious, Herodotus' discussion of *polygonia* is to belong to contemporary debate, as T. is surely right to argue, she might have interpreted Herodotus' explanation as more critical of that debate: his 'divine' choice may gesture to the inadequacy of the 'biological' explanation of the Hippocratics – the many-pocketed womb – as one that evades (if one isn't too easily blinded by science to notice) the ultimate question, 'why': why should given animals have wombs of one kind or another? The 'religiosity' of Herodotus' text may be a conscious response to contemporary medicine's (often specious) claims to trump other (more traditional) modes of explanation. T. risks showing more respect for the Hippocratics than Herodotus did.

Chapters 6-8 deal with the rhetoric of Herodotus' method of presentation, focusing on the strategies of authority he shares with, and employs to trump, other intellectuals likewise competing in the culture of performing an *apodeixis/epideixis* of their knowledge. All of this material is excellently documented; the section on Herodotus' use of the first person is particularly valuable. One would have liked to see the implications of these observations pursued more thoroughly in relation to Thucydides, whose Book 1, replete as it is with *apodeixeis*, strategies of persuasion and first person statements, deserved greater scrutiny.²

T.'s book has a myriad of excellent observations and should become the new base-line in discussions of Herodotus. That said, however, despite the comprehensive coverage of her

¹ On this topic, see now R.V. Munson, *Telling Wonders. Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus* (Ann Arbor 2001).

² On *apodeixis*, see now E.J. Bakker, 'The Making of History: Herodotus' *Histories Apodexis*'. In E.J. Bakker, I.J.F. de Jong and H. van Wees (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden/ Boston 2002), 3-32.

subject, the title 'Herodotus in Context' is misleading for one context is largely absent from her discussion, that of the politics of the late 5th century and its relationship to ethnography. Chapter 4 touches on political issues involved in discussing *nomoi* in relation to the 'Constitutional Debate' and Athenian autochthony, but by and large the subject is avoided. While T. allows Herodotus to be 'polemic' in relation to medical theory, he is only allowed to be 'mischievous' (for example pp. 122, 216) when he takes a position likely to antagonise (certain sections of) a contemporary Athenian audience (and no doubt please others). Here Munson and Raaflaub complement T.'s work by pursuing the political import of Herodotus' ethnography and history.³

But the choice of a 'mischievous' Herodotus over any more aggressive description may have more to do with her sense of audience. That T. is writing for an audience of conservative Herodotean readers weaned on How and Wells is suggested by several turns of phrase: she is almost apologetic about revealing as clearly as she does sophistication greater than 'one might have expected' (for example p. 99; cf. p. 34) from a traditional Herodotus which 'in any other author' (for example p. 233) would have been easily recognised as such; likewise she frequently sums up compelling arguments with an anticlimatic 'perhaps' (for example pp. 101, 123, 130). Though she allows Herodotus a sophistication he certainly deserves, one still feels that there is a certain lingering primitivism underlying her treatment. For instance, T. raises the important point about the relationship of theory to observation (pp. 30-32), how interpretive frameworks actually influence the observations one is likely to make, offering this as an explanation of Herodotus' awkward claim about the Egyptian skulls at 3. 12. Here, in part because she chooses to extract examples from their wider narrative context, she renders Herodotus far too passive: in the chapters to follow, Herodotus actually depicts Cambyses disastrously allowing theory to guide his observations in Egypt – not least the application of a theory of divinity to the Apis bull – and in so doing he constructs an implicit challenge for his audience to scrutinise the frameworks they will apply to reading this passage, a character or the text as a whole. Here the early work of Munson and Christ (though in T.'s bibliography) deserves greater attention.⁴

T., perhaps judiciously, leaves one question underexplored, namely 'why': why should Herodotus choose to exploit medical theory so extensively in an account of the Persian Wars? 'Because it was current' would be an answer unworthy of the author of the *Histories*. T.'s work is, however, fundamental to what Raaflaub sees as the future challenge to Herodotean scholarship: 'to determine how exactly Herodotus uses the ideas, arguments, debating techniques, rhetorical devices, and fact-finding methodologies which he shares with his contemporaries, and to what extent and why his uses differ from theirs, and what purpose they serve in each individual context and in the overall intention of his work.'⁵

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³ Munson 2001 (as in n. 1); K.A. Raaflaub, 'Philosophy, Science, Politics: Herodotus and the Intellectual Trends of his Time'. In Bakker *et al.* 2002 (as in n. 2), 149-86.

⁴ R.V. Munson, 'The Madness of Cambyses (Hdt. 3.16-38)'. *Arethusa* 24 (1991), 43-65; M.R. Christ, 'Herodotean Kings and Historical Inquiry'. *ClAnt* 13 (1994), 167-202.

⁵ Raaflaub 2002 (as in n. 3), 164.

G. J. van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (ca. 1600-1200 BC)*, Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 8, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2002, vii+441 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-5356-482-9

The premises of this volume are multiple and self-sustaining: that a specific object class was imported from beyond its culture of origin over a discernable period of time, by a variety of different cultures, for a variety of reasons; that a variety of different groups and individuals imported, and sometimes re-distributed, this class of objects, for different reasons and for different purposes, to different regions within the same culture; that the reasons for their importation and use will change through time, space, occupation and social class, even within individual sites; and, that all these distinctions should be discernable through isolation and comparison of the contextual record in which these objects have been found abroad, intra- and inter-site, -region and -culture. The object class and cultural regions isolated in this volume (a revision of van Wijngaarden's doctoral dissertation) constitute its title. It is a sweeping and direct attempt to 'do more' with the material than simply list its geographical and chronological dispersal and highlight its 'core' and 'periphery' of influence and trade, etc. beyond the Aegean itself, for which van W. should be applauded, and it follows a few earlier, more limited, investigations in a similar vein. The way forward involves further such innovative research attempts. It forces us to reconsider our own perceptions of the material and its implications.

However, no matter how excellent the premise, it is the analysis itself that must be judged. The results are only as good as the information on which they are based. Van W.'s interpretation of the contexts in which Mycenaean material is found often is sweeping, stating rather dogmatic conclusion(s) based on understandably insufficient published evidence, without considering the possibility of alternative explanations that would produce alternative final conclusions. Within the limited space available for this review, consideration must focus on the ultimate basis for van W.'s interpretations and conclusions.

Has he judged the material (at least as already published) for himself, based on the current state of knowledge, and applied a sorely needed critical re-analysis of the stylistic dating given by various (sometimes non-Mycenaean) scholars in the numerous site reports and overview articles over the past century? It appears not. A minor point most succinctly illustrates the problem: the Mycenaean ceramics at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt are listed as being both LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB (p. 328), dates clearly derived from the publications of V. Hankey who believed LH IIIB1 pottery was found at the site. This issue was highly contentious, with overwhelming evidence against the equation of Amarna and LH IIIB elsewhere; in this reviewer's (and others') opinion, LH IIIB does not appear before some 30 years later, around the end of Dynasty XVIII. The 'LH IIIB' characteristics in the Amarna material are simple elements not *definitive* of LH IIIB that are also found on LH IIIA2 vessels. Whilst this point is a focus outside van W.'s study, and one that he very laudably attempts to extend beyond, overall it exemplifies the necessity of re-evaluating the basic data on which his thesis itself is grounded. His surprising lack of discussion of cross-cultural comparative chronology (vitaly important for any discussion of the main topic) is a major drawback of the volume, and his chart (fig. 2.1) itself is rather simple. As he has collated the Mycenaean pottery and its contexts abroad in considerable detail, here is indeed a missed opportunity to judge the various proposed chronologies – and their individual and collective validity – in light of recent

scholarship. What is the basis for his chart and, considering his statement that 'the interdependent absolute chronological frameworks are all hotly debated' (p. 9)? Why has he made *these* particular choices, such as they are, especially as he begins by noting the interdependent frameworks 'depend to a considerable extent on the stylistic classification of the Mycenaean pottery' (p. 9)? Indeed, chronological problems abound. Table 6.4, for example, lists LH IIIB pottery in some quantity in LB IIA levels at Hazor, an association even his own chronological chart cannot support. Also, the 'LB IIIA' on table 6.4 should read 'LB IIB,' as on this same chart as well as accepted terminology.

This apparent lack of critical analysis or, rather, this apparently uncritical acceptance of published stylistic dates for the Mycenaean material itself, logically raises the question of how much – or how little – of his presented catalogue data itself is secure. Much of it, being isolated sherds in isolated contexts, cannot be dated in definitive stylistic terms. Others, provided with general dates such as 'LH III', can now be more precisely dated than in the original publication. In the case of LH IIIB, a clear subdivision of B1 and B2 phasing, established for some time now, is rarely employed here. Distinguishing between the sub-phases of LH IIIC also would be useful as a basis for charting the continued *decrease* in comparative importation and classification of vessel use and appreciation in the various regions under discussion, although this period extends beyond the chronological limits of his title. Scholars and students will cite this volume at least for the next few decades as a convenient compendium of dated Mycenaean material found abroad, and its very existence means such an exercise will not be repeated for some time to come. How many future studies will be based on these still-uncritically assessed data, and therefore will be equally flawed as a result? It is a pity.

For the record, let me conclude with some omissions from his catalogue. The Uluburun and other wrecks are mentioned (p. 2), but the Mycenaean ceramics recovered unfortunately are not cited in Catalogue I. On land, several hundred pieces from Ugarit¹ published just before the book went to press are mentioned in the text (pp. 40, 41) but they too are not listed – or even noted – in Catalogue II. An LH IIIB(?) stirrup jar fragment from Tell Brak, Syria² already in 1997 had extended the geographical range of Mycenaean ceramic finds even further east than he states (p. 3). Another of LH IIIA/B (i.e. at their cusp) date is known at Tille Höyük, Anatolia.³ Now, also, an unstated quantity of sherds and intact vessels has been excavated in late 18th Dynasty tombs at Tombos,⁴ south of the Third Cataract and just north of his southernmost site of Tabo in Nubia. And, unfortunately, map 11 is not provided; that shown is a duplicate of map 10.

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¹ V. Karageorghis and N. Hirschfeld in M. Yon, V. Karageorghis and N. Hirschfeld, *Céramiques mycéniennes d'Ougarit: Ras Shamra-Ougarit XIII* (Paris/Nicosia 2000), 37-161.

² D. Oates, J. Oates and H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak I: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods* (Cambridge 1997), 79.

³ G.D. Summers, *Tille Höyük 4: the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age Transition* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 1993), 14.

⁴ S.T. Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London 2003), 152, fig. 6.21.

R. Vardanyan (ed.), *From Urartu to Armenia: Florilegium Gevork A. Tirats'yan, in Memoriam*, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Scientific Heritage vol. 3, Civilisations du Proche-Orient, Series 1: Archeologie et Environment vol. 44, Recherches et Publications, Neuchâtel 2003, xxv+183 pp., 15 pls. Paperback. ISBN 2-940032-10-6/ISSN 1420-7745

Ten years after the death of one of Armenia's most prominent archaeologists, Gevork Tirats'yan, a book has emerged that for the first time makes this influential scholar's writings accessible to the English-speaking world. R. Vardanyan's compilation of 20 articles by Tirats'yan, all translated into commendable English, is a timely response to the growing interest on either side of the now lifted Iron Curtain to engage in cross-continental dialogue on the archaeology of the South Caucasus. For the archaeology of Armenia in antiquity, there is perhaps no better point of entry into this dialogue than through the works of Tirats'yan, whose embracing scholarly vision makes this translation of select writings a fitting way to honour his memory.

The articles included in this volume do justice to the range of questions that occupied Tirats'yan throughout his career, and the archaeological, art historical, historical and philological methods he brought to bear on these questions. Although the focus of his interest was the period after the demise of the kingdom of Urartu (ca. 600 BC), Tirats'yan's persistent inquiry into the origins of the Achaemenid- and 'Hellenistic' period polities that emerged on the Armenian highland repeatedly led him back to Urartu. This strand in Tirats'yan's work is picked up throughout the present volume. In an early iteration (1978), Tirats'yan probed the Urartian inheritance through material culture, investigating early Armenia's debt to Urartu in matters of architecture, funerary ritual, pottery and metalwork. In a later article also found in this volume (1985), Tirats'yan went further to argue, rather problematically, for an ethnic link between Urartians and Armenians, based largely on place names, personal names and tribal names. Although the similarities Tirats'yan observed in two 1969 publications included here between Urartian and Achaemenid-era material culture are intriguing, these discussions of Urartu's legacy betray what can be described at times as a one-dimensional notion of material and cultural 'influence'.

Tirats'yan's concern with Urartu's legacy in the late 1st millennium BC was not, however, the result of strict evolutionary thought. He grappled with what he saw as the demise of urbanism after the fall of Urartu, not to be revived, in his estimation, until the 2nd century BC. This notion of decline was fed, as Tirats'yan himself admitted, by scanty archaeological research into the 6th-4th centuries BC, a problem that still besets the archaeology of Armenia today (although important recent investigations promise forthcoming advances). In his study of the Achaemenid period in Armenia, Tirats'yan therefore relied heavily and, at times, uncritically on historical sources, as seen in three articles in this volume in which, through the tedious but thorough stitching of disparate textual references, Tirats'yan attempts to reconstruct the territorial borders and economic life of Armenia's Achaemenid period polity, known as the Yervandid dynasty (1973, 1980, 1981).

One of the few settlements in Armenia that did seem to boast Achaemenid period remains in Tirats'yan's day was Armavir, a fortress site to which Tirats'yan dedicated years of his life as director of excavations. It is therefore surprising and unfortunate to find that none of his numerous publications on this site, admittedly mostly site reports, are included in the present volume. This lacuna would have been understandable if V.'s ambition was solely to

provide, through Tiratsyan's pen, a general overview to the archaeology of late 1st-millennium Armenia; however, there are articles included here that are rather narrow in theme or site-specific in data, such as Tiratsyan's 1974 article (co-authored with A.A. Vayman) 'The Karmir-Blur Necropolis of Hellenistic Times', or two articles on the Aramaic stele of the 2nd-century BC dynast Artashes I, which among other things reveal Tiratsyan's linguistic prowess (1959, 1977). Despite an exceedingly difficult stratigraphic situation at Armavir, Tiratsyan devoted much effort to the work of constructing a ceramic sequence for the late 1st millennium BC. His influential 1965 article 'On Painted Pottery in Ancient Armenia (6th Century BC-3rd Century BC)', although outdated by the subsequent excavations of the capital city Artaxata, is a welcome contribution to this volume.

The omission of Armavir is rather glaring to anyone familiar with Tiratsyan's archaeological legacy in Armenia. Nevertheless, to some extent the editor has covered his bases. For those interested to read more from Tiratsyan's extensive oeuvre, V. has compiled within the pages of this volume a bibliography of 149 publications written or co-written by Tiratsyan from 1956 until his death in 1993, plus two articles published posthumously. Each entry has a brief summary in English, making this bibliography – and the book that contains it – an indispensable resource for anyone interested in the study of the Armenian highland in the second half of the 1st millennium BC.

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M.S. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria. The Theater of the Dead*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, xv+267 pp., black-and-white and colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-521-80659-3

'Alexandria; which is neither Greek, Syrian, nor Egyptian, but a hybrid: a joint' (Lawrence Durrell, *Justine*, Part 1). So opens the fourth chapter of M.S. Venit's meticulously detailed and sensitive study of the cemeteries of Ancient Alexandria. The chapter is headed 'The Tombs of Pharos Island: cultural interplay and ethnic identity'. The wide-ranging approach suggested by this chapter is typical of the structure of V.'s innovative and stimulating book, in which groups of Alexandrian tombs are examined to shed light on a particular theme. Other subjects covered include theatricality, the emergence of the individual, and the uses of Egypt in Roman Alexandria. The book starts and finishes more conventionally, opening with an account of the origins and possible influences upon the development of the distinctive mortuary architecture of ancient Alexandria, and closing with a survey of the legacy of the tombs in and outside Egypt.

The author's stated aims are threefold: to bring the subject to the attention of scholars; to help conserve understanding of the tombs by pulling together a mass of disparate and nowadays often obscure scholarship in various languages, and to use the evidence offered by the surviving monuments to the dead to recover something of the social history of ancient Alexandria.

In the first two of these aims the book must surely be counted a success. This is a work of immensely detailed scholarship and careful, judicious observation. The complex and multi-layered aims of V. are aided by her careful construction of the text and detailed end-notes (cumulatively numbered to a grand total of 1283, but on balance easier to follow than a subdivision by chapter). The bibliography is indispensable. The book is well illustrated,

with 160 drawings and photographs, most of the latter the accomplished work of V. herself, who also provided the ten colour plates and the striking cover photographs of the Tigrane tomb and the Saqiya scene (both captions unfortunately misspelled). Given the thematic focus of the text, it would have been helpful to have the plan of Alexandria, reproduced at rather mean scale on p. 12, in repeated outline at the head of each chapter, with the locations marked of each of the tombs covered by the ensuing discussion.

An argument could also be made for the use of the Harvard system of referencing, which would give the date of the publication in the narrative of the text. There is much detailed argument in places about the date and interpretation of many of the monuments under discussion, and a sense of its chronological development would have provided a helpful perspective. The same holds true of references made to pre-modern sources, usually contextualised for Byzantine and Islamic writers but not consistently so for Greek and Roman authors.

Throughout, the author insists on the theatricality of Alexandrian burial customs and the Macedonian origin and culturally Greek identity of the pre-Roman city. Egypt only invaded Alexandria after the Roman invaded Egypt. Where she disagrees with others, as in the use of the *klinai* provided in the earlier tombs (V. argues for their use for the laying-out of the deceased), the arguments are carefully marshalled, and those of scholars offering other view points are meticulously cited. To the ample discussions aired in the text and endnotes, one might suggest that the presentation of Ptolemaic Alexandria as purely Hellenic needs nuancing. In appropriate contexts – including, apparently, the entrance to the city's harbour, Egypt's Greek rulers had no hesitation in presenting themselves to arriving visitors as pharaohs, albeit with (sometimes hardly recognisable) portrait features and hair escaping beneath the *nemes* headdress. What we may see in the main tomb at Kom el-Shoqfa, then, is less a process of Egyptianisation than simply the Roman tendency to follow the fashion set by the imperial court. Indeed, Venit makes a substantial case for the engagement of the occupants with the proclamation in Egypt of the then reigning emperor Vespasian. Moreover, the embracing of Egyptian heritage was a preoccupation of the relatively cultured and wealthy. Outside Alexandria, local elites appear keen to advance their status by presenting an Hellenic education and a Romanised appearance.

I have had the good fortune to draft this review on a brief visit to Alexandria, where I had an opportunity to test on site the author's descriptions of the catacombs of Kom el-Shoqfa and the Tigrane Tomb. But for a confusion of the head and foot of the bier on a description of the goddesses tending the corpse in the main scene of the Tigrane tombe (p. 151) – interpreted here as the burial place of members of a guild of followers of Isis – the reader may be assured of an accurate and sympathetic guide in this stimulating evocation of ancient Alexandria's cities of the dead.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Susan Walker

D. Williams, *The Warren Cup*, British Museum Objects in Focus, The British Museum Press, London 2006, 64 pp., 34 figs. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-7141-2260-2/13: 978-0-7141-2260-1

Williams, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum provides the sixth and latest in this very fine series of small-format guides, aptly named *Objects in Focus*. The formula is to describe the object, the history of its ownership, and the general context in

which it was created and of the subject matter depicted on it (all well illustrated in colour and black-and-white).

The cup, a luxury drinking-vessel 11 cm high, made of silver, was acquired by the British Museum in 1999; it is decorated in relief with two quite decorous but explicit scenes of male love-making, subject matter which caused some comment in the popular prints at the time. The various chapters describe the cup, Roman tableware (silver, glass and pottery), the cup's dating (*ca.* AD 5-15) and find-spot (near Jerusalem), sex and society in the Greek and Roman worlds, etc. Tastes, techniques, iconography and attitudes are treated deftly. The longest chapter (pp. 16-31) is devoted to the eponymous collector, Edward Perry 'Ned' Warren (1860-1928), a rich Bostonian (but not quite a Brahmin?), who quit Harvard for Oxford in the 1880s and felt at home in the then centre of the Aesthetic Movement. One observer has described Warren's subsequent domestic arrangements as a 'homosexual commune'¹ (but one in which E.F. Benson or Herbert Vaughan of Llangoedmor might have felt at home): in 1890 he was to rent a country house in Lewes, Sussex, close to the rural outposts of the Bloomsbury Group (a Roger Fry watercolour is one of the illustrations), and use it as a base for his collecting, financed by a large inheritance. In this he was assisted by long-term companions (one married his cousin) and a changing cast of young men and contacts (including J.D. Beazley). Initially, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was the beneficiary of Warren family largesse as many antiquities headed west, but a falling-out occurred. Warren's collecting was not limited to Classical antiquities: he purchased Cranach's *Adam and Eve* and commissioned Rodin's *The Kiss*. The Warren Cup was acquired quietly (but expensively – £2000) in 1911.

As W. points out, the fate of the last two pieces after Warren's death reflects the changing attitudes to sex, sexuality and the depiction of sexual (especially homosexual) congress in art in the past hundred years. The Rodin was eventually purchased by the Tate; the cup was kept by his 'secretary' and beneficiary into the 1950s, was briefly impounded by United States customs, declined by the British Museum (its trustees then still chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not E.F. Benson's father but the headmasterly Dr Fisher), returned by horrified private collectors, etc. But by the 1980s and 1990s it was safe enough to display it in various museums; and by 1999 the Heritage Lottery Fund, something of a slave to political fads, obviously felt the subject matter fashionable enough to overcome its distaste for 'elitist' art and assist the Museum with the purchase.

There is a short list of additional reading.

University of Durham

James Hargrave

K.A. Worp (ed.), *Greek Ostraka from Kellis. O.Kellis, Nos. 1-293*, with a chapter on The Ostraka and the Archaeology of Ismant el-Kharab by C.A. Hope, Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 13, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2004, iv+234 pp., illustrations and CD. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-128-3

Greek Ostraka from Kellis is the thirteenth monograph to arise from the Dakhleh Oasis Project and its excavations at Ismant al-Kharab (ancient Kellis), and is the first publication of

¹ S.L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts* (New Haven/London 2006), 150.

potsherds found by the Australian archaeological team led by Colin Hope of Monash University. Not many people other than a reviewer would have cause to read it cover to cover, but even the casual researcher will recognise that it presents some very impressive data: 293 individual ostraka, one of them wooden, with copious information about each individual item. Like most monographs, it makes most sense when read in conjunction with other publications from the project. Luckily, the editor's oft-expressed enthusiasm for (and intimate knowledge of) that project is the monograph's most endearing feature, spurring – almost inspiring – the reader to delve into the published research.

Hope's introduction paints a much-needed synthetic 'big picture' for the overwhelming catalogue that follows. The earliest exact date on the Kellis ostraka is AD 135, and the latest are from the mid- to late 4th century because of the technical use of the word *indiktion* (a taxation cycle instituted in AD 312, usually counting 15 years). Over half of the ostraka were excavated in the Main Temple Complex of the Egyptian god Tutu (in Greek, Tithoës). Hope thoroughly discusses the material of the ostraka (various fabrics and wares), their provenance and distribution throughout the Kellis site, their dating process, and the correlation between all of the above.

As is typical with such finds, the majority of texts are tax receipts; yet Worp indicates how such receipts, when taken together with finds from other Egyptian sites, can refine our knowledge and understanding of daily life in Greek-speaking Roman Egypt and the particular multi-cultural challenges that the Romans faced in administering that region. For instance, take ostrakon no. 26 (dating to either AD 266 or 297) regarding the mysterious *isophorion* levy, apparently a *per caput* charge paid by free contract labourers to an estate manager. A labyrinthine bureaucracy emerges; two brothers together paid 80 drachmas for this levy, which was collected by an official authority (an ex-archon named Aurelius Arius) who was represented by a special commissioner (here, Aurelius Apollos), and the receipt was signed by yet another person. Or, consider the poll tax (*laographia*): 23 of the ostraka (i.e. nearly 8% of the total published) are receipts for this tax, ranging from Hadrian's reign to the mid-3rd century. It was amazingly consistent, amounting to 9 drachmas 1 obol per year (an amount relatively low compared with the rest of the Thebaid), payable in two instalments. Many of the taxpayers are identified by their mothers' names—a testament, perhaps, to the number of *apatores* at any time in the ancient world.

But the ostraka reveal more than just the tedium of paying one's taxes. Among the most interesting snippets of daily life are: memoranda for payments of large amounts of money or consumables (like wine, oil or must), or regarding valuable commodities (like animals); orders for various foods (eggs, chickens, wheat, dates and even jujubes); and some school writing exercises. The ostraka also confirm some things of genuine philological interest, although this is often buried in the notes: no. 86 preserves the phrase *alla pantas* ('but for sure, but for certain'), also found in the Kellis papyri (add that to your word-list of conversational Ancient Greek!). We also encounter the fruit *tiphagion* (nos. 64, 92, 101, which W. speculates may be a local word for a kind of large watermelon), and rare terms of weight and measure, such as the *boxion* (for the capacity of fluids, slightly less than a pint/half a litre), or the *moion* (a dry measure for hay, chaff and must), or the Egyptian *hin* (for liquids).

Other treasures include: an order to the local 'keeper of the peace' to make a donkey available to the local smith (no. 82); a fragmentary letter from a son to his father regarding three boards, a frying pan and a Roman military camp (no. 291); and a note from a man named

Epaphroditus to his mother, Loinoute, saying 'hello' and reminding her to give so-and-so a sizable amount of wine (no. 140). But the real gem (no. 145, featured on the monograph's cover) is a contract between two men (one of them the potter Psais, who was also a priest of Tutu) to share the use of a heifer. What is fascinating is their inclusion of the precise date when they signed the contract (10 October 294), and that they paid for the heifer using old silver of Trajan and Antoninus; the numismatic conclusion is that these Egyptian partners preferred the slightly debased coinage of the previous century to the outrageously debased coinage of their own day to purchase an animal of some value (in fact, 120 drachmas of that old money). And all that on one potsherd of 12.3×13.5 cm!

By its own admission, this monograph does not attempt to exhibit a novelty with every potsherd, nor does it intend to reconstruct a narrative of daily life in Kellis; such analysis can be left to others. What the ostraka do provide is excellent data to be combined with other finds; further detailed study on the priesthood of Tutu at Kellis is clearly on the horizon (although the prosopographical material does not seem secure enough to reconstruct family trees), as well as more refined work on the taxation practices of the Roman world. All the data is here, including a CD-Rom of 'pdf' image files of impressive resolution; these new finds merely await an inspired researcher to connect them with other finds and fashion a larger window into ancient life.

University of Melbourne

J.H. Kim On Chong-Gossard

J. Yakar, *Ethnoarchaeology of Anatolia. Rural Socio-Economy in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Tel Aviv University, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Monograph Series 17, Emery and Claire Yass Publication in Archaeology, Tel Aviv 2000, xii+532 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 965-226-011-6

By making a detailed survey of Anatolian traditional societies, this book reveals the value of ethnographic data for the perception and interpretation of the archaeological record in terms of material culture and organisational patterns. The first four chapters outline the landscape, the sequence of cultural development, the present ethnic composition, and the settlements and economies of the traditional sedentary and nomadic societies of Anatolia. In the remaining seven chapters, which adopt the modern geographical division of Turkey into seven regions, Yakar presents data of geographical characteristics, settlement patterns, land use and socio-economic organisation for the present or recent past and for the Bronze and Iron Ages, region by region, starting with Central Anatolia (probably on account of the quantity and quality of written evidence from both Assyrian colonial and Hittite periods which provide relatively more insight on patterns of social and economic organisation hereabouts.)

Chapter 2, 'Anatolian Society Through the Ages', includes a brief but adequate summary of traditional household organisation, the changing patterns of the states, involvements with the rural population such as the system of fiefs, taxation and so on, the continuous remixing of ethnic composition through raids, war and migration, and the organisational changes experienced by Anatolian society from the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Ottomans. Together, this and the following chapter, 'Ethnic Diversity of Anatolia', make clear that the ethnic and cultural fabric of Anatolia has remained static neither in the remote past nor in the present. Despite the dynamic character of Anatolian cultures, the administration of the

rural sector under state control displays only minor changes over the millennia. The distribution of large fiefs to the nobility by the monarch represents the general pattern for the exploitation of the cultivable lands. The heritable feature of these plots led ultimately to feudalism and the reduction of the peasants to servile status. Furthermore, examples of interaction between the nomadic and sedentary groups during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, and of state policy towards nomadic pastoralists, provide a very comprehensible picture for reconstructing the socio-economic and political structures of ancient states, particularly for the nomadic component of the population (which is the archaeologically less visible). The ambivalent relations between nomadic tribes and central government are worth mentioning. The considerable support they gave in furnishing soldiers to the state army in time of war time provided them with a certain degree of political autonomy. However, it was this flexibility which, in times of peace, opened the way to the destruction of the settlements of sedentary groups when the nomads' needs were not met, and thus led to a deterioration in the stability of the state.

The third chapter, examining ethnic diversity, shows the mosaic-like constitution of the Anatolian population but also presents good examples of the artificial construction of ethnic identities. Although the nomadic tribes called Yörük were originally Turkoman, like the sedentary elements of the Ottoman state, after a conflict between the state and a group of nomads living in Central Anatolia the state ceased to refer them as Turkoman and later substituted the label Yörük. In time the two groups perceived themselves as ethnically distinct. It is interesting to note that the nomadic groups of Kurds and Arabs who were intermingled with Turkoman groups in Western Anatolia were also labelled Yörüks in Ottoman administrative records. These examples show indirectly the potential errors archaeologists can make by oversimplifying the ethnic attributions of ancient societies.

Chapter 4, 'Ethnography in the Anatolian Countryside', focuses mainly on various forms of traditional village houses, the types of nomads' tents and the nature of their camp sites, the calendar of agricultural activities such as harvesting, threshing and storage, and the level of agricultural productivity. The type and the nature of transhumance, semi-nomadic and nomadic activities in relation to animal husbandry are also explained.

Overall, this section provides background for the regional analysis of the Anatolian rural economy.

The following chapter contains a combination of ethnographic data and archaeological evidence for each region. Y. first of all describes geographical characteristics, including climate, communication routes, vegetation, the ratio of agricultural land to pasture, etc., and shows how these elements affected traditional architecture, settlement models and subsistence patterns. These models are then used either to explain the archaeological evidence or to make tentative reconstructions of the organisational patterns of Bronze and Iron Ages societies when archaeological evidence is insufficient.

As we know, migration and its effects on material culture are one of the most complex issues in archaeology. Concrete examples from Anatolia clearly show that in most cases the immigrants had a smaller impact on material culture than one would expect, sometimes insignificant. For example, immigrants from the Caucasus and the Balkans who settled in Central Anatolia during the 18th century AD initially built houses just like those in their homeland, but after a generation or so, they started to adopt regional architectural styles. The heavy destruction of towns and villages by Seljuk and Turkoman tribes represents

nomadic movements according to theory. Thus this volume not merely enlarges the reader's perspective on Anatolian political and socio-economic developments but also makes it easier to understand the complex theories involved in tracing evidence of migration, nomads and ethnicity in material culture through the archaeological evidence.

Although Y. has shown the similarities in the organisation of the rural sector under state control among the Hittites, Ottomans and Babylonians; he has not focused on clarifying the peculiar features of Anatolian cultures. Indeed, the less urban character of Anatolian society has been emphasised in various ways: 'Hittite cities cannot be defined as large residential agglomerations like their Middle Bronze Age predecessors but were rather political, administrative or cult centres populated by a cumbersome central bureaucracy, their staff and families' (p. 485) or '... the interiors of Anatolia remained largely rural in character well into Roman period...' (p. 485). The possible dynamics behind this phenomenon have not been touched upon. But all factors influencing the nature of settlement hierarchy in Anatolia have been individually well documented in the book, among them the topography, intersected by mountains and rivers, limiting agricultural activity to small patches, a tendency to cultural regionalisation, and frequent cultural breaks led by continuous migration from the border lands.

To sum up, Y. has combined successfully information from different sources such as history, archaeology, anthropology and geography. This book deserves to be on the shelves of all those interested in Anatolian archaeology of whatever period.

Ege University, Izmir

Altan Çilingiroğlu

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